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FIFTY YEARS OF NEW JAPAN

VOLUME I

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FIFTY YEARS OF NEW JAPAN

(KAIKOKU GOJŪNEN SHI)

COMPILED BY

COUNT SHIGÉNOBU ŌKUMA

LATE PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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ENGLISH VERSION

EDITED BY

MARCUS B. HUISH

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1909

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DEDICATED

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TO

HIS MAJESTY

KING EDWARD THE SEVENTH

BY

COUNT ŌKUMA

PREFACE

THE objects of this work are twofold. First, to preserve an authoritative account of the development of the Empire of Japan during the fifty years that have elapsed since the ratification of its first treaties with the outside world. Secondly, to make the present condition of the country more widely known and understood, both at home and abroad.

To this end the foremost contemporary authorities of the rejuvenated nation have contributed, each having written upon that department of which he has exceptional knowledge and experience. It is consequently a living history written by living men.

For a complete understanding of the matter, it has been in almost every instance necessary to trace the history of the past, and therefore, in so far as the work describes the characteristics of the people of Japan and the unfolding of their national destinies, this narrative of New Japan is also a concise and accurate *résumé* of the five-and-twenty centuries that our nation has existed.

The work was published last year in Japan as a record of the fifty years subsequent to the opening of our country to foreign intercourse, namely from 1854 to 1904, and therefore most of the essays only brought their facts up to the time of the Russo-Japanese War. In the present English edition, however, the information is carried as near to date as public statistics enable it.

It is a most distinguished honour for me that His Britannic Majesty, King Edward the Seventh, Emperor of India, and our great Ally, whose influence with Japan has been most widespread and salutary, should have granted me permission to dedicate this humble compilation to His Majesty's illustrious name.

My profound thanks are due to Count Komura, Count Hirokichi Mutsu, Baron S. Matsuo, Baron K. Takahashi,

Mr. Usaburo Yanagiya, Mr. Eigo Fukai, and Captain F. Brinkley, to whose assiduity and help this edition owes much. I am also under especial obligations to Mr. Marcus B. Huish, through whose valuable suggestions and laborious and painstaking editorship this book is enabled to see the light in its present form.

SHIGÉNOBU ŌKUMA.

TŌKYŌ,
July 1909.

NOTE

THIS monumental work, which it has been my privilege to carry through the English press, presents certain unusual features which may probably strike the reader, and therefore call for some words of explanation.

For instance, its fifty-six chapters have been contributed by almost as many authorities, each, presumably, writing independently of the other, upon subjects which in many cases have a common foundation. This has resulted in overlapping in numerous instances, which, whilst it has made each subject self-contained, has led to some repetition. I have endeavoured to avoid this wherever possible, but much remains that could not be deleted without breaking the thread of continuity.

The translation, which was originally made in Japan (in itself a remarkable feat, and one which, I believe, could have been accomplished by but one or two Englishmen), has been the work of many hands, and has been accomplished with an aptitude which in some instances is extraordinary. But the varied renderings of the translators has made the editing of the text an unusually difficult task, as those who are acquainted with the various ways of Anglicizing Japanese words and phrases, and their orthography, will know. The reader will therefore, I am sure, deal leniently with any discrepancies or deficiencies in this respect.

MARCUS B. HUISH.

COOMBE WOOD,
DITCHLING, SUSSEX,
October 1909.

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FIFTY YEARS OF NEW JAPAN

I

A SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF JAPAN

COUNT SHIGÉNOBU ŌKUMA

THE races and nations of the East number more than one-half of the world's population, but some are in such a somnolent, if not a decadent, condition as to be in imminent danger of losing their national existence.

Half a century ago the Empire of Japan appeared to participate in this unhappy state of affairs, but since then it has raised itself from its lethargy to such an extent that it has been able to cross swords with a leading military power of the West, has inflicted upon it defeat after defeat, has astonished its autocrat and his advisers, and has aroused the interest of the whole world.

To what cause is this due? Does it result from a past which has given to the nation a training which differentiates it from other Oriental races? This is a question to which students of world-history seek to find an answer. As I am convinced that the answer lies in our former as much as in our present history and traditions, I propose to introduce the subject of Japan's more recent progress by a survey of that history and training in olden times.

Three factors which have conduced to Japan's present condition.

Japan, the only Island Empire of the East, ruled by a line of sovereigns which has reigned in unbroken succession for almost countless ages, has evolved a national history peculiarly her own. It will be impossible here to set out in detail her story during the many centuries of her reputed existence; it must suffice to regard that history from the three aspects, which, as in the case of other races, constitute the most natural and

yet peculiar features of national career, namely, Religion, the Land, and the People. These I will now consider in turn.

Religion.

When Japan is termed the 'Land of the Gods' (*Shinkoku* or land of *kami*), for *kami* is usually translated 'god,' these gods should not be interpreted as akin to deities usually connected with religion. To clear away this natural error I will at once adduce evidence.

Early in the ninth century[1] the Japanese Government compiled a 'New Record of Family Names' ('*Shinsén Shōji Roku*'). This consisted of extracts from the genealogies of the 1882 noble families then existing in the Imperial capital, Kyōto. It was divided into three parts, namely, (*a*) the Imperial Families (*Kwō-bétsu*), or the descendants of the first Emperor Jimmu, (*b*) the descendants of the *kami* prior to Jimmu (*Shin-bétsu*), and (*c*) families who had immigrated from other lands (*Ban-bétsu*). As regards the first two classes, the first was originally composed of the main branch of the second. Japan was at that time under the control of these three classes of nobles, and as the first two were practically one and the same, it follows that Japan was under the rule of the *kami*, and to this day the masses of the people firmly believe that the right of sovereignty remains in the hands of the descendants of the *kami*.

Origin of the name *kami*.

The title 'Land of the Gods' is a very ancient one, and its use cannot be attributed solely to self-adulation on the part of the nation. Records show that more than fifteen centuries ago the people of Southern Korea called Japan a 'divine' or 'noble country.' It is true that almost every nation has at some time or other been ruled by chiefs claiming to do so by divine right, but most of such lines have perished long ago in revolutions by which they were deprived of power. The Korean State being no exception to the rule, this adulation of their neighbour as a noble country that had ever remained the land of the *kami* may be regarded as a true expression of the ancient mode of thought. As a consequence, the Imperial House of Japan, unlike other sovereignties, has no family name, and does not appear in the Record above referred to. The first

[1] The Christian era is used here and elsewhere: the affix 'A.D.' is not added after 1000 A.D.

class in that record, the *Kwō-bétsu*, therefore, was not the actual reigning family, but such offshoots from them as had received family names and become subjects. These offshoots took the names of their residences or estates, as a means of distinguishment, but the Emperor had no such need.

The *Ubu* Land.

I would call Japan an '*Ubu*' Land, that word in archaic Japanese meaning 'as it was born,' 'natural,' or 'the outcome of inherent development.' An old expression defines her as 'the country which our children govern as *Kami*' (*kami nagara mo waga ko no shiroshimesu kuni*), signifying a country whose government has been delegated to the descendants of the first and great *kami*, Amatérasu. This phrase has been rendered in Chinese by four ideographs meaning 'the country exclusively of the *kami*.'

The genealogy of the *kami* appears in the two oldest extant historical compilations, the '*Kojiki*' (711–712 A.D.) and the '*Nihonshoki*' (720 A.D.). The former, in its description of the first *kami*, opens thus: 'The *kami* who, in the beginning of heaven and earth, created themselves in the High Heavenly Plain (Takama-ga-hara), were three, Amé-no-minaka-nushi-no-kami, Taka-mi-musubi-no-kami, and Kami-mi-musubi-no-kami.' This sentence might by some be given a religious interpretation, namely, that the deity Amé-no-minaka-nushi (meaning 'master of the centre heaven') was the ruler of the universe, and the deities, *Musubi* (supposed by some to mean 'to produce'), were the creators, but in fact these *kami* were entirely different from the superhuman gods of religion. The three laid the foundations of the Great Eight Islands, or the Japanese Archipelago, and their children intermarried and prospered. The descendants of the first named, who were charged to govern the newly created country, were the lineal descendants of the *kami*, or, according to the strict meaning of the ideographs, the 'sons of the Celestial *kami*.' The other two *Musubi* are sometimes called the *mi-oya-no-kami*, or ancestral *kami*, and represent the maternal side of the family of the *kami*. Their descendants increased to the number of *yaoyorozu-no-kami* (literally, 'eighty myriad *kami*,' but really 'multitudinous *kami*'), who 'assembled in divine conclave on the High Heavenly Plain and engaged in divine discussions.' Thus was

begun a system of government by a council of elders before the throne. The families of the *Shin-bétsu*, that is, branches of the *kami*—the Fujiwara, for instance, which during many centuries were the most powerful of the nobility—were for the most part descendants of these *kami*. Hence it follows that the Japanese conception of the deities—if that term be properly applicable—does not, as is the case with the supreme beings of religions in general, involve the idea of obedience imposed by external authority, for instead of rites of sacrifice and prayer, whereby the devotees of other cults invoke blessings for themselves, the Japanese offer to their ancestors in thanksgiving the first fruits of the harvest, the members of each family assembling in their invisible presence and joyfully commemorating their own callings in life. Even to-day there is an annual service of the greatest importance solemnly performed by the Emperor, which is called the festival of offering fruits of the new harvest (*Shin-shō-sai*).

The *Shin-shō-sai*.

This is said to have been originally conducted by the Imperial ancestor, Amatérasu-ō-mi-kami, in person, and thereafter the *Shin-shō-sai*, annually performed, remains among the weightiest functions of the Emperor. On every annual celebration, *saké* brewed from new rice, and products of land and sea, are offered personally by him to his ancestors, and a great feast is held in gratitude for the peace of the realm, the seasonableness of the weather, and the blessing of a good harvest. This service, called *Toyo-no-akari* (or *Sechi-é*), is, as a rule, performed at night by torch-light, and the members of the Imperial House take part in this joyous feast to their ancestors.

The *Daijō-é*.

The same service on a greatly enlarged scale is called *Daijō-é*, but is only performed once in each reign. Black and white *saké* are made from new rice produced in two districts (*kōri*), in two provinces (*kuni*), each specially selected by augury for the purpose; and two huts of the most primitive style, called *Yuki* and *Suki*, are erected. In these the ritual is performed to ancient music. Then ensue three days and nights in which are held the festival of night, the festival of dawn, and the festival of day. These services, collectively called *Daijō-é*, follow directly on the accession of each Emperor to the throne, and constitute a great ritual symbolizing the foundation of the

empire, the perennial perpetuity of the fêtes being typical of the eternal stability of the Imperial Throne itself. The custom of offering fruits of the harvest, together with the conception of a country founded by gods (which gave rise to the custom), has died out in Korea, Manchuria, and China, where it once prevailed. In Japan alone the ritual persists, and has spread throughout the length and breadth of the land. It is still a custom of the 'Country of the *Kami*' that in every farming district people celebrate the autumnal festival of the tutelary god (*Ubusuna-no-kami*) of the locality, and that even towns which are no longer agricultural regard, as worthy of all joy and gratitude to the *kami*, the day on which the harvest is commemorated. From these customs one may understand the reason why the Japanese nation revere the *kami*, having always lived, as they still do, under the exclusive rule of its descendants.

Idea of the *kami*.

It is a peculiarity of the Japanese language that the word *Kami*, so often translated 'god,' is a general name for all one's superiors, and to this day is applied in this sense, without distinction of rank, and even without a thought of the present or future world. Confusion arises, therefore, when certain Chinese characters are used to represent this essentially Japanese word, as, for instance, when a scholar investigating the era when the Emperor was first called *kami*, after consulting numerous books, finds that even governors of local provinces and districts were formerly so designated. But this habit of using the word *kami* in a broad sense has been of inestimable value in enabling the Japanese to assimilate the spiritual inheritances of other nations: thus, when Confucianism was introduced from China by means of Chinese ideographs, these served also to convey Taoism and other religious thoughts, all of which elements, having once been infused into the national mode of reverence, became gradually harmonized with it and among themselves, so that without any antagonism Confucianism, Taoism, geomancy and astrology existed side by side. Again, at the coming of the doctrine of the Buddha, he was at first rejected as an alien god. When, however, people learned that the *kami* and the Buddha were entirely different, and that the philosophy of Sakya promised great benefits, his philosophy was readily adopted by the Japanese, and its better elements, becoming

The *kami* and foreign religions.

assimilated with those just mentioned, became happily acclimatized in the soil of Japan. Any conflict between the Hindoo deities and the *kami* was averted by the clever theory that the latter were incarnations of the Buddha. Japan has never been for any length of time impervious to the spiritual influence of foreign civilization, and has never allowed conflicts of religions to become acute. Designating the heavenly deities, the Emperor, and official dignitaries all alike by the term *kami*, and celebrating the harvest offering everywhere throughout the country, the nation has always remained characteristically impartial in its beliefs and little prone to bigotry.

'Heavenly grace.'

From the idea that Japan is the country of the *kami*, her people have been led to believe that she is under the special protection of these heavenly beings. There is, of course, no theoretical certainty for this belief, yet events which have occurred during her long career as the *kami's* country have, not unnaturally, been attributed to favours of the unseen. To take a few instances: Every school-child knows the national tradition that the *kami* Amatérasu, in giving the three Imperial insignia[1] to her grandson, proclaimed that the Imperial succession should endure for ever. Reigning families in every country naturally desire to possess their thrones to all eternity, but in Japan alone, despite struggles for the succession which (as in many countries) have occurred during the long period of her existence, the ruling house has been able to survive the periods of grave crisis which threatened its continuance, and has always regained its prosperity. Even so early as the ninth century, the list of the branches of the Imperial descendants already referred to, namely the *Kwō-bétsu*, filled, as we have seen, a large volume. These facts find no parallel in other lands. Again, though Japan has more than once been attacked by foreign enemies—by the Tōi or Kittan in 1019, by the Yuen Mongols in 1274 and 1281, and again by the Mongols in 1418—the invaders in every case have been defeated by the warriors of Japan. In the case of the Yuen Mongols, the Japanese were favoured at each critical moment by a tremendous gale, so that, instead of ascribing their victory to their own defensive power, they reverently believed

[1] A mirror, a string of jewels, and a sword.

that their *kami* had saved the land. It is, of course, now well known that the occurrence of great spring and autumn storms is a normal meteorological phenomenon on the Sea of Japan, but has this knowledge, or the modern progress in shipbuilding and navigation, brought the belief of the *kami's* power to an end? No, for is it not a well-known fact that the weather, during the great battle of the Japan Sea between the Russian and Japanese fleets, was in every respect favourable to the Japanese, who again on this occasion turned to their traditions and read a special meaning into the phrase 'grace of heaven' (*ten-yū*)?

Japan has never had a revolution.

One other fact peculiar to Japan is that she has never experienced a revolution. By a revolution I mean either a radical change in the form of the government or a violent downfall of the reigning dynasty, either forced from without or breaking out from within. Her history presents not even the germ of a revolution. There have, of course, occurred, during her long career, as in many other countries, treacheries, regicides, and civil strifes, as well as vicissitudes of fortune among the ruling families. Even the Fujiwara family, although it practically monopolized administrative power under successive emperors, and sometimes went so far as to raise young princes to the Throne and control the premiership under them, instituting for its own benefit the office of regent (*kwanpaku*), never aspired to the Imperial dignity; as many a powerful magnate in China has done under like conditions, but maintained an attitude of obedience to its sovereign master and was content to remain a family of premiers and regents. After the control of the military affairs of the empire passed, at the end of the twelfth century, into the hands of the Shōgun, or feudal suzerain, who wielded great power, the Imperial capital was several times ravaged and devastated by the warring soldiers of feudal Japan, but even in those troublous times the Shōgun rarely exceeded his rights, which were confined to the military administration of the State. Upon the decline of the Ashikaga Shōgunate (in the sixteenth century) a long civil strife ensued, yet it is remarkable that even at its height, when the poverty of the Court at Kyōto was so extreme that the Emperor found himself destitute even of the necessaries of life, no one conceived the thought of wiping

out the frail remnant of Imperial authority. How it maintained its dignity and social respect at this crisis is shown by the fact that a petition from the great feudal prince Ōuchi, who solicited the post of *Dazai-no-Daini* (Vice-Governor-General of Kyūshū) in return for a large sum of money which he offered to the Court, was rejected. At these and other times in Japan's history, revolutions might have occurred had the scene been laid in other countries in similar circumstances, but it does not appear that so much as a thought of it was ever entertained by a Japanese subject.

Love of cleanliness.

Another peculiarity of the Japanese, namely their love of cleanliness, of which they may well be proud, must be sought in the ancient belief that a neglect of it was odious to the *kami*.[1] From the earliest times it has been their custom, before coming into the presence of the *kami*, to perform the rites of *harai* and *misogi*, or purification by means of wind and water. These rites were regarded as a fundamental ritual of the *kami's* land. The custom is preserved even to this day at the large basin or fountain with which every Shintō temple is provided, for the purpose of cleansing the hands of the worshipper. The Japanese people rarely pray to the *kami* for their own happiness and prosperity, but they dread above all else lest any uncleanliness or impurity on their part should offend these divine beings. This popular sentiment the rulers of Japan have always sought to stimulate. Originally the rites before the *kami* consisted only in physical cleansing and the recitation of prayers of purification, but subsequently the spread of esoteric Buddhism caused the introduction of elaborate forms of prayer into the Shintō services, and this adoption was mutual.

Purification of the Six Roots.

The Japanese love of purity has found its full expression in a short formula, *rokkon shōjō*, or 'Purification of the Six Roots,' namely eye, ear, nose, mouth, body, and mind. The import of this chant, as will be seen from the following translation, is that one who is clean from the external senses to the inmost spirit, and is uncontaminated even by the least particle of impurity, being, in fact, as clear as crystal, lives in a world apart and under the eternal blessing of the *kami*.

[1] I admit that this habit is held by many races, but it has been so highly developed among the Japanese as to become an ethical code.

'The Great *Kami* Amatérasu saith: Man is the *kami*'s gift on earth, and therefore should strive for peace. The soul is the original master of the *kami*, and therefore thou shouldst not hurt thy soul. Therefore, if thine eye seeth impurities, let not thy soul see them; if thine ear heareth impurities, let not thy soul hear them; if thy nose scenteth impurities, let not thy soul scent them; if thy mouth speaketh impurities, let not thy soul speak them; if thy body toucheth impurities, let not thy soul touch them; if thy mind thinketh impurities, let not thy soul think them. Hear again a word on purification. All things are like unto shadows and figures. If thou art pure, thou wilt not be soiled. Mere words will be of no avail, for fruits do not come but after flowers. Thy body is pure in the six roots. The six roots are pure, and therefore the soul of the five viscera is calm; the soul of the five viscera is calm, and therefore thou art of the same root with the *kami* of heaven and earth, and thou art of the same substance with the soul of all things, and there is no prayer of thine which is not fulfilled.'

The language of this incantation is archaic and of deep interest, for it embodies in simple words the religious sentiment of the early ages.[1]

It is unnecessary to repeat that this habit was not a mere result of the clear atmosphere and the limpid waters of Japan, but was indeed an expression of the simple faith that by purifying the six roots one may live face to face with the beneficent *kami*, and return to the very being of heaven and earth. The following poem, which was learned by heart by everyone, is ascribed to Michizané Sugawara: [2]

Kokoro da ni
Makoto no michi ni
Kanai na ba,
Inorazu to te mo
Kami ya mamoran.

('If only thy mind accordeth with the true path, the *kami* will, without thy prayer, protect thee.')

[1] St. Francis Xavier, the great Jesuit missionary, who came to Japan in the sixteenth century, remarked the native habit of cleanliness; and reference to it was also made by the Dutch and Germans who came later.

[2] Michizané Sugawara, 845–903 A.D., was an able scholar, and rose to great eminence as a Minister of State, but his fame and power excited the jealousy

It well expresses the Japanese attitude towards the *kami*. Superficially the Japanese may appear deficient in religious sentiment, but popular belief presupposes that a person, externally and internally clean, lives in a pure world. From this it is deduced, as in the poem just quoted, that in recognition of his mere sincerity 'the *kami* will alight on the honest man's head,' as says a proverb. The nation may, perhaps, be characterized, in a word, as guileless, or as spiritually clean. It can be well understood that the contact of a national mind so attuned, with the Occident's civilization, acted like the introduction of a beautiful pigment into clear water contained in a crystalline vessel, the brilliant colour instantly suffusing the entire volume of water. No sectarian bigotry and no selfish preoccupation obstructing the process, the more refined elements, both spiritual and material, of Western civilization have been readily received and assimilated. Surprising as the results have appeared to the wondering eyes of the world, those who understand the nation's life will not find it impossible to comprehend the reason. For, to put it briefly, Japan has faculties naturally resulting from her persistence as 'the *kami's* country.'

The land —geographical characteristics.

And now as to the land. Japan consists of an archipelago situated at a moderate distance from a vast continent. Her principal island, which is within the temperate zone, is furthest removed from the mainland, the islands of Iki and Tsushima lying between it and the nearest peninsula, Korea. But even at its narrowest point the distance from the mainland is greater than that between England and France at Dover, where one may see from shore to shore. Thus, whilst the short distance between Great Britain and the mainland of Europe has led to constant fear of irruption—Japan, on the contrary, being out of sight of Asia, even where the two approach each other most closely—it was hazardous for her in early days to communicate with the continental nations by means of such crude craft as then existed, and for this reason she seldom came into serious conflict with them. Another reason is that, although her north-

of the Fujiwara family, which desired to monopolize the offices of the Government. He was sent into exile in Kyūshū, where he died. His unfortunate end gained him the profound sympathy of the Japanese people, who have deified him as Tenjin, and attribute to him wonderful virtues and talents.

eastern extremity is separated from the continent by a strait of little width, the latitude of this portion is so high and the temperature so low that desolation and ice present an effectual barrier to active intercourse between the Japanese and the people of the mainland. Our northern region has thus always continued in a barren state, and has only been opened up to a moderate extent in our own time.

The ocean stream and monsoon.

Eastward, the shores of the Japanese archipelago which border the Pacific are laved by a warm current, called in this country the *Kurosé-gawa*, which issues from the South Sea. The monsoon, also, blows from the south-east coast of China, and in spring invariably takes an oblique southerly course towards the Pacific, and in autumn veers to the opposite direction. Before the application of steam to navigation, European merchant-vessels, as well as Chinese junks, sailed to and fro before this wind. In these days of applied science no one any longer thinks of the monsoon as the motive power of commercial navigation, but formerly the season of the wind, which included the spring and autumn months, was in Japan called the *junki*. During its continuance the coastwise defences of our secluded empire were kept manned, but at other times maritime communication ceased and boats lay idle.

The people: alien infusion.

Thus, whilst Japan's distance from the mainland precluded continental invasion, it did not prevent her, thanks to ocean currents and winds, absorbing other races. Hence various tribes of Southern China, the Malayan archipelago, and India seem, from prehistoric times, to have passed northward from island to island, eventually reaching Japan and becoming a part of her primitive people, whilst from the north-west also tribes of Northern Korea, Tartary (now Manchuria), Mongolia, and Northern China sent emigrants to Japan. Generally speaking, the southern immigrants, though they comprised Malayan tribes, were active and courageous. They organized themselves into communities familiar with the arts of settled life, and were, in a word, the superior and more highly developed section of the people. The northern invaders, puissant as were their continental tribes, seem to have been rather warriors than settlers, and in the inhospitable

surroundings of the barren north, were content to leave the country largely uncultivated. Thus it has come to pass that perhaps no other nation on the earth's surface has incorporated a greater variety of racial types than the Japanese. That these numerous peoples, thus combined, produced the nation of Japan is in a large measure owing to her geographical situation.

Reforming process.

It is remarkable that the Japanese have, as yet, paid little attention to the racial differences that exist among themselves. Although the modern anthropologist discredits Japan's traditions regarding the components of her people, they are not so entirely fabulous as they appear to be. The ancient Ézo of the north were unacquainted with agriculture, and depended upon fishing and hunting for subsistence, while the Hayato of Southern Kyūshū had attained to a comparatively higher stage of civilization. From the latter's greater resisting power and the difference in culture existing between the two races, a long period must have elapsed before they blended to any large extent. Yet there does not appear to have been any sharp racial struggle between them. Nor, fifteen centuries or more ago, when Chinese nobles (supposed to be descendants of the first Emperor of the Ch'in dynasty and of the Emperor Wu of the later Han dynasty) migrated to Japan with the people of many districts, introducing the art of sericulture and weaving, as well as their more highly developed literature and political institutions, and their descendants, known as the *Hata-bito* and *Aya-bito*, multiplied in several localities—do they seem to have caused racial difficulties. In the middle of the seventh century, when the Korean kingdoms of Koma and Kudara were subjugated by their neighbour Shiragi, a large number of their royal family and subjects found refuge in Japan, where they were given districts to reside together, and the royal immigrants were permitted to use the family names 'Kudara' and 'Koma.' In the 'New Record of Family Names,' compiled one hundred and fifty years after this event, the descendants of these foreign nobles are placed in the third class. These facts demonstrate a remarkable power of assimilation on the part of the Japanese. Lastly, within the last two or three centuries many immigrants from China and Korea have settled

in Japan, and have retained their family names, but these also have not provoked any perceptible feeling of racial antagonism. Even Europeans and Americans who have come to reside here during the last fifty years are obviously in process of assimilation by the nation.

Japan's climate.

May I explain the reasons favouring this process of assimilation more exactly? The archipelago of Japan was so isolated from the mainland and so guaranteed by its position against disturbing forces from abroad, that, when it decided upon a policy of seclusion in the seventeenth century, the country had no difficulty in adopting it, and enjoying profound peace for more than two centuries. Further, the region within which the nation thus sequestered itself was a veritable paradise. The configuration of land and sea facilitated communication, and the highlands and plains, the embracing valleys and the hospitable bays and harbours, at once divided the people into communities of moderate size and afforded them natural protection. The climate was free from extremes of cold or heat, and as the chain of islands was situated obliquely within latitudes where the seasons were regular and moderate, there resulted a natural simplicity and ease of life which seemed happier than any that could have been produced by artificial surroundings.

Abundance of food.

It is evident that the primary cause of the struggle for existence among human beings is competition for food. This struggle was almost entirely avoided in Japan by the bountifulness of her natural gifts. So abundantly do the warm and cold currents washing her shores supply her seas with fish that these can almost be hand-caught without any trouble of netting. The hills and mountains, which occupy seven-tenths of the land, are not only rich in trees and minerals, but also afford shelter to many varieties of birds and animals. The latter are, moreover, mainly of such useful but harmless species as deer and boar; and, excepting the bear of the north, Japan knows no beasts of prey such as the lion, panther, or tiger. The abundance of the denizens of sea and land was such that large sections of the nation lived solely by fishing and hunting, and the fact, that the people were unacquainted with pastoral life and a meat diet, was not due to any precepts of their religions, but to

the natural sufficiency of foodstuffs on land and in the adjacent seas. The land under cultivation was also so fertile, and various species of useful flora were so numerous, that each man was the farmer of a veritable botanical garden, cultivating from five to ten acres of land, according to the size of his family, and producing whatever amount he needed of any of the 'six parts,' i.e. roots, stems, flowers, fruits, leaves, or bark, and including the whole range of material for food, for spinning, and other practical purposes. The peasant also found secondary occupations in silk culture and the raising of poultry, obtained fuel from the woods, and generally enjoyed a tranquil life between his fertile land and contented family. Animal food was readily supplied by the fish-peddler, who went about the villages by day and night, often covering a distance of thirty miles or more at a time, distributing fish from his baskets at insignificant prices, which were sometimes paid in kind. In regions to which he did not penetrate, the secluded woodlands yielded boar and deer. These conditions still obtain in modern days of increased population, with this difference, that foreign trade has stimulated agriculture, and has consequently obliged the farmer to deny himself some of the pleasant neighbourly intercourse with which his village life used to be blessed, and has yearly added to the cost, the complexity, and the strenuousness of his life. One may well imagine how easy must have been the conditions of existence at a time when the population was only one-half or one-fourth of what it is to-day, and how the various racial elements must have become assimilated one with another under such favourable circumstances.

An Elysian land.

Immigrants into Japan, finding themselves in a settled family life, naturally lost any evil traits that they might previously have possessed, and regained their pristine goodness, even approaching the purity of the 'six roots.' They saw little need to quarrel, or to prohibit intermarriage among the races, and thus aborigines and immigrants freely and happily intermingled, and conversed over the hearth in a tongue that quickly became common among them. With the dividing walls thus insensibly removed, it is little wonder that the Japanese nation drew into its veins the blood of numerous tribes or that during

long centuries of such assimilation, the clarifying process irresistibly went on. Impurities were expelled, and the purest characteristics of the component elements have been handed on. Of these characteristics, a prime one is bravery—a quality shared by both sexes, and which has never been impaired by long eras of profound peace, but, when occasion offered, has bloomed in bright achievement. This quality may in part have been bequeathed from Mongolian forefathers, whose fortitude was exemplified in a later era by Genghis Khan, and whose innate cruelty and callous wickedness have been weeded out in Japan, while their chivalrous courage and patriotic valour have been greatly developed. So, too, the Malayan element has been divested of its treacherous ferocity, and has survived only in its adventurous spirit.

Bravery.

In language also, as a result of the assimilation of the respective racial elements, words of Korean, Manchurian, and Ainu origin are found in Japanese in large numbers, but they have been naturalized into the beautiful sound-system of the nation, and have helped to make a wealthy vocabulary. When Chinese ideographs were introduced, the great discrepancy between the native and the continental orthographies was at first partially met by spelling Japanese words with Chinese characters according to both the phonetic and the ideographic systems. The confusion which naturally arose under this method was largely modified, when, by simplifying certain ideographs, syllabaries, called *kana*, were invented. Owing to the use of these syllabaries, side by side with Chinese characters, the Japanese language was able to combine the excellences of both ideographs and phonetics, and the service rendered by the *kana* towards the development of the national unity of Japan has been of the greatest importance, as it has enabled the people of widely separated parts of the country to understand each other by an appeal to the written form, in spite of differences of dialect. A knowledge of Chinese characters has also given the Japanese people access to the great culture-area of the continent, which uses ideographic characters as a vehicle of thought—a most remarkable instance of nations with different languages being brought into closer friendship through community of writing. How, in later days and in a

Assimilation of learning and arts.

similar manner, the arts and sciences of the West have been introduced into Japan, and are being assimilated into her national life, will be told of in detail in the different sections of this volume.

Characteristics of island countries.

To sum up. Japan has been enabled, by her distance from the continent, by ocean currents and winds, as well as by other favourable natural conditions, to attract many races from abroad, and fuse them into one nation. Such an achievement would have been impossible on a continent. A similar state of things obtains in the case of England, where isolation from the mainland has been the means of successfully welding Saxon, Danish, and Norman elements into the great Anglo-Saxon nationality. The Japanese nation is composed of even more races than the English, and has so thoroughly winnowed out their impurities and refined their excellences, that the genuine qualities of the nation have revealed themselves as soon as it found itself among the competing peoples of the world.

Moral characteristics.

May I now say a word upon the remarkable absence of envy and jealousy among the Japanese as a race, for their history affords striking illustrations of the fact? When the continental civilization of China and India was introduced into Japan, especially after the sixth century, her principles, as the *kami's* country, formed no barrier against the inroad of either Confucianism, Taoism, or Buddhism. This was not due, as might seem probable, to indifference or lack of individuality on the part of the Japanese. It was because of the refining power latent in the nation's spiritual life that these various doctrines were received with little mutual conflict. Usually, nothing is more powerful or tenacious in its hold on a nation than the spiritual influence of a religion, as is evident from China's history. The rivalry between Confucianism and Taoism began to be acute there as early as the dynasties of Ch'in (221–206 B.C.) and Han (202 B.C.–220 A.D.). That great autocrat, the first Emperor of Ch'in in the third century B.C., finding that Confucianism could not afford him an elixir of life, became devoted to Taoism, which flourished from that time onward. Again, the illustrious conqueror Mu, Emperor of Han (second century B.C.), while upholding Confucianism,

sought immortality in Taoism and failed to attain his purpose, whereupon he composed the well-known 'Poem on the Autumn Wind':

> Excess of pleasures, man, doth lead to pains.
> Oh! brief is youth, and age to thee pertains.

After this period the conflict between Taoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism grew more serious, and has been largely responsible for the weakness of Chinese nature, so that the spiritual chaos resulting from this war of creeds must be regarded as a cause of the present condition of the Middle Empire. In Japan, on the contrary, as we have already shown, the charity of the national mind has manifested itself in the fact that Shintō, Confucianism, Geomancy, and Buddhism have there existed amicably side by side, not only without conflict, but in mutual development. Chinese civilization was eagerly studied in Japan, not alone in its religious or literary, but also in its legal and political aspects, so that a written code of law was framed after the continental model as far back as the reign of the Emperor Tenchi (668–671 A.D.), and with later changes became the foundation of our national law. All these facts indicate how readily the Japanese nation has assimilated the good features of the culture of other races.

Causes of the seclusion policy.

When, in the sixteenth century, Roman Catholicism was introduced into Japan, Nobunaga Oda, who had pacified a large part of the long-disturbed country, at once sanctioned its propagation and erected in the Imperial capital, Kyōto, and at his own fortress-town, Azuchi, Catholic churches called 'Temples of the Strangers from the South,' or *Nanbanji*. Within a few decades several millions of Japanese accepted the new faith. Side by side with this religion, medical and astronomical sciences and mechanical arts, as well as weapons and tactics of war, were introduced from Europe, and the castles of Yédo and others were built, presumably after Spanish and Portuguese models, thus showing the open and unprejudiced character of the nation.

The reasons why the Spaniards and Portuguese, after their splendid reception at the outset, were excluded from Japan during the early years of the seventeenth century, are to be

sought in the facts that Catholic missionaries provoked the wrath of the nation by inciting fanatical adherents of their Church to commit outrages against Buddhist and Shintō edifices, and that these alien teachers, misled by the people's ready acceptance of the new faith, were discovered to have schemed against the political independence of the empire. The Tokugawa Shōgunate, for the security of itself and the empire, was obliged to enforce the policy of seclusion and of prohibition of the new faith, in the face of the Christian rebellion at Amakusa, in 1638–39, when hundreds of thousands lost their lives. From these well-established facts one may safely conclude that the exclusion of foreigners from Japan, which lasted till the third quarter of the nineteenth century, did not originate of her own accord, but was rather forced upon her by the disorderly conduct of foreigners themselves, which aroused in the heart of the Japanese the supreme instinct of self-defence.

A warning.

What I would, therefore, impress upon my readers is that they should not associate the narrow extent of Japan with any pettiness of national attainment, or interpret the small stature of the people as a sign of pusillanimity, or fall into the error of inferring flippancy from the ready eagerness with which the people of the country adopt the best of alien civilizations. The Japanese are innocently fond of doing good to others, but they also possess an intense feeling of patriotism, and resent the slightest insult put upon the dignity of their empire.

Friendliness of the people.

No nation, however, is more friendly than the Japanese toward foreigners who come to them with good intent. Although, until the close of the period of seclusion, they were irritated by the political ambition of foreigners, and although an anti-foreign feeling prevailed intensely throughout the land, the sentiment gradually disappeared when the pacific intention of the Occidentalists came to be understood. So soon as the restored Imperial Government embarked upon a policy of open intercourse with the West, many Japanese went abroad, and received instruction in Europe and America as purely knowledge-seeking students. All these facts are proofs of the strenuous character the nation developed, and it is safe

to say that the rise of the empire in modern times has been owing to the stability and long persistence of that character.

The training of the national mind under the feudal *régime.*

Sociologists propound the theory that from feudalism a State passes to Monarchy, and from Monarchy to Constitutional Government. Those who study the circumstances under which Japan persisted as a feudal State until only a few decades ago, and then suddenly rose to eminence as a Power, may find therein a new theory of social evolution. To facilitate the discussion of that theory, it is expedient to divide the nation's history briefly into the three periods, namely: patriarchy, transition, and feudalism.

The period of patriarchy.

The geographical conditions of Japan are, as I have shown, conducive to small local divisions. From the earliest times, many tribes lived in districts and villages under chiefs who were called *hiko* (male) and *himé* (female), or *takéru, tobé, hafuri.* The *hiko* and *himé* were of the *kami's* tribe, and the rest aliens. Both were warlike, and disputed among themselves for the possession of power, their weapons being swords, spears, bows and arrows. They gratified their childlike minds with external adornments, particularly at the festival of the harvest, when they assembled in multitudes and displayed decorations in gold and precious stones before the masters of ceremonies.

The living *kami,* who were invited by the chiefs as masters of the festivals, were the *hiko* and *himé.* These personages built in secluded groves shrines of *kuni* (provinces) and *agata* (districts) for their ancestral spirits, and made periodical offerings to them. Such religious masters were the origin of the later local magnates, *kuni-tsuko* and *agata-nushi.* The shrines were considered to be connected with the 'heavenly' shrine of central government (namely, of the High Heavenly Plain), and were under the supreme control of the son of the *kami,* that is, the Emperor. Such was, in brief, the constitution of the *kami's* country. The three insignia transmitted through the Imperial succession were, as we have said, a mirror, representing the *kami* in time of peace; a sword, representing the *kami* in time of war; and ornamental beads. This ancient theocracy (*matsuri-goto*) was participated in by the general chiefs of the following five groups: the *nakatomi-bé,* who performed

the festival rites; the *imi-bé*, who made offerings; the *sarumé*, who danced; the *kagami-tsukuri-bé*, who made mirrors and swords; and the *tama-tsukuri-bé*, who polished jewels. The workers of the five groups, being called *tomo-bé*, directed artisans serving under them, while the immediate chief of the artisans was called *tomo-tsuko*. Such were the originators of Japanese industries.

The historic division of the Japanese into the three large classes of nobles, esquires (or 'good people'), and commoners, has had an interesting bearing upon national life. The nobles were descendants of all the heavenly *kami* and local *kami*, and later acquired family names. The esquires correspond to the *tomo-bé*, who, under the name *Ō-mi-takara* (great Imperial treasures), lived in different places and transmitted their occupation of farming by heredity. The commoners included all the artisans, peasants, and other labourers, who, having no family names, were not registered in the official census but served under the *tomo-tsuko*, being designated 'humble people.' They should not, however, be likened to the slaves of the Roman Empire or the serfs of Russia.

Male and female chiefs.

As has been explained, the *hiko* and the *himé*, or the male and female chiefs, who held political power in the country, were originally men who administered local affairs, and women who performed festival rites and appeased the gods. Although some of the old-time Japanese women were fond of displaying valour, as is evident from the references in the records to feminine warriors, *shiko-mé*, yet most of them were by nature womanly and of tender heart. All agreed, however, in loving brave men, who deemed it a high honour to win the regard of the noble daughters of local magnates, and consequently vied with one another in wooing them with poems and songs.

Beginning of local administration.

Owing to an excess of uncultivated land and to a sparse population in Japan at that time, men were valued comparatively more highly than land. Local chiefs were given family names, while the people under them, considering it an honour to become their hereditary followers, gladly gave the fruits of their industries as tribute. In order to receive these, official storehouses (called *miyaké*) were established in many places, and officers were appointed to take

charge of them. This may be considered the germ of local administration in Japan. By its means the Imperial authority was gradually extended, and what was apparently separation made really for unity. The Emperor's Government, in return, respected and sought to preserve the family names of the nobility.

Agriculture and hunting.

At this time the irrigated lands were devoted to the culture of the chief cereal of the people, namely, rice. Unwatered land had not yet been utilized to any large extent, but its cultivation was now, in a measure, made profitable by the growth of the silk industry. Woods and forests, however, still remained as hunting grounds.[1]

Centralized Government.

During the reign of the Emperor Tenchi, a code of law, known in history as the '*Ōmi Ritsuryō*,' was compiled under the direction of Kamatari Fujiwara, and was promulgated in 671 A.D., and the old patriarchy passed without serious commotion into a centralized Imperial Government built upon a unified local administration.

Period of transition, seventh to twelfth century.

A reason for the fall of the decentralized patriarchy was that the local magnates ramified so considerably as to be no longer able to maintain their family names, and, consequently, were forced to abandon their estates to the control of the newly appointed local governors. But the central government, unwilling to see the old tribal form of society entirely obliterated and wishing to preserve the family names of the declining nobility, incorporated the former local divisions into the new administrative units. Thus, the warriors who were attached to the soil remained in that relation, and, in order to strengthen their position, sought leaders among the new nobility in the capital. These latter, following the example of former tribal chiefs who had possessed themselves of estates nominally belonging to the shrines in their charge, placed extensive tracts under cultivation, erected houses upon them, and brought the surrounding forests within the limits of their assumed territories, to which the name *shōén* was given. The Buddhist temples, also, which increased in number as the faith

Assumption of *shōén*.

[1] It is important to note that the hunting of boar and deer was regarded as a feat whereby the military attainments of the hunter might be tested, and was eagerly participated in by both men and women.

spread among the people, held extensive tracts of land. Meanwhile, the Government, wishing to preserve the older nobles as proprietors of the new lands, prohibited the possession of arable land by other persons, but the law was not retrospective, and the occupation of the *shōén* became the cause of gradual decentralization. The chief reason, however, for the rise of a feudal system from this decentralization must be sought in the competition for honour among the warrior-retainers of the new owners of cultivated lands. This evolution will be made clear in the following paragraphs.

It must always be remembered that the Japanese race, favoured as it was by natural conditions, remained comparatively free from greed, and rarely indulged in disputes over property. So the old nobles of the seventh century, with their belief in the well-known Chinese maxim that all the land under 'heaven' (i.e. of the empire) belonged to the sovereign, were convinced that the Government would not fail to preserve their dignity. Nor did they trust it in vain. The new laws, after revision, were codified, in 702 A.D., into the so-called '*Taihō Ritsuryō*.' This code was in the main aristocratic in spirit, the organization of offices and ranks being its framework. For instance, the Government land was distributed among the nobility, who were thus enabled to preserve their family names. Thus whilst the Government of Japan was by law Imperial, it was, in fact, largely feudal —theoretically centralized, and with a code of law uniformly applicable throughout the realm, but practically divided into administrative units ruled, for the most part, by the old local magnates and by the new nobility of the capital as proprietors of the private *shōén*.

But the alliance of the latter with local warriors, which occurred in many places, caused changes in the relative position of the historic noble families and much social confusion, and from this there were evolved large numbers of freebooters and outlaws. It is true that theft and robbery are highly repugnant to Japanese nature, and such acts have always been deemed unpardonable offences, sometimes even punishable with death, but the outlaws and freebooters of the transitional period belonged to a different species, for their aim was not

Robbers and outlaws.

so much the acquisition of property as renown. Their origin was this: the Government, in its desire to protect the old nobility, refused to distribute honours indiscriminately among the ambitious warriors, many of whom, in consequence, renounced their citizenship and attached themselves to the lands belonging to the more powerful nobles or to the wealthier temples and shrines. To check this and to prevent social unrest, the Government was obliged to denounce the offenders and to publicly order their arrest, although many of them were men of repute in their own districts, and the abler among them, subsequently, rose to eminence in the capital through the favour of noble friends.

The way of warriors.

These changes became manifest even so early as the Nara period (the eighth century), when the Imperial capital was at Nara, in the province of Yamato. During this era several empresse ssucceeded to the Throne, and the influence of the Court was great. Peace and plenty reigned in the Imperial capital; Buddhism and literature were cultivated; music and dancing flourished; great feasts were held on occasions, public and private, and elegant costumes were elaborated, so that the literature and art of this period—especially the arts of spinning and weaving, and of sculpture and architecture—remain to this day models which have never been surpassed. It must not, however, be supposed that this was a period of effeminacy and over-refinement, for the warlike traits of older days had not been lost, and the Government trained the soldiers of the 'Six Guards,' levied from among the able-bodied youth of the empire, as well as volunteers, and the members of the Imperial Family and of the nobility also maintained their own warriors, and made archery and hunting their pastimes. It was during this period that there began to develop among the warriors, by virtue of their competition for renown, that sense of self-sacrificing courage which, later, grew into the knightly code of ethics called *Bushidō*.

Germs of feudalism.

In spite of the Government's desire to preserve the old families, natural selection, caused by the struggle for supremacy among them, resulted in a single family, namely, the Fujiwara, monopolizing nearly all the offices and honours of the

Court, the capital being removed to Kyōto in 792 A.D. Henceforth the Court was content with poetry and love, and with the luxuries and refinements of an artificial culture, the civil nobles boasting of high-sounding titles and ostentatious poverty. On the other hand, the warriors of the country-side were cultivating land, exercising themselves in military arts with which they rendered service to the nobles, and vying with one another for the honour of their family names. The Kyōto officials were exalted but poor, the warriors of the country mean but wealthy: the poor were becoming weaker and the rich growing stronger.

Increasing power of warriors.

From about this time, the more important noble families in Kyōto employed famous warriors as overseers of their *shōén* who were called *go-kénin*, 'men of the family,' for they were treated as such. As a natural consequence, the military class were partially admitted into the world of rank and office, although the highest limit of their promotion seldom exceeded a vice-governorship of a province. Martial arts were practised with ardour; peaceful villages were converted into athletic grounds, and even peasants studied how to mount horses and handle the bow. It was owing to the spread of this warlike habit that, to this day, many farmers have names ending in *émon* or *béi* (*hyōé*), terms indicating two varieties of the Imperial Guards. The reason also, that, even with universal conscription (which under the present *régime* superseded the system of hereditary warrior classes, soldiers), with adequate military spirit, can be and are levied from all grades of society, must be sought in that diffusion of martial exercises and spirit among the people which has been going on ever since the Middle Ages.

The military arts which evolved from the Nara period, although in the initial stage only studied as formalities, in the end exercised a deep influence upon the nation's moral life. Michinaga Fujiwara, a noble who flourished in the early part of the eleventh century, was a man of such commanding courage that the Minamoto brothers, Yorimitsu and Yorinobu, and other great warriors rendered willing knights' service to him. Large numbers of military men, thus serving under the civil nobility in Kyōto, the greater Buddhist

temples, finding it difficult to protect their interests by the mere sanctity of religion, were obliged to enlist the services of the less spiritually minded of the priesthood, thus foreshadowing the conflict between the temporal and ecclesiastical warriors which became a fact in later ages.

Rise of the military class.

It will be seen from this that the contrast between the civil and military classes and between the conditions of the capital and the country was becoming more sharply accentuated. On the one side, the concentration of official power in the hands of the Fujiwara family tended to stifle wholesome competition among the Kyōto nobles, who grew effeminate and trivial; on the other, the struggle for ascendancy became keener among the warriors in the country, who ardently cultivated courage and military efficiency and pushed their interests in the capital. Consequently, when, in the early part of the twelfth century, the power of the Fujiwara declined after centuries of luxurious supremacy, and the Emperor Shirakawa carried on the Government in person, warriors were called for to serve as his Imperial Guards, and the most influential among them, such as Minamoto-no-Yoshiié, grandson of Morinobu, and Taira-no-Masanori, great-grandson of Koréhira, were, in turn, appointed to protect Kyōto, and authorized to exercise a measure of control over the warriors of the empire, regarding them as their own *kénin* or vassals. By this time the seventh-century local administration laws had become largely obsolete. The new system encouraged an economic strife between the civil and military classes, due largely to the final authority over the land resting in the hands of the nobility composing the actual Government, no matter how small their real power might be; for, at this time, these nobles could with difficulty maintain their life of lavish elegance in the capital, although the warriors having charge of their local estates did not fail to send regular tribute by levying increasing imposts on the land. At the same time, the military landlords were finding it difficult to support the increasing numbers of their own retainers (*ié-no-ko* and *rōdō*). Disputes and litigation became frequent, and the struggle for renown was henceforth allied with that for material interest, so that there grew up the new expressions *myōri* and *myōmon*,

which meant, literally, 'honour-interest' and 'honour-renown' respectively.

Struggle between the Minamoto and Taira.

In the middle of the twelfth century, Kyōto, the Imperial capital, became, twice in four years (1156 and 1159), the battle-ground of the warriors of the Taira and Minamoto families. The head of the former, Kiyomori, who emerged victorious, assumed the government heretofore administered by the civil nobility. In two decades, however, the Minamoto rose again, and the struggle re-opened in 1183, each claiming the sanction of the Emperor for its acts. This time the strife extended throughout the empire and assumed a magnitude never before known in Japan's history, although it was only among the warrior classes, being little more than a quarrel within a vast school of fencing pupils, the nobility and the commoners being entirely unconcerned in the affair. The warrior of those days possessed so high a sense of honour that he deemed it ignoble either to insult a lord's robe, a priest's cowl, or helpless women and peasants; consequently, the country, far from being devastated by such frequent warfare, seems to have witnessed a remarkable development of economic conditions, and temples and pagodas rose in large numbers, wherein elaborate Buddhist rites were performed, and spacious mansions were erected by the more powerful men in the towns and villages, where they assembled their retainers. At Kyōto, the evanescent glory of the twenty odd years of the Taira's rule was sung in a beautiful epic; and music, literature, sword-smithery, and other arts were greatly developed. The war of 1183 ended in the downfall of the Taira and the supremacy of Minamoto-no-Yoritomo. He was in 1190 appointed '*Tsuibushi*' (a term which might perhaps be rendered 'Chief Constable') of the sixty-six provinces of the empire, and exercised control over the military power of Japan from his head-quarters at Kamakura. This important event closes the transitional period, and Japanese history henceforward passed into an epoch of feudal administration.

The feudal period, thirteenth to eighteenth century.

The military government at Kamakura assumed the responsibility of protecting the routes along which the keepers of the *shōen* forwarded tribute to their landlords living in Kyōto. For this purpose a representative of Yoritomo was stationed

at the old site of the Taira's administrative government, Rokuhara, in Kyōto, and was commissioned to adjudicate disputed cases in collaboration with the civil government. At the same time, the more influential warriors were appointed magistrates (*shugo*) over the provinces, and financial agents (*jitō*) of the *shōén*; and, in order to maintain these new military officials, an impost of five per cent. or more of its income was levied from each *shōén*. As most of the *jitō* were prominent vassals at Kamakura, their advent upon the local estates and the abstraction to Kamakura of the revenues resulting from the increased taxation of the *shōén*, otherwise payable to the civil nobility, resulted in a dual administration highly obnoxious to the authorities in the old capital, who early conceived a spirit of opposition to this military rule. Nor did the new capital's power long remain undisturbed; for, on the death of Yoritomo, there arose factions competing for supremacy within the inner council of the feudal government. When Yoritomo's children in the main line became extinct, and his widow Masa-ko, in co-operation with her younger brother Yoshitoki Hōjō, invited a youthful Fujiwara from Kyōto as nominal Shōgun, making herself his guardian, the Kyōto Government fancied that the time had come for dealing a death-blow to Kamakura. But no sooner did the Imperial Court rise against the military rulers than the brave Masa-ko met its army in the very capital, overwhelmingly defeated it, and exiled three ex-emperors to distant places. This event, known in history as the disturbance of the Jōkyū period, occurred in 1221. The Hōjō, who became henceforth regents of the Kamakura chief, assembled a council of warriors in 1232, and compiled a simple code, called the '*Jōéi Shikimoku*,' for the guidance of the judicial administrators. The code of the Taihō period (701 A.D.) had been a code for the nobility; it contained no articles relating to warriors, but now the military class equipped itself with a written law designed to protect the interests of the individual and the honour of the family.

The '*Jōéi* Code.'

Whilst this was going on an interesting transformation was taking place in the conditions of landed property. It will be remembered that the *shōén* originated from private occupation of arable lands, and naturally the occupied portions often

Decentralizing tendency.

consisted of areas widely separated from each other. This condition being unfavourable to the interest of the warriors, they began to unite themselves into groups of individual members of families or into associations of families, each group or association being identified by the crest displayed on its banners. Each party as loyally upheld its own interests as it disputed encroachments by others. The offices of *shugo* and *jitō* having also largely become, in course of time, hereditary, the holders were enabled to unite numbers of feudal families into greater or lesser parties (*daimyō* and *shōmyō*, meaning, respectively, 'great names' and 'small names'), who competed among themselves for self-aggrandizement. This was the beginning of the decentralization of feudal Japan.

New movements of Buddhism.

Japanese Buddhism, also, made an important evolution in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. When it was first introduced in the sixth century, it does not appear to have come in the form of any definite sect; and it was only after it had spread over Japan that the first sect of Sanron came over, to be followed by the Hossō and the Kégon.

Soon after the capital had removed to Kyōto, the tenets of two new sects, Tendai and Shingon, began to be preached by the great propagandists, Saichō and Kūkai. These, together with the Kégon sect, belonged to the Mahayana or Great Vehicle, and that their subtle philosophy made immense progress after the ninth century was owing to the devotion and munificence of the Imperial House and the civil nobility. Buddhist teachings were carried to the remoter districts, pagodas and temples being erected on all the most beautiful or advantageous spots in the country. It was inevitable, in these circumstances, that the Buddhism of Japan should appear to the vulgar too aristocratic and too metaphysical for full comprehension; and seeing this, and in order to meet the spiritual needs of the time, important new movements arose among great Buddhists. Thus there grew up the Nenbutsu sect, which taught that a human being could be saved by merely reciting with devout heart the six characters, '*Na-mu-A-mi-da-Butsu*'; and during the struggle between the Taira and Minamoto parties there was further introduced from China the Zen sect, with its bold but extremely simple method of enlightenment—so simple

that, according to its tenets, one could meditate and temper one's spirituality while standing under a tree or sitting upon a rock. Still later, under the regency of the Hōjō, the prophet Nichiren founded the Hokké (or Nichirén) sect, formulating the ritual into the recitation of the seven characters, '*Na-mu-myō-hō-ren-gé-kyō.*' It may be readily imagined that the simple warrior, whose naïve mind (little swayed by either learning, politics, or greed) became imbued with the energy of a robust faith and trained to capacity for heroic deeds of loyalty and valour, would, as he actually did, accept the vigorous Zen tenets with his whole heart, and these were soon blended with the military trend of his life and thought, and became the veritable faith of his class. At the same time, the Nenbutsu and Nichiren sects, with their fascinatingly simple and attractive doctrines, rapidly spread among the lower classes in the cities and the country. The Mahayana, the Zen, and the new Japanese sects, therefore, were naturally divided amongst the three classes of society respectively, namely, the nobility, the warriors, and the commoners—a state of things which exercised a dual effect upon the nation, for, on the one hand, it spread and enhanced the culture of all the classes, and on the other, it sharpened the rivalry between them. As the priestly gown was held in reverence in society, and insured to the wearer a perfectly neutral position both in politics and in war, the new sects were enabled to further their propaganda among the middle and lower classes, and to exercise on the whole a salutary influence upon public morals. Their success excited jealousy in the aristocratic sects, which, although tolerant toward the Zen, endeavoured to suppress the Nenbutsu and the Hokké.

Restoration of the Imperial power.

To return to the political relations of the period. The '*Jōéi Shikimoku,*' or feudal code, compiled in 1232, to which reference has already been made, was found, in the actual application of its provisions, not always agreeable to the local interests of the warriors, and the discontent thus caused was intensified by circumstances attending the Mongol invasions. When the Yuen Armada was annihilated in 1281, the resources of the nation had been heavily taxed during long years of anxious suspense, and the Hōjō had further incurred the

displeasure of the provinces by encroaching upon the rights of their governors under the pretext of national defence. Considering the moment opportune, the Emperor Go-Daigo made an attempt to restore the Imperial power, which had long since become nominal, and thus began the civil war of 1331. The Hōjō were for a time victorious, and the Emperor was exiled to the island of Oki, but the loyal army of Masashigé Kusunoki ultimately enabled the Imperialists to reduce Rokuhara and Kamakura and to restore Go-Daigo to his throne in Kyōto. Able at length to realize his ideal, he took the unusual step of selecting councillors indiscriminately from among the more influential warriors and nobles, and of instituting a central court of miscellaneous pleas to adjudicate questions of land from all parts of the empire. This was the beginning of a combined council in Kyōto of the civil and military nobility.

The Imperial and Ashikaga struggle.

But the restored Imperial Government was doomed to be short-lived, for it had come into being by the co-operation of two forces representing interests mutually irreconcilable. The civil nobles dreamed of a centralized bureaucracy like that which had been established far back in the seventh century, while the warrior class desired to restore the military government of the Minamoto family under its scion Takauji Ashikaga. When survivors of the Hōjō subsequently seized Kamakura, Takauji defeated them and retook the city, but refused to return it, and even repulsed Yoshisada Nitta, who had been sent against him by the Emperor. At once warriors all over the country took sides either with the Imperial or with the Ashikaga party, and a fierce struggle ensued. Takauji, defeating Yoshisada and pushing forward to Kyōto, was there beaten, and, obtaining the sanction of the ex-Emperor, repaired to Kyūshū, where he raised a strong army. Forcing his way back, and defeating Yoshisada and Masashigé at Hyōgo, he triumphantly re-entered Kyōto, and raised the new Emperor Kōmyō to the throne, the Emperor Go-Daigo flying to Mount Yoshino. For many months the contending forces swept backward and forward, and the country was turned into a vast battlefield. With Go-Daigo at Yoshino and Kōmyō at Kyōto, the cause of each monarch was espoused in

the remotest regions by parties perpetually in conflict, the surviving followers of the Hōjō siding with the Southern Court. This civil war is known in history as that of the Southern and Northern Courts. During more than sixty years of almost perpetual conflict the Northern party held for a time the ascendancy, but was later weakened by internal discord, and thrice driven from Kyōto to Sumiyoshi by the strenuous army of the South, led by Imperial Princes and nobles in person. Yoshimitsu Ashikaga (Shōgun, 1368–94) succeeded, however, in re-imposing the position of the Northern Court.

Southern and Northern Courts war.

Attention must again be called to the remarkable fact that this war, fiercely as it raged in all directions, was hardly more than a political strife between the nobility and the warriors. The commoners were unmolested in their occupations; the routes were open for the transport of tribute; the ordinary ceremonial and religious rites of the nobles and high priests were performed as usual. Kyōto, though declining somewhat, did not lose its old aspect, nor did the more important towns in the country fall into decay. It is equally noteworthy that the warriors themselves, who carried on the conflict, though their families sometimes found themselves in opposing camps, so that fathers, children, or brothers on occasions fought against each other, yet were able to resume harmonious domestic relations as soon as peace brought them together once more. They were, indeed, like the rival partisans in the local politics of the present day, for these also fight keenly in the war of words, and return to mutual peace at other times.

Bushidō.

The ethics of the warrior of mediæval Japan may be gathered from the following passage in the '*Chikuba-Shō*,' written by Yoshimochi Shiba, regent to Yoshimitsu Ashikaga: —'The warrior should conduct himself with the thought of his posterity in mind. He should not incur eternal ill-fame by sparing his own life, nor should he make himself an object of ridicule by unnecessarily losing his life. He should not be reckless, but should temper and train his mind at ordinary times. The advice given by Tsuna Watanabé (a famous vassal of Yorimitsu Minamoto) to Suétaké Urabé that he should usually be timid, implied constant preparation for

a final emergency.' From these remarks one sees something of the warrior's moral attitude towards life and death. As for his martial acts, they were attended by certain formalities established through long usage, and proficiency in them often involved a philosophic insight independent of forms. In a battle in Mino, in 1337, a general of the victorious Northern army, Tadatsuné Momonoi, said: 'It is impossible to preserve your life in a battle, if you do not know how to retreat. You should retreat a little at first when the enemy are in good condition, for they will then be repulsed if you take the offensive after your retreat.' To this Norikuni Imagawa, another Northern general, replied: 'Momonoi was a man repeatedly beaten by strong enemies. Life cannot be saved by such technical laws. A soldier should fight on until he is exhausted, and then retire.' Each warrior cultivated his own thoughts regarding his military course of conduct, and transmitted them to his children, so that the family preserved its own principles, or *kafū*. 'Rather than imitate clever strangers,' it is said in the '*Chikuba-Shō*,' 'imitate your simple father, for by so doing you will preserve your *kafū* and may be worthy of your predecessor.' From the above remarks it will be seen that competition between warriors was an honourable method of enhancing the renown of one's house by giving up life at the proper time and in the proper manner, and the deduction naturally follows that such competition had little to do with the peaceful relations between one another. Characteristic of the *Yamato-damashii* (soul of Japan) was the fact that in time of peace it did not allow the ultimate question of life and death to affect the mutual relations between men who were enemies in time of war. The question was one of honour, not of persons.

New phase of the feudal government.

The classes that suffered most during the long war were the civil nobility and the wealthier priests. Possessing as they did large landed estates in the country, and eager for the restoration of peace, they offered towards the military expenditure, at the beginning of the war, one-half of their annual incomes for a fixed number of years. The term expired, but the war continued, and requisition followed requisition, while large parts of the remaining moiety

of their estates were distributed among meritorious warriors, until the nobility and the temples found themselves reduced to less than a third of their original properties. As for the local warriors, they also were impoverished by the constant need of self-protection. The smaller families, banding themselves together into parties, and the larger ones forming alliances, sought succour from one another, while the greater *daimyō* held under their protection numbers of warriors who had pledged their services by contract, and from among these were selected deputy-governors, who took vigorous measures to extend the above alliances as well as their own spheres of influence. Thus the self-aggrandizement of the greater lords grew so enormous that the regents of the Shōguns, Hosokawa, Shiba, and Hatakéyama each controlled from three to eight provinces, and the Yamana family ruled over more than ten, and the feudalization of the country advanced far beyond the conditions existing at the beginning of the Kamakura Government under Yoritomo. In 1391 the Shōgun Yoshimitsu defeated the recalcitrant Yamana in Kyōto, and in the next year, through the mediation of Yoshihiro Ōtomo, the Southern and Northern Courts concluded peace between themselves. The lords, *kuni-mochi-shū* (i.e. those owning provinces), each of whom exercised sway over several provinces, were organized into a deliberating council, which, for a time, acted as one body under the supremacy of Yoshimitsu. This state of things served to open the hitherto partially closed roads toward Kyōto, whither tribute flowed in great abundance, so that the Imperial capital regained its pristine glory. The Shōgun built the beautiful Kinkakuji at Kitayama, north of Kyōto, and dwelt there in luxurious retirement. These years mark the climax of the Ashikaga Shōgunate's prosperity, and are known in history as the Kitayama period.

The Kitayama Period.

But the glory of Yoshimitsu did not long endure. Not only did the local alliances, which were of all sizes and conditions, become so many autonomous bodies, but there were also formidable followers of the Southern Court, among whom the Kitabataké, the Nitta, and the Kusunoki possessed extensive spheres of influence. So, also, not a few ambitious lords

Decline of the Ashikagas.

in the east and west had become practically independent of the Shōgun, and presently the breach between the Southern and the Northern parties was renewed through a dispute over the Imperial succession, and this was followed by internal discord in the regency of Kamakura caused by machinations on the part of the Nitta. The country again fell into a state of terrible confusion, which the influence of Kyōto and the three regents hardly prevented from culminating into warfare. The eight provinces of the east had become independent, and Kyūshū had grown too formidable for the control of the Tandai, the deputy of the Shōgun in the island. Further the Kitabataké and other followers of the Southern party redoubled their activity, and difficulties of many kinds rose thick and fast. In the midst of these troubles, the Shōgun Yoshinori was assassinated by one of his vassals in 1441. Twenty-six years later (1467), under the Shōgun Yoshimasa, there broke out the famous war of the Ōnin period between Katsumoto Hosokawa and Sōzén Yamana, who each, with more than 100,000 warriors, professed to uphold the Shōgunate, and, having their head-quarters in the eastern and western sections of Kyōto respectively, maintained their strife for eleven years. Before the end of the conflict the chiefs on both sides died in embarrassed circumstances, and the contending parties broke up from sheer exhaustion. During these eleven years, palaces, mansions, and temples were razed to the ground, and many historic documents and works of art perished. The incapable Shōgun Yoshimasa neglected affairs of State and of war, and spent his days cultivating the tea ceremony at Ginkaku-ji, an edifice which he had erected on Higashiyama, east of Kyōto: it has been preserved to the present day, and, though it can scarcely be called more than a nobleman's mansion, it contains specimens of the skilled workmanship of the period, such as paintings by Mitsunobu Tosa and sculpture in metal by Yūjō Gotō. There are also there utensils used in the tea ceremony (*cha-no-yu*), which owed its chief development to this period. From these exquisite relics one may infer that the Higashiyama period marked an epoch in the history of Japanese art.

The Ōnin Civil War.

After the war of the Ōnin period, the greater lords lost

faith in the ability of the Shōgun's Government to maintain order, and returned to their respective fiefs, where they sought by every means to extend their spheres of influence. Communication with Kyōto was again closed; tributes ceased to be carried thither; the Imperial House, the Shōgun, the civil nobility, and the Buddhist and Shintō temples were reduced to poverty, and Kyōto sank into the depths of misery. The real authority of the Shōgun passed into the hands of the Hosokawa regent, and that of the deputy in Kamakura into those of the Uésugi regent, while great vicissitudes of fortune overtook the competing lords throughout the country who divided provinces between themselves. These circumstances favoured the rise of puissant warriors of humble origin, for the older families were hampered in action by their respect for the honour and customs of their houses. For instance, in 1490, a *rōnín*, Naga-uji Isé, appeared in the peninsula of Izu, and fixing his head-quarters at Odawara in the province of Sagami, and assuming the name Sōun Hōjō, he soon wielded great influence. Rennyo, a priest of the Hongwanji temple of the Shin sect, proclaimed the doctrine of salvation by faith in the Amida Buddha as expounded by Shinran, the founder of the sect, to which he added exhortatory epistles known as '*O-fumi*,' composed by himself. His propaganda won the adhesion of many a lord in the eastern and northern provinces, but the spread of his sect gave rise to fanatical disturbances (*ikkōshū ikki*), which, coming after popular riots provoked by unjust taxation (*tokuséi ikki*), involved even the lower classes in the vortex of social unrest and discontent. The influence of the Hongwanji was further increased when, early in the sixteenth century, it contributed toward the coronation expenditure of the poverty-stricken Emperor Go-Kashiwabara, and was, in return, raised to the position of Jun Monzéki (a grade equivalent to that of an Imperial Prince on adopting the tonsure).

Rise and fall of the nobility.

Disturbances and riots.

As for the Shōgun, he maintained his scant dignity with a fifth only of the revenue of the province of Yamashiro. The civil nobles, repairing to their provincial estates in order to levy rents, often remained there; the greater temples

decayed; the regency of the Hosokawa family was divided, and the condition of the country went from bad to worse.

Devastation of Kyōto.

The reign of the Emperor Go-Nara (1527–57) marked the lowest depth to which the fortune of the Imperial House sank. Such civil nobles as still remained in Kyōto lived, together with their families, within the precincts of the Imperial Palace in order to avoid the attacks of bandits. The Emperor himself sought to meet the deficiency in his necessary expenses by means of remuneration voluntarily offered by persons to whom he gave his autograph. The war of Tenbun (1532–54) was then at its height, and the social struggle had already involved the lower classes of the people. It was at first hoped to suppress the turbulent fanatics of the Shin sect of Buddhism by means of the hereditary pariahs (*éta*), but the latter having proved inadequate to cope with the zealots, Harumoto Hosokawa arrayed against them the Nichiren Buddhists. Consequently, the two religious parties struggled against each other with fanatical frenzy, leading not infrequently to bloodshed. While both the eastern and western provinces were endeavouring to prevent the extension of this religious war, St. Francis Xavier and other Portuguese Catholic missionaries arrived to spread Christianity, and found ready adherents in Ōtomo, Ōuchi, and other lords of Kyūshū, so that their influence was soon felt even in Kyōto. The condition of the country at this period may be inferred from the fact that Xavier, hearing that the whole of Japan was a vast battlefield of autonomous princes, dared not visit the eastern provinces.

St. Francis Xavier.

The writings of these foreign missionaries throw light upon the state of the country, for they reveal that, in the midst of this so-called darkest age in Japan's history, social order was still preserved. 'No country,' they wrote, 'could rival Japan for the elegance of the ladies' dresses, and even artisans and farmers show manners such as might have been learned in a palace, were encouraged to work by the stimulus of a sense of honour, loved fair dealing, abhorred greed, and hated thieves so intensely that these might be slain without disapproval.' Such remarks would seem to prove that even in her worst days Japan did not lose that

pure disposition which had been born of her natural surroundings.

Transition of power.

In a dark age people long for the appearance of those master spirits which the occasion generally evolves, for Government is a reflection of the people, and the great man is the child of his time. During the reign of the Emperor Ōgimachi (1558), Nobunaga Oda, deputy in Owari of the Shiba regency, vanquished in 1560 Imagawa, who had ruled over the provinces of Suruga, Tōtōmi, and Mikawa; then subdued Mino, Ōmi, and Isé; and, entering Kyōto and killing Matsunaga, replaced in 1573 the last Shōgun of the Ashikaga line. Before ten years had passed, however, he was assassinated by an ambitious vassal, Mitsuhidé Akéchi, whose crime found a quick avenger in another of Nobunaga's vassals, Hidéyoshi Hashiba, a remarkable military genius. Hidéyoshi, assuming the family name of Toyotomi, in his turn rose to the position of Taikō, or Grand Regent of the Empire. Thus in those troublous times brilliant men arose from both high and humble stations through the imperious needs of the day.

Nobunaga Oda.

Nobunaga Oda was remarkable for his power of initiative and his knowledge of men. A resolute man often manifests ability in ways which are open to vulgar censure, and Nobunaga was a case in point, for, dissatisfied alike with the old degenerate cults of Buddhism and with the new turbulent ones, both of which had largely lost favour among the people, he gave to Christianity an open-handed reception, and encouraged the progress of the arts and sciences which its missionaries brought with them. This policy provoked the ill-will of the Buddhists, and eventually aroused in the nation a sentiment of reactionary seclusion, yet it must be recognized as an act of extraordinary insight on his part to throw open to the mind of military Japan the influence of a new world-wide spirit and culture, and thus to sow the seeds of future greatness for the nation. As for his knowledge of men, this is clearly evinced by his recognition of Hidéyoshi, whom he rapidly promoted from the lowest rank of servitude to that of the highest amongst his vassals.

Hidéyoshi Toyotomi was a man of almost unique

Hidéyoshi the Taikō.

individuality. 'No one will dare,' he is said to have remarked, 'to raise his hand against me, for there cannot be another master like myself.' The pure perspicacity of the country of the *kami* may be said to have been concentrated in the extraordinary clearness of his mental vision, which finds scarcely a parallel in history. He so loved action that he felt aggrieved when his brilliant genius had succeeded in pacifying the land. A person of less extraordinary gifts could not have restored peace in the Japan of those dark days. Most probably his Korean expedition was intended as a safety-valve for the energy of his vassals, who might otherwise have lost their heads over their success in the small empire of Japan, and was undertaken in the hope of obtaining lands wherewith to adequately reward their services, if fortune attended his arms so as to bring about the conquest of China, then under the Ming sovereigns.

Iyéyasu.

It frequently happens that the heroic acts of a great man are not crowned with final success for lack of a capable successor. But Hidéyoshi was most fortunate in this respect, for his successor, Iyéyasu Tokugawa, proved to be a man of systematic mind finely trained under military discipline. This many-sided master of men was, indeed, an ideal successor, amusing himself well, studying well, fighting well, and governing well. That these three heroes, Nobunaga, Hidéyoshi, and Iyéyasu, each with his marked characteristics, followed one another in a singularly opportune manner, may be explained by the hypothesis that in them the trained intellect of the Japanese race was crystallized.

Cause of the seclusion policy.

It will be remembered that the country, which had already suffered from continuous civil strife for two hundred years, was again, during forty or fifty years from the middle of the sixteenth century, torn by new forces. The swift movements of Hidéyoshi and his Korean expeditions seemed almost too much for the energy of the nation, for when his death was followed by the decisive battle of Sékigahara in 1600, the people, patient as they were, had long since grown weary of war, and all now looked to Iyéyasu, the victor in that battle, to give them a much-needed repose, whilst thoughtful men were convinced that these perennial armed conflicts must now come to an end. It was a just forecast, for the battles at Ōsaka

in 1614 and 1615 were but an aftermath. Civil wars had ended and the time for peaceful rest had begun, so that all clear-sighted men, including Iyéyasu himself, hoped that the superfluous energy of a nation in repose would now be turned towards cultivating foreign relations. Unfortunately, the thoughtlessness and arrogance of the Jesuit missionaries obliged the feudal authorities to intervene and put down their intrigues with a strong hand, and this led to a deplorable strife for nearly half a century, in which the lives of many of the country's most intellectually trained men were lost. Japan, once more drained of her life-blood, was exhausted both in spirit and in body, and needed the blessing of peace.

The economic resources of the period.

It were idle to speculate what might have been the result of the continued opening of Japan to foreign influences. More profitable is it to turn to the important consideration that, in discussing the social conditions of this period, a line of distinction should be drawn between the military forces and the economic resources of the middle classes, for whilst there is no doubt that the former had been greatly exhausted with the long civil wars, the material resources of the nation had not apparently been drained to an equal degree. Historians have been wont to regard the fact that Nobunaga used to give dried chestnuts to winners in military sports as a proof of the economical simplicity of the Japanese warrior, but it shows rather how indifferent he was to material comfort, a thing unnecessary for one who perpetually carried his life in his hands on to the battle-field. But luxury was evidenced in another direction, namely, in the gorgeous costumes he used to bestow upon masters of the *Nō* dance, and the Jesuit missionaries noted that the richer people usually served fruits to their guests on gold-lacquered trays and with silver chopsticks, that wealth was in evidence everywhere, and that the ease of life among the better classes surpassed even that of Rome or Madrid. That the *daimyō* encouraged industry, even in the worst days of the war, is evident from the fact that the cultivation of cotton, wax, sugar, and tobacco was at that time introduced from the Malay Archipelago and soon extended throughout the land. It is, also, common knowledge that Toyotomi and Tokugawa encouraged the mining of gold, silver, and copper. One is led

astray who views 'things Japanese' from, for instance, the standpoint of the Chinese, who, whilst writing volumes of formal, theoretical expositions about loyalty, filial piety, humanity, and righteousness, seldom produced brilliant practical examples of these virtues. But the Japanese simply believed in goodness with all the practical directness of their nature. Slow to talk, but quick to act, they assimilated the doctrine of loyalty into their native spirit of self-sacrifice, and, in all simplicity, interpreted the theory of humanity as meaning protection for the poor and love for the labourer. Consequently, in the midst of universal turmoil, the commoners worked with their wonted industry, and the warrior not only left them unmolested, but even sought to protect them against the aggression of others. Beautiful as is the familiar Chinese phrase, 'not to molest the non-combatant by even a hair's-breadth,' it fails to describe the simple sentiment of the Japanese *samurai*, who, flying for his life, accepted the peasant's offer of rice cakes and went away bowing profound thanks for his hospitality.

The *samurai's* benevolence.

Although the needed repose which the Tokugawa Government intended to give to the nation was delayed, as has been pointed out, its prosperity was, nevertheless, maintained throughout the seventeenth century and until the arrival of the glorious Genroku era. But this period cannot be regarded as an outcome of a vitality held in reserve during the preceding years of rest, for the national wealth had accumulated in the days of Nobunaga, Hidéyoshi, and Iyéyasu, and had manifested itself long before, and the seemingly prosperous years of the Genroku era rather betokened the beginning of a decline. This is shown by several unmistakable indications. Compare, for instance, the still vigorous architectural style of the Tōshōgū, the shrine at Nikkō of Iyéyasu erected in the Kwanéi period (1636), with the over-ornate fashion of the Taiyūin, the shrine of Iyémitsu at the same place, built about the Genroku era (1654). So, too, in her military power, Japan, who had been merely fatigued in 1600, in 1700 was tending towards decadence. *Bushidō*, the ethical code of the *samurai*, had also become formal, its spirit having largely withered, and, although a peaceful administration of more than two and a half centuries under the Tokugawa's rule gave rise to luxuriant growth in the

Good effects of feudal system.

spheres of art and science, yet the nation gradually succumbed to the influence of peace and luxury, and seemed in danger of losing that indomitable courage which had characterized the days of civil strife.

From this apparently threatening destiny Japan was fortunately saved by her feudal system, for under it the Emperor, rightful sovereign of the realm, entrusted the administration of his Government to the Shōgun and to over two hundred and sixty feudal lords, who trained their vassals in letters and in martial arts, and thus they became checks upon each other's aspirations. Japan maintained in this manner 400,000 warriors in time of peace, and could on an emergency have mobilized a million—a number which, save in tactical methods, was twice as powerful as the standing army of the present day. If the constant strain, which the system exercised upon the fiefs, retarded, in a measure, their economic development, on the other hand it served to counterbalance the enervating influence of peace, to stimulate intellect, to foster courage, to heighten the sense of honour and the spirit of hero-worship, and thus to maintain the knightly ethics in spite of peace. Feudal Japan was a miniature of the international life of present-day Europe, the difference being that, while Western governments in this twentieth century educate and levy soldiers from all classes of the people, the rulers of the Tokugawa period educated only the *samurai* class, which controlled the political and military affairs of the State. The Japanese code of morals, born in her ancient life and nurtured in the period of civil war as well as throughout the Tokugawa era, is the *Bushidō*. When the *samurai*, upon the fall of feudalism in 1868, were divested of their privileges as a class, their spirit of *Bushidō* not only did not perish, but permeated even other orders of the people, and, being subsequently blended with Western arts and sciences, the knowledge of which extended rapidly, has been largely instrumental in the growth of the empire. To sum up: The two and a half centuries of the Tokugawa rule promoted, on the one hand, a development of liberal arts and industries by virtue of peace, and, on the other, by means of the mutual rivalry of the fiefs, tempered the intellect and trained the courage of the nation, and

The Tokugawa age and the European status compared.

accumulated a potential energy which, eventually, burst forth in new forms after the reopening of the country.

But towards the close of this long period, both Shōgun and lords gradually lost the reality of power, while, on the other hand, the more ambitious among the lower classes of *samurai*, being denied the freedom of discussion as well as the hope of promotion, secretly desired a change in the social structure, but were too tightly bound by the customary law of status to make a successful attempt to overthrow the existing order of things. Society, by force of inertia, maintained an external appearance of tranquillity and order, but an undercurrent of dissatisfaction flowed rapidly.

The fall of feudalism.

It was at this juncture that, in 1853, the coming of the American envoy, Commodore M. C. Perry, brought about a sudden but long-desired change of situation, which resulted, fifteen years later, in the fall of the feudal administration of Japan. If the reformation had been caused merely by internal conditions, such, for instance, as rivalry between men or factions, it might have ended by adding to the annals of Japan another story of the rise and fall of feudal suzerains. Even if the Tokugawa Shōgun had restored (as he actually did in 1867) the government to the Emperor, the former might, in this case, have soon been succeeded by another Shōgun, and one set of social and political evils might have been replaced by another. The external situation at this crisis, however, left Japan no choice but to terminate her existence as a feudal state and spring into the new life of a united nation. The Emperor at once assumed the government, feudalism was abolished, and the political institutions of the West were largely adopted. Even a constitutional government, which became a reality twenty years subsequently, was already foreshadowed in an advisory council composed of three lords of fiefs, together with certain of their specially selected vassals.

The Restoration.

Radical changes of this magnitude could hardly be accomplished, however, without an armed conflict. One or two lords averred that the end of the feudal *régime* had been due, not to the Imperial will, but to a few ambitious feudatories who had ingratiated themselves with the Emperor. They, accordingly, opposed the new Government by force of arms, but were subdued

within a year. In 1868 the Emperor, removing the capital from Kyōto to Tōkyō, at length exercised all sovereign rights over a united nation. This is known as the Restoration of the Méiji period. The Imperial Government having, however, recovered in a day the political power wielded by the military authorities during the previous seven centuries, it was inevitable that the basis of the new system should be insecure, and that it should have hardly sufficient power to resist the difficulties surrounding it. Accordingly, the founders of the new *régime* sought to strengthen its position by raising selected men from the provinces to important posts in the central government, but within a few years the attempt resulted in the assumption of political authority by partisans of two or three of the Southern fiefs. This was the origin of the so-called *Hanbatsu Séifu* (literally, fief-government), namely, the *Satchō Naikaku*, or Cabinet composed of men of the Satsuma and Chōshū (or Nagato) clans. This local monopoly of governmental functions held its own even after the Imperial Diet had been convoked in 1890, when the co-existence of a clan executive and a national legislature gave a peculiar aspect to the constitutional life of the empire, and evoked many political embarrassments.

The *Hanbatsu* Cabinets.

Anyone desiring to understand the meaning of the Japanese nation's wonderful activity during the past few decades, must first obtain a clear view of the motives underlying the great change of 1868. That reformation owed its origin to the rise of an intense patriotism among the more active men of the day, who had become alive to the fact that the existence and growth of the nation imperatively demanded the immediate displacement of the old state of things. They saw that the historic policy of absolute seclusion was no longer tenable, and having succeeded in throwing the country open, they began to carry out their conviction that it was necessary for the national welfare to supply deficiencies in native culture by drawing upon the excellences of Occidental material civilization. In political and legal institutions, in physical sciences, in the Army and Navy, and in commerce and industry, the advanced appliances of Europe and America were adopted with avidity. The formation of the new Government was signalized by

Adoption of Occidental civilization.

sending envoy after envoy and student after student to Europe and America. The envoys were chiefly leading reformers commanding large influence with the Government, while the students were selected from among well-trained and promising young men. At the same time, foreign teachers and advisers were employed in the schools, factories, and Government offices, with a view to reorganizing the educational system, promoting industries, and utilizing modern inventions. When the envoys and students returned home after having learned wonderful lessons from the political and educational methods of the Occident, their experience could not but exercise immense influence upon men in ruling positions.

Development of political ideas.

An early effect of the above was seen in politics. Hitherto, the duty of the people had been interpreted as consisting solely of obedience. Now, however, novel ideas about freedom, liberty, independence, and rights, spread like a new dawn over the popular mind. It came to be held that the people should of right participate in the administration of national affairs, and the call for a representative popular assembly echoed throughout the ranks of awakened society. The first of the Five Articles of the Imperial Oath, promulgated in 1868, reads thus: 'Assemblies shall be extensively organized, and all the affairs of State shall be decided by public discussion,' and the conception underlying these memorable words being fused into the newly imported sense of liberty, manifested itself in the Constitution granted by the Emperor to the nation in 1889 (see Appendix A).

National education.

The effects of new ideas upon the national education were not less marked. During the feudal ages education seldom extended below the warrior class, but the changes of 1868, and the cardinal idea of equality of social classes, involved the principle of universal education. Hence, a complete system of schools from those of primary grade to universities, together with special schools of various arts and sciences, was elaborated and put into force. Universal education and an increasing knowledge of material sciences and arts are two things which did not exist in the feudal period, and which owe their present existence to the scheme of national progress introduced at the Restoration.

Results of the nation's education.

The advantages which education has conferred on the nation can hardly be over-estimated. On the one hand, many persons gifted in literature, political science, law, economics, natural science, medicine, agriculture, commerce, or the mechanical arts, have done their part in remodelling society and popularizing civilization. On the other, education, formerly a monopoly of four hundred thousand *samurai*, now became compulsory for all classes of the people, and, as a consequence, all able-bodied male citizens, on attaining a certain age, now realize and discharge their military duty of defending the empire, regardless of differences in social position and wealth. For this reason the nation has been able to triumph even over a powerful foe, for Japan's victories may be found in the strength her people had acquired through the blending of the spirit of the feudal warrior with the scientific knowledge of the Occident.

Changes in the religious world.

Observe, too, the changes that have occurred in the religious world. At the beginning of the new *régime*, Christianity was still under a ban, and the nation, attached to the national cult of Shintō and the imported teachings of Buddha, continued to seek canons of conduct in Confucian ethics. The Japanese race, however, has never been so bigoted in its religious beliefs as to reject an alien faith merely because it is alien. Just as many centuries previously it accepted the teachings of China and India and then gradually harmonized them with its own native culture, so it now gradually came to understand the doctrines of Jesus, and discovered that the civilization of Western nations, particularly those of Protestant persuasion, had been profoundly influenced by Christianity. Nor did the Protestant missionaries, like their Jesuit predecessors in the sixteenth century, interfere with temporal affairs. On the contrary, they devoted their energy to humanitarian influence and spiritual salvation, as well as to the diffusion of elementary education. This remarkable difference between them and the Jesuits of old gradually inspired sympathy with their aims, whilst the people's changing attitude towards Christianity was encouraged, indirectly, by the religious policy of the authorities. For at the time of its inauguration, the Imperial Government, aiming at a thorough restoration of pre-feudal

political institutions, resuscitated the ancient *Jingi Kwan*, a central office dealing with affairs relating to the *kami*, and this procedure assumed the rehabilitation of *Shintō* as the State religion. Buddhism, on the other hand, which the Tokugawa Shōgun had so ardently patronized, was deprived of its privileges, and the estates of its temples were sequestrated. The advocates of this new policy had naturally less inclination for the invading religion of Christ than for Buddhism, which, in thirteen centuries of spiritual domination, had permeated all classes of society and Christianity was, accordingly, suppressed with great rigour; and when it was discovered that a few thousand native Roman Catholics, in spite of the anti-Christian policy of the Tokugawa, had been loyal to their faith, these zealots were arrested and brought before an inquisitorial court. Religious compulsion was, however, no longer compatible with the spirit of the age, and the more intelligent members of the Government caused the prisoners to be liberated, thereby tacitly sanctioning their freedom of belief. At the same time, Buddhism was again treated as on a par with *Shintō*, and the authorities no longer interfered with the faith of the individual so long as it was not prejudicial to law and public order. Christianity was now freely propagated among the people. The Constitution, granted in 1889, contained a clause explicitly guaranteeing individual freedom of belief, and so unequivocably is this principle now recognized, that there is no religious test of disqualification of any sort in the appointment of civil or military officers or in the election of representatives for the Imperial Diet. In the meantime, the *Jingi Kwan*, which in 1868 had been placed above all branches of the Government, was subsequently reduced to the position of a department (*Jingi Shō*, which name was changed later into *Kyōbu Shō*, or Department of Religion). It now remains a mere bureau in the Department for Domestic Affairs, and, under the title of *Shaji Kyoku*, supervises affairs relating to Shintō and Buddhist buildings. Religion, as such, is subjected to absolutely no interference by the authorities, and enjoys freedom even more perfect than that which obtains in some European countries. That these remarkable changes have taken place within only half a century without the

Freedom of faith.

shedding of a drop of blood, is an event unparalleled in the history of other nations, and redounds to the honour of Japan.

The Army and Navy.

During the feudal ages, when the term 'soldier' was synonymous with *samurai*, each lord organized his warriors into an army to defend the honour and interest of his fief. On the eve of its fall, however, the feudal government of Yédo, owing to the necessity of self-protection, was obliged to train soldiers according to Western methods with the assistance of military advisers obtained from Europe. That policy was continued by the new Imperial Government, which, with the co-operation, first, of French and then of German advisers, adopted the conscription system of Europe. The new method of military instruction, incorporating as it did the results of the latest investigations in the Occident, was grafted upon the intense patriotism and remarkable endurance of the Japanese soldier, and produced an army whose ability was favourably tested in the recent contest with the Russians. As for the Navy, it was also the Yédo Government that laid its foundations, but its growth within the past forty years, from the dozen old-style vessels of the feudal navy to the efficient fleet of the present day, is one of the most remarkable events of modern Japan. She owes much of this to specialists from foreign countries, particularly to the British Government, which sent a number of able naval officers as teachers, who were instrumental in establishing the Naval College of Tōkyō, and under whose instruction many Japanese became qualified for important naval positions. The modern art of shipbuilding is also of recent birth. The dock at Yokosuka, the first ever built in Japan, was started under French supervision, but is to-day under exclusively Japanese management, and is capable of constructing battleships, as are the docks at Kuré and Sasébo. History has shown to the Japanese nation that the great commercial career of ancient Athens, of Portugal and Holland in the early centuries of the modern era, and of the present British Empire, has been largely due to naval strength, and this conviction has dawned upon a nation of no mean ability on the sea, for the Japanese, from their geographical position, have always been

good seamen. Although more than two hundred years of seclusion under the Tokugawa caused a break in Japan's maritime career, the centuries prior to the seventeenth saw her adventurous warriors and traders visiting, with great activity, the shores of the Asiatic continent and the southern islands. These historic memories have had an important influence upon the daring nature of the Japanese, and contributed not a little to their brilliant successes in recent naval warfare.

Commercial marine.

Closely connected with her armed naval growth is the development of Japan's commercial marine. In spite of her favourable geographical position and long sinuous coast-lines, the negative policy of the Tokugawa rulers unfortunately forbade the use of large vessels by the people, and thereby retarded the necessary progress in shipbuilding. The fall of feudalism, however, ushered in surprising changes in this as well as in other phases of national life. The Government had already begun to work for the upbuilding of a commercial marine when 1874 saw the organization of a private steamship company, to which a State subsidy was granted. This was followed by the rise of another private company, which also received a subsidy. The rival concerns were consolidated in 1885 under the name of the *Nippon Yūsén Kaisha* (Japan Mail Steamship Co.), which to-day owns vessels ploughing every navigable ocean. With the founders' enthusiasm and the generous timely encouragement of the Government, Japan's commercial marine has rapidly increased, and promises to keep pace with the advance in her commerce and manufactures.

Telegraph and railroads.

Telegraphy and railroads were both started by the Government. They were first built by the Telegraph and Railway Bureau of the now defunct Department of Public Works, under the assistance of foreigners, but here also all work of this kind is now controlled by natives.

The telegraph lines in operation extend over 16,000 miles.[1] Latterly, wireless telegraphy in a form newly designed in Japan has been adopted and was of incalculable service during the late war, particularly in the naval battles. The first railroad in the country, seventeen miles long, was undertaken in 1870 between Tōkyō and Yokohama, and was completed in three

[1] NOTE.—1906-07 : 8692 *ri* (*ri* = 2·44 miles).

years. Government roads as well as private roads having since been built, the total mileage in 1906 reached 5000.

Communication of intelligence between distant places did not receive serious attention during the feudal ages, nor was the number of letters exchanged of any dimensions. When a lord or his vassal living in Yédo wished to communicate with his fief, the message was carried by special couriers if it needed dispatch, but otherwise letters were sent by regular messengers leaving the metropolis periodically, twice, thrice, or four times in a month. Ordinary people also were obliged to employ special couriers even in writing to a place near at hand, and, consequently, the trouble and expense were so great that a journey from one's home implied well-nigh complete suspension of communication between the traveller and his family. Hence, contrary to the conditions now existing, to set out on a journey was considered a serious affair. But as soon as the downfall of feudalism had obliterated the divisions between the fiefs, and rendered easy communication imperative, the Government followed Occidental methods in this as in so many other matters. The postal system having been radically reformed, the carrying of messages, which had hitherto been under private management, was taken over by the Government, and a Communications Office (*Ekitéi Shi*) was established in the Department of Finance for the control of this business. The Office was later raised in rank, and was then transferred to the Home Department under the name of the Communication Bureau (*Ekitéi Kyoku*). It issued postal money-orders and received postal savings. The gradual progress of the system gained for it such credit abroad that Japan was received into the International Postal Union. Finally, in order to consolidate all business relating to communications—railways, telegraphs, telephones, navigation, and postal service—and to place the whole under one control, a Department of Communications (*Téishin Shō*) was established. Postal system.

While progress in these directions was vigorously going forward, the nation found itself confronted by the difficult problem of the revision of the treaties. In order to appreciate the significance of this question, it is necessary to relate how for years the Government struggled to effect revision. The Revision of the treaties.

first commercial treaties Japan concluded with the Powers had been ratified by the feudal government prior to the establishment of the Imperial Administration. After the first opening of Japan (in 1854), the authorities at Yédo concluded (in 1858) treaties with the United States, Holland, Russia, Great Britain, France, Portugal, Prussia, Switzerland, Belgium, Italy, Denmark, Spain, Sweden, and Austria-Hungary, in this order. The most important provisions were that seven ports in Japan should be opened to foreign trade and residence; that foreigners living in Japan should have the privilege of being judged by their own officials, and that, in return, they should not travel without passports beyond twenty-five miles limit round the open ports, nor reside outside them; that foreign merchants should pay low customs duties—on an average less than five per cent. *ad valorem*—and that they should not use land outside the settlements. This extra-territorial provision, necessitating, as it did, the organization of many incongruous consular courts at the ports, became, in proportion as the nation's knowledge advanced, a source of increasing odium and irritation, and the Japanese determined that, at whatever cost, the treaties must be revised so as to bring foreigners under the uniform administration of Japanese law. Further, the Government was anxious to recover its tariff autonomy in order to secure a much-needed increase of State revenue. The foreigners, however, would not consent to change treaties so favourable to their own interests, and the problem of revision remained unsolved for many years. In this matter, the Japanese on their side were not free from fault, for they sought to gain much by giving little, as, for instance, in their efforts to abolish consular jurisdiction without allowing foreigners to own land. Every new Minister for Foreign Affairs applied his energy to this difficult problem, but the struggle invariably resulted in failure, until, in 1894, the development of Japan had so much advanced that it compelled foreign governments to consider the advisability of treating Japan on the basis of equality, and, shortly before the outbreak of the China War, the Rosebery Cabinet of Great Britain led the other Powers in the matter of revision. By the new British treaty, the main provisions of which were

reproduced in the treaties with other Powers, British residents in Japan abandoned consular jurisdiction, and, in return, gained all property rights save ownership in land. Thus the Japanese nation at last succeeded in placing itself on an equal legal footing with other Powers. The fact that the British Government boldly took the lead in revision had an important bearing upon the friendship between Japan and England, and paved the way for their present alliance. It was the United States who, in 1854, introduced Japan to the family of nations, and it was Great Britain who, forty years later, recognized Japan's equality with Western States. Whatever commercial competition may arise between Japan and these two countries, therefore, the historic friendship binding them together will never change, and the Japanese nation will always feel grateful to them, and will especially remember the sympathy they have shown it at critical times.

Influence of Western nations.

Since her opening, Japan has often deeply felt the influence of foreign thoughts and movements. Particularly profitable and wholesome has been the influence of the Anglo-Saxon nations, Great Britain and the United States. The fact that they have endeavoured to maintain peace in the Orient, and abstained from armed conflicts, to engage in commercial and industrial competition, has greatly facilitated Japan's progress. Her reorganization into a constitutional State has also been largely due to the political ideas and institutions of the Anglo-Saxons. The changes in modern Japan have come about with such unprecedented rapidity as to arouse wonder even among Occidental nations, accustomed as they themselves are to swift mutations. Since, however, these enormous changes in Japan cannot but have an important bearing upon her neighbours, and eventually upon the world, the nature of the changes and of their possible effects has been a subject of much discussion among foreign critics. It is interesting to note that these criticisms have been greatly modified since the Chinese War of 1894–95. Before that event, some said that the Japanese nation was thoughtless enough to squander money on military matters, but lacked interest in commerce and industry, while others considered that the Japanese were innocent imitators or childish patriots

Foreign critics on Japanese progress.

under a veil of civilization. Since 1895, however, the critics have so far changed their point of view that some of them are even perturbed by the theory of the 'Yellow Peril.' If Japan, they say, applied herself to impart her science and military tactics to China's four hundred millions, and to lead them along the road of progress, European nations would soon lose their dependencies and markets on the Asiatic continent.

The 'Yellow Peril.'

The very existence of this theory would seem to be a retraction of the older notions that Japan was a childish imitator and that she lacked interest in economic pursuits. But the 'Yellow Peril' doctrine itself may, within a few years, be forgotten even as are previous criticisms. May I offer a suggestion for consideration by the 'Yellow Peril' theorists, namely, that the Japanese nation is composed of the same elements as are European nations. If Japan reached the summit of Occidental civilization, she would maintain the position as a world power, for she believes that such would be the best and most profitable policy for her to pursue. It is well known that the Orient has long been menaced by a 'White Peril,' the armed power of a civilized nation having been the only way of saving it from that peril. Japan, as a representative of the Western civilized countries, has the responsibility of safe-guarding the integrity of the Far East. Take as an instance the Chinese Boxer trouble of 1900. Japan, feeling that she possessed the same interests and had the same destiny as the Powers which opposed the partition of China and desired to restore order, joined her army with the allied forces. The last war also was an outcome of the same principle and sentiments. Japan fought, as she believed, not only for self-preservation, but also on behalf of equal opportunities for the economic enterprise of all civilized nations. Oriental as Japan is in her geographical situation, she, none the less, identifies herself with the progress of the world, and cheerfully adjusts her interests to those of humanity and peace. The conduct of her soldiers during the war must also have shown their moral constitution to be akin to that of their European brothers, for they added the chivalrous refinement of the Athenian to the invincible fortitude of the Spartan. The rigorous discipline of *Bushidō* had taught the Japanese soldier not only to

be brave in battle, but also to be considerate to his enemy. Japanese annals abound with examples of kindness shown by enemy to enemy, for courage and sympathy were always inseparable in the training of her warriors.

Japan's established policy.

Now that the issues of the war with Russia have been decided in our favour, it may not be out of place here to define the ground upon which we stand. We will not live beyond reach of the main current of the world's politics. Let us be far from all imputation of territorial aggrandizement, but we also insist that civilization is not a monopoly of European countries. If we fail to fulfil the duties prescribed by the position which we have gained from gradual assimilation of civilization, we shall be disloyal to that civilization which has influenced us so profoundly. The open door and equal opportunity being the basis of our State policy, we have endeavoured, and will endeavour, to carry the benefits of Western civilization (through the action of these principles) to our neighbours, China and Korea. We desire, by the co-operation of our Anglo-Saxon friends, to engage in the glorious humanitarian work of civilizing and developing two Oriental nations now deeply sunk in misery, so that they, too, may some day be able to write semi-centennial stories of progress as we are now doing.

Conclusion.

I now bring my summary of my country's history to a conclusion. That, after so many centuries of vicissitudes, centuries alternating between peace and war, and after so lengthy a period of entire seclusion from the world, she should become within so short a period the centre of the Orient's liberty and culture, has not only excited the envy of Asiatic countries, but also surprised Western nations. But admitting it to be one of the most remarkable incidents of the world's history, are not the reasons for it obvious? For from the earliest historic times the Japanese nation has incorporated the blood of many races, and has consequently developed a large degree of freedom of character. History shows how readily this people has received the incongruous customs, institutions, religions, and literature of other lands, and how freely it has assimilated and embodied them into its own life. It is true that the intrigues of the Portuguese and Spanish missionaries of the sixteenth century gave an

unfortunate impression to the nation, and forced it to adopt a policy of seclusion, which isolated Japan for the time being from the movement of the world's history. Nevertheless, this condition served to prolong a reign of peace unparalleled in other countries for its duration, giving the national literature and arts an opportunity to grow in unprecedented luxuriance. Nor were external influences completely shut off, for there remained a narrow channel at Nagasaki through which the scientific knowledge of Europe was unceasingly drawn into the country. Commodore Perry made his advent at the psychological moment. His coming occasioned a revolution in Japan's history, in which the stimulus from without stirred into tremendous activity the energy long accumulated within, and a patriotic reaction against foreign pressure greatly sharpened the nation's mental vision. Looking from the new standpoint, the enlightened Japanese saw that a national career worthy of the race would be incompatible with continued seclusion. Accordingly they flung aside all feeling of enmity to foreign Powers, entered into the community of nations, and opened friendly and active commercial relations with the latter. Having lived long under the blessings of peace, they fancied that other nations were like themselves, and that no foreign State would either disturb the tranquillity of the Orient or endanger Japan's existence. They took arms against China only because they believed that her supremacy over Korea was a perpetual menace to the security of their empire and to the peace of the East. Similar causes operated to produce the late war with Russia. These disputes having been decided, the Japanese nation has again entered a peaceful era, in which its love of tranquillity will be demonstrated. Already some foreign observers are surprised to note that, after the Russian War, as also after the Chinese, the Japanese appear to retain not the slightest ill-will towards their recent enemies. To understand this tolerant spirit is to hold a key to the national character of the Japanese. Even as the spirit of liberality has animated the race during the past half-century of its remarkable progress, so it will ever impel its march along the paths of civilization and humanity.

II

THE LAST OF THE SHŌGUNS AND HIS VIEWS ON THE RESTORATION

COUNT SHIGÉNOBU ŌKUMA

The lonely residence of the old Prince.

IT is now nearly a hundred years since a Russian envoy set foot in this country, and with his arrival put an end to its long repose, tranquillity, and seclusion. Half a century later, the arrival of Commodore Perry with his fleet of 'black ships' aggravated the situation until it culminated in the Shōgun's resignation, and withdrawal from a rule over the country which had lasted for two hundred and fifty years. His capital, Yédo, with its castle, then became the seat of the Imperial Government, and under its new name of Tōkyō, or the Eastern Capital, has since grown in prosperity and size. With the abolition of the old Yédo there passed away for ever the grand pageants which struck every beholder with awe and filled him with respect. The palaces of barons standing in majestic rows, and high among them that of Mito, Prince of the Shōgun's blood, towering by the Koishikawa Gate, were, in truth, a fine array.

One fine day in the autumn of 1904, when our soldiers were fighting mighty Russia on the plains of Manchuria, I strolled through Koishikawa, where gentle elevations crowned with old pines and studded with elegant mansions presented an attractive sight. My footsteps were directed to the residence of a certain venerable nobleman with a view to learning from him what I had long wanted to know, namely, what had brought about his, the Shōgun's, resignation—a resignation that had paved the way to all our subsequent national honour and prosperity. Prince Tokugawa[1] at once acceded, and

[1] The last Shōgun, Yoshinobu Tokugawa, now Prince Tokugawa, was the seventh son of Nariaki, lord of Mito, and became heir to the house of Hitotsubashi. Afterwards he succeeded to the main family of Tokugawa as Shōgun. Hence much of our conversation dealt with the Mito family.

promised to do his best to satisfy me as far as his poor memory would permit. Here, then, I set down the gist of his talk.

Iyéyasu.

Iyéyasu, his great ancestor, was born in the troublous era of Tembun. He lost his father in his childhood, and he grew to manhood in the midst of battles and bloodshed, for his fief of Okazaki in Mikawa was the centre of struggles between the rival chieftains, Oda of Owari and Imagawa of Suruga. From seven to seventeen Iyéyasu almost always lived either in Owari or in Suruga, for only at the time of his succession to his father's possessions, namely, when he was nine years old, did he return to his own country for a short space of time.

Bismarck's opinion of Iyéyasu.

Bismarck spoke of Iyéyasu as a great man long trained in the school of adversity. His system of feudalism was not the product of his own fertile genius, but the result of the severe lessons taught him by long experience. I believe the great German paid a just tribute to Iyéyasu. As dark thunder-clouds produce pure flashes of lightning, even so our dark ages produced many a man of genius, but they all passed away in an instant as does a flash, and only Iyéyasu succeeded in saving the people from suffering and anarchy. His success was doubtless due to his knowledge of the arts of peace, quite as much as to his skill in arms.

Iyéyasu encouraged learning.

When he became master of Yédo Castle, he devoted special care to the library attached to the Ashikaga School, and printed the *Jōkwan Séiyō*. He used to investigate carefully the politics and statesmanship of the successive Chinese dynasties, Tang, Sung, Yuen, and Ming, and also those of the Takéda and Hōjō leaders. He summoned Séikwa Fujiwara and listened to his lectures on the Chinese classics and history. He also applied himself zealously to collect old records and manuscripts, even while he was in camp.

Iyéyasu's policy.

At the time when Iyéyasu took the reins of government into his hands, the power of the Court nobles and the priesthood was virtually non-existent. He therefore tried to preserve the dignity and peace of the Imperial Court, whilst propitiating the nobles and soldiers. In the management of the whole empire he followed the example of the four Chinese dynasties above mentioned, and, rejecting their errors and adopting their

merits, he apportioned the whole country among his own feudatories and the previously independent barons who had bowed to his yoke, inserting here and there between them the dependent vassals of the Tokugawa. If one glances at an old map of the country in feudal times, one can easily see how careful he was in keeping the balance of power among all these warriors, so that the peace of the land might be preserved.

In the fifth year of Kéichō (1600), his victory over the allied forces of the Ōsaka party at Sékigahara gave him a good opportunity to punish the five most powerful barons, Mōri, Uyésugi, Sataké, Akita, and Iwaki, by depriving them of large portions of their dominions, and this cutting of the Gordian knot in the new organization of feudalism was justly called his first step towards the conquest of the whole country. Thereafter he adopted a conservative or constructive policy, exerting himself mainly towards the creation of internal improvements. Only a few among the great barons, such, for instance, as Kobayakawa, Tsutsui, Nakamura, Hori, Satomi, and Tomita, were deprived of their territories during his lifetime. But confiscation was rife among minor barons, as it was no easy task to restore peace and order among fierce warriors, accustomed to war and all its irregularities. Some lost the whole or part of their dominions because they had shown themselves unfit to govern their people, while others had no heirs to succeed them. This gave rise to the calumny that Iyéyasu's policy was simply one of self-aggrandizement. There is, however, no ground for such an assertion. His dealings and those of his successors were fair and just, never making any distinction of person, rank, or relationship.

That he was impartial to his own followers can be proved by a casual remark of Ujisato Gamō, who said that 'Iyéyasu was stingy in giving away territories.' He was not even partial to his own family and relatives, or he would never have divided up his private lands into small pieces of 100,000 or 150,000 *koku*, and scattered their holders in an entirely defenceless position amidst the possessions of powerful barons. Besides, he let such petty officials as the *Daikwan* or the *Gundai* govern these fragments, and left them to compete

with their powerful neighbours in the art of governing the people and of promoting general comfort and prosperity.

The distribution of power by Iyéyasu.

Iyéyasu also tried to hold the scales level among the officials of his own court, giving but little authority to those of high rank, and only a small stipend of rice to those closely related to his family. Influential positions were generally given to men of comparatively low rank. Towards his branch families he assumed a similar attitude.

The Kii family produced the greatest number of Shōguns, and the Owari came next. A scion of the Mito branch always acted as vice-Shōgun, giving advice in matters of civil and military administration, and consequently it became an unwritten law that this family should not furnish a successor to the main family. These three were termed the *Sanké*, or Three Branch Houses, and after their establishment the houses of the *Sankyō* or Three Lords, Tayasu, Hitotsubashi, and Shimizu, were created, high rank and low incomes being given to them : they were entitled to stand next to the Three Branch Houses.

The balance of power among the barons.

The Tokugawa's mode of distributing lands and power, which had been completed in the time of the third Shōgun, had its origin in the principle of mutual control. The change of dominions among the *Fudai*, or Tokugawa barons, had the sáme purpose in view, in addition to the desire of decreasing their powers of defence. All the barons had to stay in Yédo in turn, and their palaces, which were called camps, were portioned over the city in such a way as to naturally command each other.

The 'Three Houses' founded.

It was not until after Iyéyasu's death that the houses of Kii, Owari, and Mito came to be styled *Sanké*, or the Three Houses. At first he gave Owari to Tadayoshi, his fifth son ; Mito to Nobuyoshi, his sixth son ; and Échigo to Tadatéru, his seventh son ; and when both Tadayoshi and Nobuyoshi died young, Owari was given to Yoshinao, his eighth son, while Yorifusa, his tenth son, was made lord of Mito. After his death Tadatéru was deprived of his dominions, and in the fifth year of Genna, Kii, Owari, and Mito were acknowledged to be the Three Branch Houses of the Shōgun.

The first Shōgun from the house of Kii was Yoshimuné,

the eighth Shōgun. The founder of the Mito house, Yorifusa, acted as adviser to the third Shōgun, and died in the time of the fourth Shōgun. His second son, Mitsukuni, succeeded his father and administered for the fifth Shōgun. The Tokugawa feudal laws and schools of learning took permanent form at this time. Yoshimuné, the eighth Shōgun, reigned at the time when the Shōgunate was at the zenith of its power, and as he did not care to set up his children as barons, he gave an annual allowance of 100,000 *koku* of rice each to his second and third sons. The former had his residence inside the Tayasu Gate, and the latter inside the Hitotsubashi Gate. The ninth Shōgun, Iyéshigé, following the example of his predecessor, caused his second son, Shigéyoshi, to reside near the Shimizu Gate of the Palace. These sons were called the 'Three Lords,' and they adopted as their family names the designations of the gates near which they lived. The tenth Shōgun had no heir of his own, and a grandson of Munétada Hitotsubashi, Iyénari, succeeded to the Shōgunate as the eleventh Shōgun. In accordance with this precedent, when the thirteenth Shōgun left no heir, and Iyémochi of the Kii family, who had assumed the title of fourteenth Shōgun, died early, Yoshinobu of Mito became the fifteenth and last Shōgun, as he had succeeded to the house of Hitotsubashi. It is a noteworthy fact that the family of Mito, which had never aspired to the Shōgunate, should have furnished the last of the line of the Tokugawa administrative sovereigns.

The 'Three Lords' established.

Iyéyasu took lessons from the Chinese philosophy of Chu-tsze and Ch'eng-tsze as to the consolidation of the empire, and learned his system of politics from the histories of China and Japan. In his old age he patronized the young and brilliant Dōshun Hayashi, and encouraged the study of Confucianism and the compilation of Japanese history. The third Shōgun, in obedience to his wishes, caused Hayashi to compile a chronicle called *Honchō Hennenroku*.

Tokugawa's historiography.

In the third year of Méiréki (1657) Dōshun Hayashi died, and his son Shunshō completed the revision of the above history in the fourth year of Kwanbun (1664, i.e. in the reign of Iyétsuna). The result appeared under the name of *Honchō Tsugan*. But the work of a central government is liable to

become unconsciously prejudiced on account of unreasonable complaints sent to it from every part of the empire. Hence the *Honchō Tsugan*, though marked by wide information, is not above the criticism of abounding in blunders.

The Mito school an outcome of Iyéyasu's motive.

Mitsukuni of Mito, inheriting through his father the spirit of his grandfather, Iyéyasu, took interest in the art of good government and paid great respect to the Confucian doctrines. At this time (1659) the Ming dynasty of China was annihilated, and Chü-Shunsüi, a scholar of the Ming, left China and became naturalized in our country. Mitsukuni, revering him for his candour and uprightness, invited him to lecture on the Confucian doctrine of the two schools, Chu and Ch'eng. The distinction between a sovereign by right and a ruler by might, which these schools discussed, made the relation of the Emperor and the Shōgun clear. Mitsukuni also took into his service Shimokōbé and the priest Kéichū, and studied Japanese literature. Learned men obeyed his call from every quarter of the realm, and this movement culminated in the compilation of the *Dai Nihon Shi* and in the assertion of Japan's unique characteristic, namely, that she has been governed by one unbroken line of emperors. Thus the revival of old learning took place and the people at large became strengthened in their loyalty. It is said with much justice that the revived tenet of honouring the Emperor and expelling 'the barbarians' had its origin in the Mito school.

Towards the end of the Temméi era (1788) the influence of the Tokugawa family rapidly declined, and the waves of the political sea began to run high, whilst in the north Russian interference began. At this moment the eleventh Shōgun, Iyénari, being but a child, Sadanobu Matsudaira (Rakuō), third son of the Tayasu family, took the reins of government into his hands as Prime Minister, and assiduously undertook the defence of the country.

Nariaki of Mito.

In the Mito family, Nariaki, in accordance with the tenets of his ancestors, adopted three articles as his principles, namely: first, to pay due honour to the Emperor; secondly, to respect the main house (of Tokugawa), and govern with justice and moderation; and thirdly, to encourage civil and military culture, while fostering the *Bushi* spirit and morality.

With these doctrines for his guidance, he toiled hard in politics and diplomacy.

Our country had then enjoyed a long peace, and the people were becoming effeminate, so Nariaki, wanting to arouse the *Bushi* spirit in order that an improvement might be made in our military and educational systems, raised the question of the defence of the country. He considered that these ends could be compassed only by rallying the nation to the cry of 'down with the barbarians.' Therefore he patronized one Tōko Fujita, and made him inculcate 'anti-barbarian' principles. As Russia, since the Kwanséi era (end of the eighteenth century), had held herself haughtily, patriots who had become impatient of the diplomacy of the Shōgunate joined their cries to that of Fujita, and 'expulsion of the barbarians' became the creed of the whole empire.

Nariaki's enlightened views.

Public opinion often falsely condemns Nariaki as a stubborn man who never understood what civilization really meant. What he contemplated by the expulsion of foreigners and the closing of the country was to equip the empire with adequate means of defence so that it should be strong enough to close its doors or expel all the foreigners, if such a step became necessary for the peace and welfare of the nation. Hence he applied his powerful mind to the study of the foreign arts of warfare, and introduced into the country not a few of those doubtful blessings of the world's civilization. He often sent his retainers to Nagasaki to gain new knowledge and information about the West.

Towards the end of the Kōkwa era (1847) small-pox prevailed. Nariaki at once ordered all the young members of his household to be vaccinated—a very surprising act considering how little was known of it at that time. Nariaki, when his son Yoshinobu was about to succeed to the house of Hitotsubashi, gave him hundreds of pages of instructions written with his own hand, those referring to hygiene embodying, for the most part, the newest ideas of Western medicine.

Nariaki's fondness for foreign ways.

In the early part of the nineteenth century many persons who had previously held the 'anti-barbarian' doctrine became powerful supporters of foreign civilization, and set about improving our military system, the first things to attract their

attention being guns and warships. But to procure and wield these powerful instruments of war something of the foreign arts and sciences must first be understood. The Satsuma, Higo, and Chōshū clans appreciated this from the outset, but the Shōgunate, being in power and naturally prejudiced, failed to comprehend the situation, or its importance. From its advisory position Mito had therefore, *nolens volens*, to remonstrate with the Shōgunate and to lead the latter to the light. It is true that the world criticizes the Mito family for its stubborn anti-foreign policy. Yet we can see how earnest it was in adopting foreign civilization from the fact that Nariaki spent a large sum of money in 1849 on the manufacture of arms, melting down even temple bells and idols to cast cannon, a deed which cost him dear in many ways, as he was virtually imprisoned for it by the Shōgunate.

The world often passes judgment on men or events, seeing but skin-deep and failing to penetrate the true inwardness of circumstances. Under the luxury and indolence of the Shōgun Iyénari's era the fires of Imperialism and 'anti-Occidentalism' were secretly burning. Discussions concerning the expulsion of foreigners and closing the country were at their hottest, however, when half a century later Commodore Perry arrived at Uraga, but even then the germs of more enlightened opinions, which later led to the Restoration and the open-door policy, were rapidly growing. People imagine that our country made, all of a sudden, a gigantic step towards civilization in the Méiji era, yet the weapons which years afterwards chastised Chinese audacity and bore back the Russian encroachment had been forging for a hundred years.

Pro-Imperialism was Iyéyasu's instruction.

'Pro-Shōgunate' and 'pro-Imperialism' are but one in principle, yet the feudatories, especially those of low rank, might easily misunderstand this, with the result that mutually antagonistic parties could be created. Iyéyasu foresaw this contingency and gave a warning to his family and retainers, commanding them to remain for ever faithful to the Emperor, and the Mito school of pro-Imperialism was only a later development of Iyéyasu's attitude towards the Crown.

Yoshinobu was once solemnly told by his father, Nariaki, that in the Mito house they had one secret instruction handed down

from generation to generation ever since the time of Mitsukuni. 'If,' said he, 'the Shōgunate should be so unfortunate as to take up arms against the Emperor, our descendants must observe the motto, "Loyalty knows no blood relationship." This hereditary instruction has been given to every scion of the Mito house as he reached manhood, and you must be ready at all times to act accordingly.' It was thus that Yoshinobu came to understand why, on New Year's Day, his father bowed first towards the Emperor, and then performed the necessary ceremonies towards the Tokugawa family. He also saw good reasons why an Imperial Ordinance should be required when the ceremony of installing a Shōgun was held. Finally, the distinction which Mitsukuni had made between a sovereign by right and a ruler by might, as well as his father's pro-Imperialism, ceased to be enigmas for him.

Iyéyasu's attempt to combine the Crown and the Shōgunate.

It is said that Iyéyasu tried in vain to wed his granddaughter to the Emperor Go-Mizunoo, but after his death, and in the seventh year of Genna, his desire was partly accomplished through the efforts of Prince Konoyé, for Princess Kazuko, daughter of Hidétada and grand-daughter of Iyéyasu, was at last admitted into the Imperial Palace. She bore a daughter to the Emperor, and the child was crowned Empress at the age of seven under the name of Méishō Tennō. A precedent for this can be found only in the case of Kōkén Tennō, the virgin Empress who reigned some eight hundred years before the above event, so keen was the desire of the Crown and the Shōgunate for harmonious relations, so that the peace of the empire might be preserved. After six generations, when Iyénobu was Shōgun, Hakuséki Arai participated in the administration. He sent a memorandum to the Shōgun to the effect that marriages between the Tokugawa and the Imperial Family should be encouraged. When the two conflicting ideas of closing or opening the country prevailed in the Anséi era (1854–59), the question of combining the Crown and the Shōgunate was discussed again. Nariakira, lord of Satsuma, and Uta Nagai, a retainer of Chōshū, endeavoured earnestly to bring about a marriage between an Imperial princess and the Shōgun, but it was soon found that the union was no longer practicable.

No union could exist between the two systems.

Such a union might placate the two parties, the pro-Imperialists and the pro-Shōgunatists, at least temporarily; but, in order to open the country to the outside world, it was essential that the supreme power should be in the hands of one person, otherwise many errors and misunderstandings would necessarily arise and diplomacy would be helpless, for there was always a conflict of sentiment between the two parties which could not be reconciled.

Yoshinobu inaugurated as the Shōgun.

In August of 1866, Shōgun Iyémochi died in the Ōsaka Castle at the very time when an expedition to punish Chōshū was starting. Itakura, a minister of the Shōgunate, and others requested Yoshinobu Hitotsubashi to assume the title of Shōgun, but Prince Yoshinobu would not easily consent to their proposal. He told them that the Tokugawa had better return the political power to the Emperor, and that the whole nation should stand under the Imperial flag to save the country from impending dangers. To this Itakura and his companions replied: 'As to that, may it please your Highness to decide yourself hereafter. What we ardently pray of you now is to succeed to the main family.' Still Yoshinobu hesitated to become Shōgun. It was not until he had ascertained that there was no dissenting voice among his advisers, and he had perceived that the force of circumstances was such as to prevent him from realizing his cherished idea, that he at length yielded to their importunities. On the 5th of December 1866, an Imperial Ordinance sanctioning his assumption of the title of Shōgun was issued.

Shōgun Yoshinobu restores the powers to the Emperor.

The new Shōgun was fully aware that at this juncture the urgency of the situation did not permit the Tokugawa to wield exclusive authority in affairs of administration. He saw also the advisability, or rather inevitability, of the open-door policy, and in March 1867 he presented a memorial to the Emperor explaining how necessary it was to have the country opened, and requesting His Majesty to summon the principal barons and hear their arguments on this momentous question. Accordingly, Shungaku Matsudaira, Kansō Nabéshima, Yōdō Yamanouchi, and others were summoned to Kyōto. This was the origin of the congress of barons.

In October, Lord Yamanouchi dispatched his retainer,

Shōjirō Gotō (the late Count Gotō), to Ōsaka with a memorandum which discussed the advisability of restoring all administrative powers to the Emperor. The Shōgun summoned Gotō to his presence and told him that he was perfectly willing to do so. On the 14th of the same month, the Shōgun presented to His Majesty the Emperor a memorial proposing the restoration to him of the administrative powers (see *post*, p. 138). But when the news reached Yédo, the whole place was in an uproar, and fierce altercations added to the excitement, which spread to Ōsaka, and the atmosphere was filled with a spirit of protest and impending bloodshed.

The Emperor and the Shōgun.

When the Shōgun presented his request to the Emperor, His Majesty would not readily listen to it. But the former maintained his attitude, explaining the urgency of the situation, and at last the Imperial acceptance was made. The Emperor, however, graciously disposed as ever towards the Shōgun, gave him private instructions to continue the administration of State affairs, though his wish to restore the nominal power was granted.

In December all the ancient offices, beginning with those of the Kwampaku and Shōgun, were abolished, and the three new offices of Sōsai, Gijō, and Sanyo were founded; but no summons came to the old Shōgun to join in the new *régime*, and the retainers of Aizu and Kuwana were forbidden to enter Kyōto. In the meantime, the *Rōnin*, who had assembled in the mansion of the lord of Satsuma in Yédo, fired into the barracks of the Shōgun's soldiers, whereupon the soldiers of Shōnai stormed the Satsuma mansion and threatened to clear the Imperial Court of all the 'obnoxious fellows.'

On the 3rd of January in the fourth year of Kéiō, and the first year of Méiji (1868), the Ōsaka Castle was in a state of turmoil. The Shōgun, who was ill in bed at the time, tried in vain to restore order, and at last his minister, Itakura, followed by a few others, came to his bedside and informed him that a march upon Kyōto was inevitable. On this the Prince took a volume of *Suntsze*, the Chinese classic on strategy, and pointing to a certain passage, told them that victory would be impossible. But they turned a deaf ear to his warnings, and declared that the advance against the Imperialists

could not possibly be stopped, even if they had to kill their liege lord to prevent his interference. Whereupon the Prince held his peace, seeing that it would be useless to argue with such madmen. Just then the French minister repaired to the castle and, predicting the inevitability of war, assured the Shōgun of French help in men and weapons. But the Tokugawa leader courteously declined this offer, and explained the terms on which the Crown and the Shōgunate had stood through centuries.

The conflicting views of the barons.

Meanwhile, the barons throughout the country were discussing the question of the Restoration. Most of the retainers in the service of the hereditary barons of the Shōgunate were inclined to conservatism, while those belonging to the originally independent barons entertained radical ideas. Besides, there were two parties, one pro-Imperial and the other pro-Shōgunate, even among the direct retainers of the Tokugawa, which made it difficult for Prince Yoshinobu to act according to his own idea of uprightness and loyalty.

The secret instruction, his family heirloom, no doubt helped him to do the right; but is it easy for any human being to prefer a precept of the dead to innumerable voices of the living, especially when his own interest is at stake?

Shōgun Yoshinobu retreats from the Ōsaka Castle.

In a few days the Imperial army and the forces of the Shōgunate met at Toba, on the highway between Kyōto and Ōsaka. The conflict that ensued ended disastrously for the latter. In the Ōsaka Castle councils of war were held. Some tried to prevail upon the Prince to take the field in person, while others were for retreating to Yédo, there to prepare for the renewal of the attack. But as the Shōgun had already decided to do what was right, he, with a few attendants, among whom were the two barons of Aizu and Kuwana, left for Yédo on board the *Kaiyō-maru*, one of his warships. During the voyage the Prince spoke to his faithful followers thus: 'My inability to keep my word led to this disaster, my retainers having behaved according to their own will. When we return to Yédo, I must act in obedience to my own conscience in everything.'

As soon as he arrived at Yédo, he summoned Awa-no-Kami-Katsu (the late Count Katsu), Ichiō Ōkubo, and Tétsu-

tarō Yamaoka (the late Viscount Yamaoka), to whom he gave the necessary instructions. He entrusted the sole command of the army and navy to Katsu, and he himself retired to a temple at Uyéno called Kwanéiji, to show his regrets, as well as in respect towards the Emperor.

The Yédo Castle surrenders.

The Imperial army marched to Yédo by two roads, the Tōkai-dō and the Nakasen-dō, and decided to storm the castle on the 15th of March. In the meantime, Katsu saw Saigō (afterwards General Saigō), chief staff-officer of the Imperial army, and informed him of the fact that the Shōgun regretted what had occurred, and was ready to give up the castle in pursuance of his original intention of restoring the political power to the Emperor. Thereupon the two leaders discussed the terms of surrender, and on the 11th of April 1868, the power which had controlled the whole empire for the last two hundred and seventy years passed over to the Emperor, and thus the Restoration was accomplished without the horrors of revolution. But peace was not yet assured, for the direct retainers of the Shōgunate, some 80,000 in number, with whom the Tokugawa had managed to hold the balance between the barons and to control them, were not so easily induced to follow their master's example, and they gathered at Uyéno, calling themselves '*Shōgitai*,' or 'defenders of righteousness.' Kamajirō Énomoto (Viscount Énomoto) slipped away from Tōkyō Bay with the fleet of the Shōgunate and took possession of Goryōkaku fortress in Hakodaté, while the retainers of Aizu made an alliance with the barons of the north-east to oppose the Imperial army. But it was impossible for them to turn the tide of fortune in their favour.

A peaceful commoner.

The last Shōgun, after leaving Kwanéiji at Uyéno, went to Mito, his birthplace, where he spent a few years in retirement. From Mito he went to Shizuoka, leading the same kind of life, where one day he privately spoke to his friends as follows: 'Deeply conscious of the urgency of the situation, I decided to restore the political power to the Emperor, and received His Majesty's approval, thus putting an end to our feudalism, which had lasted over six hundred and eighty years. This I did in obedience to the spirit of the secret injunctions I had received from my father, and which were due to the

profound foresight of our ancestor Iyéyasu. But I do not mean to shirk the responsibility of what happened towards the conclusion of affairs, and I regret that I was not powerful enough to make my retainers behave more quietly. That was my fault, and for it I for ever humbly beg His Majesty's gracious pardon. Still, I succeeded so far as to give up all important documents relating to politics and diplomacy, together with the castle, which might have been of some use to the new Government. I have no other wish left, and so, under the august protection of His Gracious Majesty, I wish to pass away the remainder of my life as a peaceful commoner, forgetting the world and forgotten by it.' Thus the truly great Prince, finding friends in music, art, and nature, has lived quietly for thirty long years.

But old age sometimes requires medical help, so in 1897 he felt constrained to leave the country for the capital, where he could receive the best advice. Thinking, however, that he was not worthy to live near the Imperial Palace, he found a resort in a remote corner of Koishikawa. After five years, on the 3rd of June 1902, he was admitted to audience and received a gracious address from the Sovereign.

Raised to the rank of Prince.

This was followed by his being raised to the highest rank of nobility, namely, that of Prince. He had called himself an outlaw, and never expected to have the honour of again seeing His Majesty. But now he was promoted to the highest dignity which a subject might aspire to. It was like the rod of the prophet, apparently dead and dried up, blooming again in all its freshness and beauty! His gratitude to the Emperor was unbounded. One day he was heard to make a remark upon his newly accorded honours: 'What would foreigners say, if the thing were reported abroad! They would indeed think it a strange affair.'

His remarks.

They would think it a strange affair! Really there was nothing strange or inconsistent about it. Doubtless the old Prince made this remark out of his profound loyalty and respect for the Crown, but the writer of the present article must say that his anxiety was unfounded.

The fundamental character of our country is without parallel elsewhere. What foreigners probably think strange

is the close connexion that exists between the Imperial House and the people at large. A remark of the same prince concerning this is *à propos* : 'The relation of the Crown to the Shōgunate was entirely different from what existed in the feudalism of China or of the countries in Europe. My ancestors never allowed the Emperor's sovereignty to be compromised. It is true that in accordance with the precedent of the Minamoto family we Tokugawa enjoyed the title of Séii Taishōgun ('commander-in-chief against barbarians'), and in addition were superintendents of the two learned institutions, Junna and Shōgaku. Thus we were imperially entrusted with the civil and military powers. But whenever a new Shōgun came into office, a ceremony of installation took place, under the sanction of Imperial Ordinance, showing that we never claimed the title by our own right. A new Shōgun always renewed to each baron the trust or endowment of his fiefs, showing that our claim to the Shōgunate was not hereditary. Besides, we neither conferred nor withdrew any title or rank without Imperial ratification. Only in matters of arms or politics we used to hold ourselves responsible, facing all difficulties and never giving any trouble to the Imperial Court. But the moment came when the open-door policy must be adopted. Then, indeed, it was necessary to dispense with the dual system. The whole nation had to stand like one man, and make clear wherein the real sovereign power lay; an enlightened form of government had to be adopted. The Shōgunate could never meet these requirements, and it was now worse than useless. On this ground I restored the power to its rightful owner, the Emperor. Fortunately, His Majesty accepted it. But at that very moment I failed to control my own vassals, and they consequently gave trouble to the new authorities. Thus, conscious of my great fault towards the Emperor and our ancestor, I gave up worldly affairs and now lead a secluded life of penitence.'

This fact is well known throughout the empire; and if the thing be reported abroad, it cannot but evoke the admiration of the civilized world. His sincerity and disinterestedness, which have been held in high esteem for the last forty years and have been ultimately crowned by the Imperial grant

of the highest dignity, are traits in which we all rejoice. No, there can be nothing strange about it—on the contrary, we may be well proud of it.

Looking back to the days of his Shōgunal troubles and of peaceful retirement, the old Prince said that he had lived, as it were, in two different worlds, the change from one to another being great; and he explained in the following words the proximate cause of his resignation:

The Shōgun's remark on a Bugyō's diplomacy.

'In July of the second year of Bunkyū (1862), being ordered to act as regent, I at once began a reformation in every part of the administration, appointing Shungaku Matsudaira to be Premier. One day, being requested by the *Gwaikoku Bugyō* (Chief of Foreign Affairs) to listen to a conference between him and a certain foreign minister, I sat behind the curtain to hear their discussion, and found to my surprise that the foreigner was overruled on every topic, while the *Bugyō* lorded over him in triumph. In fact, the haughty foreigner seemed to be completely humbled! But I soon found that this was a made-up matter between the two, and that in reality we had yielded to the foreigner in every way, the disadvantage being mainly on our side. This incident gave me profound pain, and I did my best to mend matters, but it was already too late. I saw that Japan no longer needed a Shōgunate, and I came to the conclusion that I had better restore the power to my Sovereign as soon as possible. Man, however, is often a slave to fate.'

III

JAPAN'S INTRODUCTION TO THE COMITY OF NATIONS

SABURŌ SHIMADA, M.P.

THE conclusion of a treaty of intercourse and commerce between Japan and the United States of America, fifty-five years ago, marked a new era in our history, and paved the way for our present position among the great Powers of the world. The completeness of this national transformation in so short a space of time has been a subject of marvel to other nations, and not without reason, inasmuch as this sentiment seems to be shared by the Japanese themselves. Such being the case, unless the metamorphosis is studied in the light of both domestic and foreign affairs as existing at that period, it will not be possible to present at all a satisfactory solution of it.

Advent of Commodore Perry.

It was in 1853 that the United States formally dispatched its first embassy to Japan, and urged that the country should be thrown open to foreign intercourse. Commodore Perry was the ambassador, and he, with two frigates, the *Susquehanna* and the *Mississippi*, and two sloops, the *Saratoga* and the *Plymouth*, entered the port of Uraga, in the province of Sagami, on the 8th of July.

Uraga.

Uraga was at that time, in a way, an outport to the Bay of Yédo (Tōkyō), and a Harbour Commissioner was stationed there to inspect all ships which entered the bay. He had, however, nothing to do with foreign ships, all foreign ships (not excluding envoys' ships) being allowed to enter but one harbour in all Japan, namely that of Nagasaki. Even there commerce with the Japanese was permitted only to Chinese and Dutch merchants, and they were placed under strict supervision, and were prohibited from carrying on

their business at any other Japanese port. Great was the commotion, therefore, when suddenly four huge outlandish vessels cast anchor outside the little port. So unexpected was the incident, and so ignorant were both rulers and ruled of the state of affairs in the outside world, that they were at once thrown into indescribable panic, believing that the 'black ships' had arrived with the hostile intention of invasion. The Shōgunate Government hurriedly issued a decree to all the feudal barons, ordering them to be ready for any emergency, and when at last the Shōgun's delegates met Commodore Perry in audience, they did not imagine it was to discuss a pacific mission of international fraternity—on the contrary, they set out prepared to meet an enemy.

Perry's negotiations.

The Commodore had made full inquiries about Japan before he started on his important errand, and he knew that Japan did not receive foreign ships except at Nagasaki, and that it was absolutely forbidden for ships to call at any other port. Philipp Franz von Siebold, an Austrian who had resided for some considerable period in Nagasaki, and had done his best to promote Dutch interests in Japan, advised the Commodore to come to Nagasaki, promising to do everything in his power to introduce him to the Japanese Government; but Perry declined this offer, and pushed on to Uraga. In taking this step he was actuated by a special motive, namely, to show that he did not choose to follow the servile routine that had been pursued by the Dutch. He desired to open negotiations directly with the central Government on a basis of perfect equality, instead of following the customary practice of Japanese red-tapeism. At the same time he clearly saw that the Shōgunate Government would do all in its power to oppose this striking innovation in international negotiations, and that circumstances might even compel him to coerce Japan by a display of force.

A demonstration in force was not the only means whereby the Commodore was prepared to carry his pacific mission to success. He was equally well equipped with peaceful instruments, for, in order to smooth the path of negotiations, he brought with him a staff of Dutch and Chinese translators and interpreters.

The Austrian's fear was too well founded. Acting under the instructions of the Shōgun, the Uraga authorities told Perry to go to Nagasaki and there await the answer of the Government. Perry did not comply with this demand, but availed himself of the interview to read once more a lecture to the Shōgunate authorities. He explained to them how intercourse between different nations was in accord with the inborn inclination of men, and was in compliance with the great decree of Heaven itself, and that the general progress of the world no longer permitted any country to remain secluded from other nations. He gave them to understand that if this perfectly rational and justifiable claim were refused, he might be compelled to resort to more extraordinary means. In the face of this remonstrance, enforced with firmness and irrefutable logic, the Government could not give a flat refusal; it therefore sought a temporary respite in procrastination, by pleading that the opening of the country to foreign intercourse was in direct contravention of the traditional policy of Japan, and therefore, being a matter of grave import, did not admit of prompt settlement; moreover, as the Shōgun Iyéyoshi had just died and his death had not been made public, the Government made the further excuse that the Shōgun was suffering from so serious an illness as to be unable to attend to the matters brought forward by Perry.

Perry saw that it was impolitic to press his demand; he therefore informed the Shōgun that he would withdraw, but he would return in the following year to receive a definite reply, and, submitting to the delegate the letter from the President, he left the harbour. Perry's procedure was statesmanlike; he opened the negotiations with a bold display of force, but was magnanimous enough to allow time for deliberation. His firmness was therefore all the more effective owing to being moderated by magnanimity.

It must be mentioned here that the United States was not the only country that was seeking intercourse with Japan. On August 21, 1853, a Russian ambassador, Admiral Poutiatine, came to Nagasaki in command of four warships to conclude a treaty of friendship with Japan and to settle the frontier line in the island of Saghalien. He presented

Russia's demand.

his credentials and awaited the arrival of the Japanese delegate who was sent by the Shōgunate Government to meet him. But his repeated applications for permission to go on shore having been refused, he left the port on the 23rd of December and sailed southward. At that time the knowledge which Japan possessed about the world at large was exceedingly meagre, and any that she had was confined almost exclusively to those who were studying the Dutch language, and to a handful of officials in charge of foreign affairs who secretly obtained information from the Dutch. Even these men had no definite idea about the true meaning of 'foreign intercourse,' and they fondly thought that, as Perry's homeland was separated from Japan by thousands of miles, he would hardly be able to revisit our shores in the following year, as he had declared. But if he did come again, what were they to do? Being entirely at a loss, they gave orders to all the *daimyō* in the empire to give their opinion, whether it were best to shut out the Americans and be forced to fight, or to open the country and enjoy peace. Opinions were hopelessly divided. In the meanwhile the new Shōgun Iyésada succeeded his father, and the authorities had no time to deliberate as to what reply they should give to Perry on his second appearance.

On leaving Uraga, Perry steered his squadron southward and finally reached Macao, after having touched *en route* at Naha in the Loochoo Archipelago. From there he sent home one of his ships to report. At the same time he made preparations for his second voyage to Japan, and ultimately he again arrived at Uraga, in February 1854. He stayed there only a short time, for, in order to be near the seat of Government, he pushed on into the Bay of Yédo till his squadron cast anchor in the harbour of Koshiba. Here he reopened with vigour the negotiations which had been suspended in the previous year. The Government, as he had apprehended, was not prepared to acquiesce in his demand; on the contrary, it offered one objection after another in order to obstruct negotiations. The opening of a conference in the Bay of Yédo was especially objected to, and it was strongly pleaded that Perry must first withdraw to Uraga before his demands could

receive any attention. Perry, however, would not listen to objections, and so gained one step in diplomacy. After all these annoying preliminaries had been settled, negotiations were opened at Kanagawa, and at last a treaty destined to mark a new era in Japan was concluded. This is known as Perry's Kanagawa Treaty, and its conclusion took place on March 31, 1854.

Perry's Kanagawa Treaty.

One matter should be mentioned here, namely, that the Russian envoy, Admiral Poutiatine, who left Nagasaki in November of the preceding year, met Perry at Shanghai, and it occurred to him that the two might combine and conjointly renew the demand. Perry declined this offer, so the Russian envoy revisited Nagasaki. In the autumn of 1854 he reached the port of Shimoda, in the province of Izu, and on August 7 he concluded, in Yédo, a treaty based on the American model. Thus, thanks to the intelligent and clever diplomacy of Perry, America was able to secure the honour of having introduced Japan to the world, and of opening the way towards bringing the two trans-Pacific countries into a union of special friendship, which has continued ever since.

Contents of the treaty.

The Kanagawa Treaty was a simple agreement of twelve articles only. What is singular is that it did not contain even a covert provision about trade. The document merely provided that the two ports of Shimoda and Hakodaté should be opened to the visits of American citizens, who would there enjoy treatment differing from that formerly extended to the Dutch people in Nagasaki, where they were subject to strict control not much differing from confinement; that the peoples of Japan and the United States of America should exchange friendly intercourse on an equal and uniform basis for all classes, high and low, rich and poor; lastly, that assistance should be mutually extended to ships in distress of the two contracting parties, protection afforded to their crews and passengers, and freedom to purchase articles of necessity. The absence of any provision about trade in a treaty of this description is significant, but it ought to be remembered that the Japanese authorities did not like the idea of permitting foreigners and Japanese to carry on commercial transactions, but could not reject a proposal

extending help to shipwrecked sufferers. Humanity forbade the very idea. Astute diplomatist as he was, Perry saw this vulnerable point in Japan's armour of exclusive policy, and by avoiding any clause that might annoy her, succeeded in realizing the main object of his mission. America owed much of her success in obtaining the Kanagawa Treaty to the simplicity of its terms.

Japan's hatred of foreign intercourse.

Readers who have followed the story thus far will naturally ask why the Japan of that time so much hated the opening of the country to foreign intercourse, and endeavoured to maintain a policy of seclusion? Were the people so far benighted as not to comprehend the common principles of human intercourse? If Japan were really so ignorant, how was it that she succeeded in pushing her way into the arena of the world in twenty years or so after the opening of the country, in outstripping China, which had been opened long before to foreign commerce and intercourse, in the work of progress and civilization, in thoroughly remodelling her internal system according to the principles of Occidental civilization, and expanding her prestige abroad? In order to obtain an intelligent explanation of phenomena apparently so abnormal, it is essential to go back a little in the past history of Japan.

Its reasons.

Japan, it must be remembered, possesses a history dating back more than twenty-five centuries. Long before the country had been opened to intercourse with Occidental countries, she had introduced from the Asiatic continent its civilization, and had learned and assimilated the sciences and arts of China, India, and Korea. Thus she possessed a civilization of her own which, though belonging to Asiatic peoples, bore a stamp of merit which distinguished it from the rest. And so, along a line of her own, Japan was well advanced in religion, morals, literature, politics, legislature, fine arts, and industry, by the time the United States sent its first envoy to Yédo. Occidentals betrayed their ignorance when they erroneously bracketed the Japanese with half-savage South Sea Islanders. Why, then, it will be asked, did the Japanese endeavour to maintain the policy of seclusion, as if they were ignorant of the primary principle of human intercourse? The answer to this question should come from

the conduct, not of the Japanese of those days, but of the Europeans who arrived in Japan much earlier, for they were chiefly responsible for this strange phase in our history. The arrival of Occidentals in Japan does not date back only fifty years; it began as long ago as 1541, when a number of Portuguese landed on the island of Kyūshū. They were followed by Spanish, Dutch, and English, each eager to engage either in trade or in religious propagandism. The celebrated St. Francis Xavier was one of the Jesuit missionaries who came at that time. He left on record a favourable opinion of the Japanese, among whom he lived for a considerable period. In short, Japan in those days did not refuse to trade with foreign countries. But unfortunately the Portuguese missionaries who followed Xavier were tempted to abuse the influence they enjoyed among the native converts, and to meddle with politics in such a way as seemed to indicate an intention of territorial aggression upon the empire. Instead of confining their task to words of love and instruction, as faithful followers of the Cross, they insinuated into the minds of Japanese converts the non-Christian spirit of intolerance and persecution towards the established beliefs, and instigated them to demolish Buddhist and Shintō temples. The Jesuits even went so far as to encroach upon the province of the administrative authorities and to come into collision with them. The rulers of the time naturally began to suspect these mischievous doings of the Jesuits, and in this they met with the sympathy of the Dutch residents and traders, for these had fought at home with Spain and contested for commercial supremacy with the Spaniards and Portuguese in India and the South Seas, and especially being, as Protestants, at variance with all Roman Catholics, they carried their antipathy towards their old foes and rivals even to Japan. As soon, therefore, as they perceived how affairs were turning in their favour, the wily Dutch lost no time in informing the Japanese rulers that the Jesuits were concocting dangerous plots. Their manœuvres succeeded, and resulted in their entirely displacing their Portuguese and Spanish rivals in the markets of Japan. But, worse than this, the authorities, regarding the native Christians with suspicion, soon commenced

The intriguing Jesuits.

The Dutch against the Portuguese.

to persecute them. The Christians rebelled, and the disastrous Civil War of Shimabara in Kyūshū was the result. Taught by these warnings, the Government of the time strictly forbade Christianity in the country, and in order to further provide against the danger of its reintroduction, permission to carry on trade with Japan was allowed only to the Dutch and Chinese, and at Nagasaki alone.

Causes of the seclusion policy.

It should be noted that in adopting a policy of seclusion, the primary idea was not to prohibit trade or intercourse with foreign peoples. Such prohibition was only incidental to the main object of providing against the recurrence of troubles from adherents of the Roman Catholic Church. The truth of this is borne out when it is remembered that, about two centuries and a half ago, Japan did not hesitate to grant charters to shippers and traders desirous of proceeding to the South Pacific on business enterprises; that they kept up commercial transactions with the Chinese and Dutch; and gave a good position to a naturalized Englishman, William Adams. In short, in expelling the Portuguese and Spaniards, out of hatred for the intriguing Jesuits, Hidéyoshi and Iyéyasu were actuated by precisely the same motives as Queen Elizabeth when she placed the Catholics under a ban in England.

Such were the circumstances that, for more than two centuries, practically penned off Japan from the rest of the world.

Social condition of Japan at the time of the treaty.

In order to arrive at an intelligent solution of the march of events which succeeded the conclusion of the treaty with America, and the fruits born of that diplomatic transaction, it is further necessary to study the political system which existed at the time in Japan, and also to trace the genealogy of the knowledge of Western affairs possessed by a section of Japanese scholars.

Dawn of feudalism.

It was about seven centuries ago—or, to be precise, in 1186—that Minamoto-no-Yoritomo became the first Shōgun (or Generalissimo) of the Government at Kamakura. A peculiar dual institution of Government then first saw the light in Japan—one being the Imperial Court as theoretical rulers, and the other the military suzerains who wielded the real administrative power. The latter authority distributed its

lieutenants throughout the country, granting them fiefs to be governed at their own discretion, but federated to the central Government; hence the Shōgun had practically absolute command of the civil and military affairs of the whole country.

Such was the origin of the Feudal System which continued in force for seven centuries approximately, though the holders of the military suzerainty itself changed hands several times, one rival dynasty succeeding another. Amidst these vicissitudes of fortune of the military rulers, the Court, though deprived of real power, remained as at first, sacred and inviolable, and with a theoretically undisputed sovereign, possessing an uninterrupted lineage which extended over more than 2500 years.

The Government was in the hands of the Tokugawa Shōgunate at the time of Perry's arrival, and it was with this magnate that the American envoy concluded the Treaty of Kanagawa.

Peaceful Tokugawa age.

Never was the system of feudalism carried to such perfection as it was during the government of the Tokugawas. Under their judicious sway Japan enjoyed peace and prosperity such as she had never enjoyed before. But continuous peace and prosperity was not an unmixed good, for it brought in its wake pernicious habits of luxury and effeminacy, and the Shōgunate had consequently already lost much of its virility when it was suddenly forced to adopt a novel departure in its foreign policy. The news of this adoption spread like wild-fire throughout the country, and explanations were demanded from every part of the empire, and from misguided patriots, themselves the victims of dangerous delusions begotten of ignorance. At this juncture the American Consul-General, Townsend Harris, came to Shimoda charged with full authority to revise the treaty (1857). He urged the Shōgunate Government to extend Perry's Kanagawa Treaty into a treaty of friendly intercourse and commerce, and to open the doors of Japan to the whole world. Matters proceeded but slowly, and it was not until towards the close of the next year that he was able, at Yédo, to see the Shōgun and his high dignitaries, and open negotiations for its conclusion. Meanwhile, general opposition to it was wrought up to the highest pitch; and

Townsend Harris.

placed in this perplexing situation, the Shōgunate turned for help towards the Imperial Court and sought to obtain its sanction to the policy of opening the country. The Shōgunate, in thus seeking advice from the Court, was confronted by a Nemesis of its own creation, for, kept in forced ignorance of the state of outer affairs, and especially those of foreign countries, the Court could not be expected to comprehend the general tendency of the world. Moreover, the powerful feudal princes who disapproved of the policy of the Shōgunate lost no time in whispering into the ears of the leading courtiers the duty of discountenancing the proceedings of the Shōgunate, and of maintaining the traditional policy of seclusion. The result was that the Shōgun's envoy returned to Yédo carrying an order from the Emperor absolutely opposing all concession.

Dilemma of the Shōgunate.

The Shōgunate was thus placed in an exceedingly embarrassing dilemma. On the one hand, there was the Court, which, having been kept out of touch with practical politics for centuries, now came forward, at the express request of the Shōgunate, and raised its sacred voice in support of exclusion; on the other, there were powerful princes and the general public, equally ignorant of the affairs of the outside world and equally opposed to the new policy of the Shōgunate. To make confusion worse confounded, other foreign countries pressed the Shōgunate hard, demanding ratification of the provisional treaties concluded shortly before, and the opening of ports to foreign trade. The oftener the Shōgunate officials met the foreign representatives in the course of negotiations, the more were they convinced of the necessity and wisdom of the anti-seclusion policy, but they lacked strength and courage to make this conviction public. It must not from this be inferred that the Shōgunate of that time was wholly composed of weak and incompetent men; on the contrary, there were not a few who, even at the risk of their lives, did all in their power to grapple with the tremendous troubles that overtook their Government. Some of the most distinguished among that number deserve mention, together with the notable events with which their names are associated.

The Shōgun Iyéyoshi, as previously stated, had just died at the time of the first arrival of Perry at Uraga, and had been

succeeded by his son Iyésada, a lad of no great parts and far from equal to the trust he was called upon to undertake. Iyésada too died a few years later, in 1858, leaving no issue, and in the vacant seat was installed another boy, a prince of one of the scions of the great house of Tokugawa. This was Iyémochi, who also died quite young, in 1866. With the occupants of the viceregal throne changing at such short intervals, the real power was necessarily in the hands of the chief Lords in Council, and of those who had charge of this grave trust at that period, four Lord Councillors stand out prominently, they having played distinguished parts in the diplomacy of Japan when it was so much beset with dangers and difficulties, namely, Masahiro Abé, Masamutsu Hotta, Naosuké Ii, and Nobumutsu Andō.

The Shōgun Iyéyoshi dies.

Diplomats of the period.

Abé was a statesman whose views were far in advance of those of his contemporaries, for he had among his retainers several students of Dutch who kept their master informed as to affairs in foreign countries. Abé early saw that the opening of the country to foreign trade was inevitable, and, in concluding the Kanagawa Treaty, he boldly acted up to his convictions. From over-exertion in State affairs he fell ill (dying soon afterwards), and, at his recommendation, Hotta was appointed to take his place. The choice was well made, for Hotta was another statesman who held enlightened views. He was not afraid to advise his retainers to learn the Dutch language, and he too was comparatively well versed in foreign affairs. It was he who met Townsend Harris and drew up the draft of the treaty. He had under him a number of able lieutenants well qualified to assist him, namely, Higo-no-Kami Iwasé, Shimano-no-Kami Inouyé, and Sayémon-nō-Jō Kawaji, all distinguished by diplomatic talent, especially Iwasé, who surpassed his colleagues in breadth of learning, in literary power, in eloquence and tact. It was by him that the greater part of the draft of the Yédo Treaty with Townsend Harris was prepared.

The negotiation with Harris having been concluded, Hotta submitted the draft to the Imperial Court to obtain its approval, with the result before mentioned. Another failure was experienced by him and his colleagues, on the

question of the succession to the Shōgunate. The result was their resignation, thus leaving the treaty affair unsettled.

Kamon-no-Kami Ii.

Hotta was succeeded by Kamon-no-Kami Ii (Naosuké), the great Regent-minister to the boy Shōgun, Iyémochi. He, in spite of the hostility offered by the Court and the general public to the Shōgunate's pro-foreign policy, with the assistance of Lord Tadayoshi Matsudaira, a Councillor, set his face boldly against all movements of opposition, and in July 1858 concluded, on his own responsibility, the famous Treaty of Yédo. It will be remembered that, except some changes in the tariff schedule, the substance of this treaty was in force till the general revision of Japan's foreign treaties in 1894, and as the Treaty of Yédo served as a basis to all the other treaties subsequently concluded between Japan and the Powers, this particular compact deserves special notice. The principal clauses were these:

Americo-Japanese Treaty.

'That Legations and Consulates should be mutually established to promote friendly relations between the two countries; that besides the harbours of Shimoda and Hakodaté already opened, four others, namely Kanagawa, Nagasaki, Niigata, and Hyōgo, should be opened within a certain limited time; that American merchants should be allowed to reside in Yédo and Ōsaka; that the limit of travel outside the regular concessions should be fixed—for instance, for Kanagawa residents to the River Rokugō, and for Hyōgo residents to a place ten *ri* from Kyōto—and that Consular Courts should be established in the concessions, &c.'

The document provided that on or after July 1, 1872, either contracting party was entitled to give notice to the other, one year in advance, and to propose the revision of the treaty. The treaty was put into operation on July 4, 1859.

The people against the treaty.

The treaty, as seen to-day, is a primitive one, abounding in restrictions, but it was not regarded in that light by the Japanese of fifty years ago. In their eyes it meant a radical change calculated to undermine the very foundation of the laws of the realm, and so they denounced in strong terms the Councillors who were responsible for it. In short, it threw the whole country into an extraordinary state of ferment. Ii's conduct was considered to be specially culpable, and it

was alleged that, in concluding the treaty on his sole judgment, he deserved severe censure for two reasons: one, treason towards the Imperial Court, whose disapproval of the draft treaty had been previously known; two, abuse of his trust and disloyalty to the young Shōgun, whom he placed in a false position.

The Regent-minister was not in the least daunted; on the contrary, the clamour of discontent and censure braced him all the more in his resolution to cope with the situation with an open hand. A fierce collision arose between him and his opponents; and the repressive measures which the Regent-minister enforced resulted in numerous arrests. Finally, the struggle culminated in the assassination of the great Ii. He fell a victim to the assault of a small band of desperadoes on the 3rd of March 1860. The assault took place near the Sakurada Gate as the Minister was proceeding to the Shōgun's palace.

Assassination of Ii.

The price Japan had to pay for her progress and development was a dear one, but this was unavoidable. At any rate, it is well to remember that for the recent changes and its present position Japan had to make all these sacrifices.

After the death of this resolute and strong-willed Minister the power of the Shōgunate suffered a sudden decline. It was also placed in an exceedingly difficult position by the Europeans, who urged the Shōgunate to grant treaties such as that granted to the United States, while at the same time the short-sighted public were vehemently denouncing the policy of foreign intercourse. However, the general trend of the times could not be obstructed by any temporary wave of ignorance, and the Shōgunate Government, disregarding the popular opposition, concluded a similar treaty with Great Britain. The conduct of diplomatic affairs at this eventful period was in charge of Tsushima-no-Kami Andō, already mentioned, and it was by him also that a treaty with Russia was concluded. Following these came treaties with Holland and France, the five nations being in future called 'The Five Treaty Powers.'

Andō.

Like his predecessor, Ii, Andō found himself not only a target for public hatred, but in extreme personal danger, for, encouraged by the assassination of Ii, those who had

previously contented themselves with venting their opposition in inflammatory writings now began to resort to force, and cases of assault even on foreigners were not uncommon. It reflects very much to the credit of Andō, that, placed in circumstances of such exceptional difficulty, he succeeded in maintaining friendly relations with the Powers, and his services to the country at this early stage of its diplomatic history deserve special praise. At last, notwithstanding all the precautions taken, Andō himself was waylaid by a band of fanatics and barely escaped death. He soon afterwards resigned office.

Bombardments of Kagoshima and Shimonoséki.

The bombardment of Kagoshima by the British squadron in 1863, and of Shimonoséki in the following year by the combined squadrons of England, France, America, and Holland, were serious incidents: strictly speaking, both were unwarranted, but they served an important purpose, for they tended more than anything else to disillusionize the misguided seclusionists of their fatal errors. The two powerful clans of Satsuma and Chōshū were at that time the foremost champions of the exclusive policy, and the hard knocks they sustained opened their eyes to the fallacy of their position. They were now forced to admit the necessity of establishing friendly relations with foreign countries. In short, the moral effect of the two bombardments was of immense benefit, in so far that it gave a powerful impulse to the cause of progress and pro-foreign policy. They were, as it were, a signal proclaiming to all the world that Japan had been awakened from her long dream of seclusion and self-content.

Were more space at my disposal, I would dwell on other important diplomatic events which occurred at the conclusion of the Yédo Treaty, and on the parts played in those events by leading Japanese. But to do so would carry me beyond the limits of the present article. I shall therefore confine myself to speaking of the Shōgunate Government, and of a few patriots who rendered valuable assistance to them in their arduous task.

Matsudaira.

A statesman who achieved distinction in the diplomatic service at this early stage of our foreign relations, when our authorities possessed only a meagre knowledge of foreign affairs, was Iwami-no-Kami Matsudaira (afterwards Matsui).

Saghalien question.

It was more particularly in connection with Saghalien that this official distinguished himself. The island, it may be remembered, formerly belonged to Japan, but, owing to the neglect with which that northern possession was treated while the country led the existence of a hermit, it was gradually encroached upon by the Russians, who availed themselves of their proximity to it to settle there. At the time the Russo-Japanese Treaty was concluded, in 1854, the Russians had penetrated to the centre of the island, and they proposed to Japan to settle the boundary line, but as that was considered unreasonable, repeated negotiations proved abortive.

Matsudaira and Ignatieff.

In 1861 Japan dispatched Iwami-no-Kami Matsudaira as an envoy to Europe on an important mission, and he was given instructions to open negotiations about the Saghalien boundary question on reaching Russia. He was at that time a Commissioner of Foreign Affairs and Magistrate of Kanagawa, and a young diplomatist of uncommon tact. But he had no less a personage than Ignatieff as his opponent in the negotiations. The principal point was whether the southern half of the island, starting from the fiftieth degree, should be considered, as the Japanese Government maintained, a possession of Japan, or whether, as Ignatieff contended, Russia could claim the whole of the island. The Russian diplomat found in Matsudaira an opponent quite worthy of his brilliant abilities, although he would not listen to the fiftieth degree argument. That theory, he maintained, was a Japanese pretext, originating in an English map which happened to be posted up in a cabin of Poutiatine's warship on his first mission to Japan, and which happened to divide Saghalien into two colours, and he declared that it was inconceivable that the Japanese a century previously could have known the art of fixing frontiers by latitude. He further said that, if colours were sufficient evidence, he could easily show maps coloured in such a way as would represent the whole of the island as belonging to Russia. A few days later he produced a map on which the whole of Saghalien was coloured blue. He claimed this to be a Russian official map, and tried to prove that there existed no universally accepted boundary line in Saghalien, adding that the theories of geographers should not be allowed to influence the discussion of

diplomatic problems. Matsudaira did not dispute the point on that occasion, but when, a few days later, they visited the Government Astronomical Observatory, Matsudaira found that on the globe there provided the island of Saghalien was dyed in different colours, from the fiftieth degree northward and southward, and that the latter half was represented as belonging to Japan. Matsudaira pointed this out to Ignatieff and asked him if he must not acknowledge that Russian maps, too, seemed to accept the proposed boundary in Saghalien. Upon this Ignatieff saw that the Japanese envoy was not to be taken in by sophistry, and began to deal with him in a fairer manner. Then he said, inasmuch as the fiftieth degree boundary was nothing more than a theory of scientists, it should not be treated as the basis of their negotiations, and to establish a boundary line without proper care was only to sow the seed of future difficulties, so it was better, in his opinion, not to settle boundaries. Yet he went on to say that Russia was anxious to give satisfaction to Japan, and, as far as he could see, a line might be conveniently drawn by the natural features of the land, between North latitude 47° and 48°. Matsudaira was disposed to seize this opportunity of proceeding immediately to a settlement of the problem, and he asked the opinion of other members of the embassy, as well as the attendant officials. The latter mostly approved of his opinion, but the former opposed him on the ground that it was not in accordance with the orders of the Government. Matsudaira could not insist in the face of their objection, and consequently it was decided that Russia and Japan should each send a committee to the island and there settle the question. Fourteen years after this event, that is in 1875, Russia's policy of encroachment finally compelled Japan to surrender her title to Saghalien on the plausible pretext of exchanging it for the Kurile Archipelago. Japan, therefore, lost Saghalien in that way; but for the temporary check which Russian aggression suffered in regard to the island, Japan was indebted to the tact of Matsudaira. (See also *post*, p. 98.)

The Restoration.

All these troubles at home and abroad naturally had a disastrous effect on the prestige of the Shōgunate. Public opinion began to undergo a marked change by the time Yoshinobu,

a young prince of the Mito family, one of the scions of the house of Tokugawa, succeeded to the Shōgunate on the death of the Shōgun Iyémochi in 1866. At this time an influential section declared that the anomalous dual system in which two independent governments, one nominal and the other practical, stood side by side, could be allowed only in times of seclusion, but not in the new epoch when friendly intercourse was necessary among the rulers of all nations. Thoughtful and far-sighted men pronounced that the administrative organization must be unified, and that an administration competent to declare, in its own right, war against a foreign country or to conclude peace with it must be brought under the uniform control of a supreme Government. This opinion was endorsed by most of the powerful feudal princes. They advised the Shōgun to acquiesce in it and to surrender his power to the Imperial Court. The Shōgun bowed to what he regarded as inevitable, the surrender was effected, and the whole country was again brought under the direct rule of the Imperial Government, thus paving the way to our present progress and prosperity.

The Powers which had concluded treaties with the Shōgunate Government now hastened to transfer all diplomatic connections to the rehabilitated Imperial Government, and to maintain with it the regular intercourse which had been arranged with the Shōgunate. The majority of the public were not slow to approve this surrender, though a limited section of the people still objected to it, and even tried to oppose it by force. The Imperial Government, however, was firm, and, sternly suppressing any reactionary proceedings, unswervingly pushed on the progressive policy with which it had now identified itself.

Open-door policy of the new Government.

In 1871 the Feudal System was entirely abolished; the institution of hereditary clansmen was put an end to; regulations for encouraging Governmental Education were enacted, and the Conscription System was enforced: in short, with such zeal and consistency was this work of internal improvement pushed forward that, by the year 1890, the empire was in a position to introduce the Parliamentary form of Government, while four years later, as a result of the revision of the

treaties, the whole of the country was thrown open to foreigners for residence and travel.

All these manifold changes which have taken place in our country during the last fifty years may appear to have no direct relation with foreign diplomacy. Such, however, is not really the case, since, but for the arrival of Commodore Perry in 1853 and his successful negotiations with the reluctant authorities of that time, the reinstatement of the Imperial Government, the abolition of feudalism, the thorough recasting of the civil and military systems, and the advent of Parliamentary politics—all these would never have taken place. Hence it is hardly possible to understand in its true light and proportion the meaning of the recent transformation of Japan unless, at the same time, the internal changes which induced it are described.

Japan a gainer in international transactions.

Needless to state, Japan has been a gainer in these novel international transactions, the credit side of the balance-sheet far outweighing the debit. Briefly stated, an isolated and secluded Japan has been converted into an active and useful factor of the world. It is true that the transformation did not come to Japan as a gratuitous gift. On the contrary, she had to pay somewhat dearly for it, since she has had to encounter diverse internal troubles, all due, directly or indirectly, to the change, and the blood of no small number of patriots has been shed. But the benefit arising from this national movement has been so immense that the price paid for it must be regarded as almost immaterial. The difficulties to which Japan was subject from without at that period of her diplomacy were really enormous, but fortunately helping hands were not wanting, ready to chaperon her in her *début* upon the social stage of the world. The friendly part which the United States took for its *protégé* especially deserves mention. Indeed, this spirit has pervaded all her proceedings towards Japan from the very first. Commodore Perry, while outwardly overbearing, at least entertained friendly sentiments towards our country. He scorned the idea of following the submissive methods which the Hollanders had been content to adhere to in their intercourse with Japan. Neither did he consent to the proposal of a Russian admiral

U.S.A. as chaperon of Japan.

to coerce Japan by their combined strength. His diplomacy was as adroit as it was magnanimous, and this wise precedent was followed by the first minister which his country sent to us, for Townsend Harris was the confidant and adviser of the Japanese Government in the novel business of diplomacy. It was he who advised Japan to forbid the introduction and use of opium, thus enabling her to keep clear of this source of national bane. When E. S. Heusken, translator to the United States Legation, was murdered by some Japanese fanatics, the other Ministers were furious at the incompetency of the Japanese Government to maintain order, and suggested that satisfaction should be demanded; but Harris, who fully sympathized with the Government in the manifold difficulties by which it was confronted, generously refrained from taking that step, and he alone remained in Yédo when all the other Ministers struck their flags and withdrew to Yokohama.

England's help.

Space does not allow me to cite every instance of friendship, but those of Great Britain must not be ignored. For instance, when the question of the corresponding value of the American and Japanese coins was discussed, it was agreed that three *bu* (silver coins) should be given in exchange for an American dollar. But, according to the rate then in practice within the empire, four *bu* were convertible into a *ryō* (a gold coin called *koban*), so that the Americans could thus get a *koban* for 1¼ dollar. The consequence was that gold coins went out of the country by ship-loads, and it was feared that there would before long be no vestige of that metal remaining. The foreign merchants, too, were only too glad to profit by taking away gold from Japan in exchange for the silver they introduced. The alarm grew so intense that the supporters of the anti-foreign policy embraced this opportunity to proclaim the great danger of foreign trade. Sir Rutherford Alcock, hoping to save the country from this disastrous loss, advised the Japanese authorities to restrike immediately all the gold coinage then in existence. The Shōgun's Government acted upon his valuable suggestion and struck new gold coins of a smaller size, thereby escaping from a loss which would otherwise have utterly ruined the country. But valuable as Sir Rutherford's advice was to Japan, the assistance rendered in

Sir Harry Parkes.

various ways by the clever and courageous British Minister, Sir Harry Parkes, in the difficult hours of her transformation, was even greater.

For instance, when, towards the close of the year 1867, the Shōgun restored the governing power to the Imperial Court, and the new Government formally communicated to the foreign ministers its intention of abiding by the treaties already concluded, the northern and western sections of the empire came into collision, resulting in various disturbances, and it took several months to smooth matters in the north-eastern provinces, while a rebellion at Hakodaté was only subjugated after a year's struggle, and the whole realm was in a chaotic state. The people had not yet fully realized the situation of the new Government, while the foreigners still attached importance to the old. But Sir Harry Parkes took the lead in recognizing the legitimate authority of the Imperial Government and placing it on a firm diplomatic footing. This wise policy of Parkes was doubtless the outcome of his penetration into those complicated times, but it was owing none the less to the profound historical knowledge of his secretary, Ernest Satow. This young diplomat, who was in charge of the duties of interpretation at the British Legation, had studied the Japanese language and had acquired a thorough knowledge of the country by free and extensive intercourse with men in influential circles. He had also successfully explored the literature and history of Japan, and knew that the Shōgunate Government was merely a hybrid institution, occasioned by a political change in the Middle Ages, and that there existed, above it, an indisputable Government, and that the highest ruler had been the Emperor from time immemorial. He argued from this point of view, and, therefore, would not regard the reformation of Méiji as a revolution, but as a lawful movement to restore the Imperial *régime*. Thus the friendly help of the United States at the opening of the country, and British sympathy with the Restoration, were the two important facts which will be indelibly impressed on the memory of the nation.

Ernest Satow.

Influence of Christianity.

When the country entered upon its new era, the reactionary spirit against Christianity still retained its old prejudice.

Fortunately the missionaries and educators, whom the United States sent to Japan about this time, were all men of piety, moderation, and good sense, and their sincerity and kindness produced on the minds of our countrymen a profound impression, such as tended to completely remove the suspicions hitherto entertained towards the Christian religion. The names of these national benefactors are counted by legion, and only some of those who rendered most conspicuous service in this direction can be mentioned. These are Guido Verbeck, Bishop Williams, J. C. Hepburn, S. R. Brown, Captain Janes, Professor Clark, and others, several of whom are still living to witness, with the grateful hearts of pious Christians, the triumph of their benevolent work.

The sincerity and patience of these early messengers of the Gospel seldom failed to inspire respect in those who were brought into contact with them. In fact, they were a living testimony, completely dispelling whatever prejudice remained against Christianity in the bosoms of our countrymen, who were naturally led to the conclusion that after all there could be nothing hateful or dreadful in a religion which could produce such men.

Dr. Verbeck.

Of these illustrious evangelists perhaps Dr. Guido F. Verbeck deserves special mention, chiefly on account of the special facilities he enjoyed of coming into contact with the young men who subsequently played distinguished parts in consummating the work of the Restoration. In those days, when the nation was suddenly awakened, as it were, from its long dream of seclusion, every young man of ambition and ability hastened to Nagasaki to learn Dutch, and to obtain there a knowledge of Occidental affairs. The Dutch language, therefore, was regarded at that time as the most valuable help for achieving progress and realizing ambitious aspirations. Now Verbeck was a Dutchman naturalized in America, and being, moreover, a man of great linguistic talent, was exceedingly well qualified to teach the new learning of the West to our future statesmen and scholars who flocked to Nagasaki. Among these were Count Ōkuma and the late Count Soyéshima.

Most of the Protestant missionaries rendered similarly valuable service to the cause of the new movement of progress

and enlightenment. Dr. Hepburn's efforts to plant the knowledge of medicine and literature, the educational work of Brown, Clark, Captain Janes, and others, and the historical writings of Dr. Griffis, author of the 'Mikado's Empire'—all these did immense service in introducing Japan to the rest of the world and in cultivating the minds of the Japanese people, and such work was mostly done by early American residents in Japan. These circumstances completely changed our attitude towards Christianity, and while, on the one hand, freedom of belief was gradually established, on the other, Christian converts began to appear in quick succession among the people. Such, shortly, was the factor which worked from without to promote the national metamorphosis.

This brief account may perhaps give some idea as to how Japan came to be admitted, both politically and socially, into the comity of nations fifty years ago.

IV

JAPAN'S FOREIGN RELATIONS

THE LATE COUNT TANÉOMI SOYÉSHIMÂ

THE wonderful progress that Japan has made during the last fifty years has attracted universal attention, her development being probably unprecedented in the world's history. That it has been effected in so short a space of time is mainly due (improbable as it may seem) to the eastward march of the Western Powers in the first half of the nineteenth century, and especially to that of Russia through the solitudes of Siberia, towards the Sea of Japan and the Pacific.

Eastward expansion of the Western Powers.

It therefore appears to be necessary, before we enter upon the diplomatic history of the last fifty years, to take a rapid survey of the situation in Europe, America, and the Near East at that epoch.

If we look at the conditions existing in Europe, we find that the two great problems that agitated the Continent after the Napoleonic Wars were Nationalism and the Eastern Question. For, once the ideals of Universal Empire were abandoned, even by the great Napoleon, it was only to be expected that nationalism would become more than ever the basis of true statesmanship. Napoleon was unsuccessful in his maturely conceived and grandiose scheme of a world-state, because his policy was opposed to the principle of nationalism. This principle and the movement for constitutional liberty absorbed the attention of the people of most of the Western countries, especially of Germany and Italy, who were looking yearningly towards the attainment of unity and solidarity.

Situation in Europe after the Napoleonic wars.

In 1827 the Greeks revolted against the Ottoman power,

The Eastern Question.

and the Kingdom of Greece was formed, though with very restricted boundaries. But it was through Greek independence that the Eastern Question began to assume more and more serious aspects, which in 1854 resulted in the Crimean War. This ended in 1856 with the 'Peace of Paris,' under which the independence of Turkey was secured, and the Black Sea was neutralized. Indications had not been wanting before then of an approaching change in the trend of thought of European statesmen concerning the Eastern Question, but until the middle of the nineteenth century Turkey and the Mediterranean were the focal points of international politics. Gradually, however, the attention of Europe and even of America came to be directed towards the Pacific, stimulated doubtless by the gradual substitution of steam for canvas, of the iron-horse for the quadruped; in short, by the facilities afforded to transportation owing to the use of steam as a motive power. There were yet more immediate causes. A rapid increase in the populations of the West necessitated expansion of territory. Hence originated that scramble for those portions of the earth's surface which were inhabited by races less civilized than Europeans, or less endowed with force of mind and character. There was yet another cause that must be specially mentioned in this connection, namely, the invention of machinery, which led to production on a large scale, and which was the cause of that economic distress called 'over-production.' Thus all the leading commercial nations of the Western world had to seek markets beyond the confines of their own lands. England and France, the two Powers that held the sceptre of the sea, followed ocean-routes in search of over-sea markets. Russia passed overland from the north-west, and continued her forward movement towards the Sea of Japan, until she fell like an avalanche upon the feeble states of the Far East, sweeping away everything in her path.

Outward causes of the opening of Japan.

The opening up of China under the Treaty of Nanking, which was concluded between England and China in 1842, served to draw attention to the possibilities of Japan. Important events which occurred after that time, namely, the acquisition of Indo-China by France, and the subsequent

conclusion in 1844 of a commercial treaty between her and the Celestial Empire; in 1848 the development of, and subsequent discovery of gold in California, which gave an impetus to American trade, and resulted in a scheme for the establishment of a line of steamers between San Francisco and the Chinese treaty ports: all these were instrumental in turning the eyes of the world from the Mediterranean and the Atlantic to the Pacific, and compelling Japan to emerge from behind her barriers.

The condition of Japan in the middle of the nineteenth century was by no means an enviable one. The Mikado, the *de jure* sovereign, was reigning at Kyōto; but, living a very indigent and humble life himself, he could contribute absolutely nothing to the good of his people. The Shōgun, the *de facto* sovereign, was ruling at Yédo; but his power was tottering to its fall. In 1853 an event occurred, the wise solution of which would have taxed the ingenuity of a much stronger ruler. Four American men-of-war made a sudden appearance in the Bay of Yédo, demanding the conclusion of a treaty of intercourse with America and the opening of the country to foreigners. The Shōgunate, alarmed at the grave results that must follow either the opening of the country or the rejection of the demand, was compelled to forego its despotic power of long standing, and to ask the advice of the *daimyō*, most of whom counselled that no concession should be granted to foreigners and that the country should immediately arm itself and prepare for resistance. The Shōgun, less able to resist the imperative strangers than the majority of his *daimyō*, permitted the opening of the ports and the establishment of an American Consulate at Shimoda. When the first American consul arrived in Japan in 1856, Kamon-no-Kami Ii, without the consent of the Imperial Court, signed a commercial treaty with him, to be soon followed by treaties with France, England, Russia, and other Powers.

Opposition to the treaties.

The concession made by the Shōgunate created a great ferment among all classes. Headed by certain publicists, who considered the privileges granted to foreigners as detrimental to the dignity of the empire, the outcry soon became 'Down with the barbarians and the Shōgunate. Uphold the

Imperial Power.' The measures taken by Kamon-no-Kami Ii in suppressing his adversaries were so severe that he fell by the hands of assassins in 1860, and thus perished a great leader of progressive tendencies. But his spirit remained, for the two-sworded *samurai* gradually began to recognize their inability to resist Powers armed with weapons more formidable than their own, and when, in 1861, Russia, taking advantage of our internal dissensions, suddenly seized the Island of Tsushima with the idea of securing a suitable naval base for her Pacific squadron, and refused to withdraw notwithstanding our continuous remonstrances, the Shōgunate consulted the British Minister, Sir Rutherford Alcock, and Admiral J. Hope, Commander of the British-China squadron, and through their efforts the Russians were forced to withdraw. But the fact that the Shōgunate had asked for the assistance of a foreign Power aroused further ferment among the discontented, and increased the hatred of the foreigners.

Russians seize Tsushima.

The malcontents, appealing to the sword instead of to reason, ruthlessly murdered not only men of progressive tendencies and supporters of the Shōgunate, but also several foreigners. The result was the bombardment of Kagoshima by a British squadron in August 1863, and of Shimonoséki in the following year by the allied squadrons of England, America, France, and Holland. These bombardments of the sacred shores of Japan by foreigners, unfortunate as they were thought to be at the time, produced lasting effects, namely, that even those most anti-foreign patriots came to recognize the futility of offering further resistance to Powers which were armed with modern engines of war. This, however, was off-set by two evil effects—effects which for several years hurt our national pride and honour, namely, that Great Britain and France landed troops as Legation-guards, and that several of the treaty rights we had possessed were temporarily lost to us.

Bombardment of Kagoshima and Shimonoséki.

In 1865 Sir Harry Parkes, a famous British diplomatist, who had shown remarkable ability in China, came to Yédo as British envoy to Japan. Soon after his arrival he was struck by the mistaken policy of the Powers in concluding treaties with the Shōgun, who was at best only an official of the Mikado.

Imperial sanction of the treaties.

He therefore urged his colleagues to request the Shōgun to obtain the Imperial signature to the treaties in order to make them binding. This was done, and an Imperial decree sanctioning the treaties was issued on the 23rd of October 1865. This placing of the Emperor in direct contact with the foreign envoys quickly quieted anti-foreign feeling among the ill-affected, and paved the way for the revolutionizing of Japan.

The Shōgun died in the following year and the Emperor a year later.

Restoration of power to the Emperor.

The accession of the present Emperor to the throne not only lessened still further the feeling of animosity towards foreigners, which had proved so detrimental to the Japanese, but brought about the consolidation of the empire. The first decree issued by him was to the effect that the treaties with the foreign Powers had received Imperial sanction, and, therefore, any future attack upon the life of a foreigner would be punished by law. At the same time, an edict clearly stating the line of conduct required of the Shōgun was issued, and he, deeming discretion the better part of valour, restored the civil and military powers of the country to the Emperor. Upon this most of the *daimyō* were wise enough to abandon the Shōgun's cause, although a few revolted against the Imperial House. They were, however, quickly subdued by the Imperial troops, and the supreme power of the empire once more reverted to its rightful owner.

The new Government.

In the beginning of the year 1868, the Emperor ordered a cabinet to be formed under the premiership of Prince Arisugawa, and in January of the following year he sent a notification to the foreign envoys to the effect that henceforth the administration of the country would be conducted by him, but that the provisions of the treaties concluded by the Shōgunate with their governments would be carried out to the letter. At the same time he addressed an invitation to them asking them to attend an audience to be given by him in the following month.

The *Maria Luz* Question.

The first event of importance connected with foreign relations occurred in 1872. A Peruvian ship, named the *Maria Luz*, with 200 Chinese slaves on board, entered the harbour of Yokohama. These Chinamen were subjected to most cruel

treatment, and one of them, escaping from the ship, reported the fact to the Japanese authorities and asked for protection. The ship was immediately seized and the Chinamen were released. A dispute arose out of the affair between the Japanese and the Peruvian Governments, who finally agreed to refer the question to a tribunal presided over by the Emperor Alexander II of Russia, and the case was decided in favour of Japan. This victory for a country which had just entered into the family of nations, in a dispute in which the question of humanity was involved, helped to strengthen its position as an independent nation, and was the subject of much approval in every part of the world.

The Saghalien Question.

The next event of importance arose out of Japan's relations with Russia on the question of the Island of Saghalien, and finally ended in the regrettable cession of that island to the Moscovite Empire.

Conflict between Japanese and Russians.

The Island of Ézo and the many smaller islands in the adjacent seas, owing to their remoteness, scarcely came in those days under the influence of the central Government, and although the *Daimyō* of Matsumaé had held jurisdiction over them for a length of time, he was the ruler only in name, and did hardly anything save to collect tribute at times from the aborigines who inhabited them. Under these circumstances, the Russians, who had begun to make their appearance there in the early years of the eighteenth century, had taken possession of most of the Kurile Islands. Not content with this, they went a step further and made several attempts to seize Saghalien. Hence it was that there frequently arose conflicts between their troops and our guards stationed in the various parts of the islands. In these conflicts some of the Russians were taken prisoners. Captain Golovuin, for instance, who wrote a well-known account of his expedition to Japan in later times, was seized in 1811, and kept three years in prison at Matsumaé. When Admiral Poutiatine arrived in Japan in 1853 bringing the same message from Russia as that from America, the question again came up for discussion. Nothing, however, was decided, for our authorities were too careless to utilize that favourable occasion for attaining the object they had for so long been cherishing, namely, the fixing of the fiftieth

parallel as the boundary line between the two countries in the Island of Saghalien: so the negotiations ended in a temporizing agreement that the line should not be fixed, but the island should belong to both countries in the same way as before.[1]

Russian occupation of Saghalien.

In 1854 the Russians renewed their attempts to effect the practical exclusion of the Japanese from Saghalien, and five years later, Muravioff Amoorski, elated by his success in taking possession of the valley of the Amur, which success had been consummated by the signing of the famous Treaty of Argun with China, came to Shinagawa with a fleet of war-vessels, and demanded that La Perouse Strait should be fixed as the boundary between the Russian and Japanese Empires. On Japan's refusal to enter into negotiations, the Russians sent numerous emigrants to Saghalien with the intention of asserting rights for the purpose of future negotiations. Alarmed at these inroads, the Shōgunate dispatched Iwami-no-Kami Matsudaira to St. Petersburg with the proposal to fix the fiftieth parallel as the boundary line between the two countries. The negotiations, however, proved abortive. Another effort was made in 1868 to arrive at a satisfactory settlement, but the stubbornness of the Russian Government, coupled with Japan's own internal troubles, resulted in nothing further being done.

Exchange of Saghalien with the Kurile Islands.

After the Restoration, in the year 1872, the Japanese Government offered to buy the 'Russian portion' of the island for a sum of 2,000,000 *yen*. The Russian Government having consented, negotiations were started on that basis, when Mr. (afterwards Count) Kuroda memorialized the Government, urging the inadvisability of coming into possession of a 'worthless island.' His views were adopted, and the negotiations were broken off. Three years later, Japan surrendered the whole

[1] It was the Japanese who first explored Saghalien. That island, for some time previous to any Russian expedition, had been the object of exploration by many adventurous Japanese explorers. In 1620 some retainers of the *Daimyō* of Matsumaé visited the island and passed a winter there. In 1806 a Japanese explorer named Rinzō Mamiya, who crossed over the sea to Manchuria through the Strait of Mamiya, taking no companion with him, navigated the Amur, paid a visit to Delen, a Manchurian trading centre, went down the same river, and, reaching its mouth in due course, travelled thence round Saghalien, and discovered that it was not a part of the mainland, but an island.

island to Russia, receiving in return the Kurile Islands, which had never been owned by Russia, but had always belonged to Japan. (See also *ante*, p. 86.)

Incorporation of the Loochoo Islands.

The next event to be considered is the incorporation of the Loochoo Islands into the Japanese Empire. The inhabitants of Loochoo are closely allied in blood to the Japanese, and it is recorded that Shunten-ō, son of a famous Japanese warrior named Tamétomo, who went over to Loochoo from an island off the coast of Izu in 1165 and married a native woman, ascended the throne of Loochoo. In 1372 it became a vassal state of the great conquering dynasty of Ming, but later the Loochooans paid annual tribute to the Shōgun of Japan, and in the beginning of the seventeenth century they were often severely chastised by Prince Shimazu of Satsuma for neglecting or discontinuing such tribute. Loochoo finally became a sub-fief of Satsuma, although its ruler had the title of King. At the same time the Loochooans secretly paid tribute to the Chinese Court, and received investiture from it. In 1871 the Japanese Government invited the King of Loochoo to come to Tōkyō, raised him to the peerage, and organized the archipelago into a Japanese prefecture under the name of 'Okinawa Kén.'

Claim to the Ogasawara recognized.

In longitude 140°, south of the seven islands of Izu and north of the Tropic of Cancer, are situated a group of islands called Ogasawara-jima by the Japanese, and Bonin or Arzobispo by Europeans. Being situated on the sea-route from North America to South China, the islands were often touched at by navigators, and in 1827 an English captain hoisted the Union Jack upon them, and in 1853 Commodore Perry claimed the islands as an American possession. Long anterior to this, however, namely in 1592, a well-known Japanese named Sadayori Ogasawara had settled in the islands and claimed them as his domain, giving the archipelago his family name. But the closing of our country to Western intercourse, and the subsequent prohibition of the building of sea-going ships, wholly prevented Japanese settlers from emigrating thither. Meanwhile, towards the middle of the nineteenth century, many English and Americans settled there, and the Shōgunate, fearing the complete occupation of the archipelago

by foreigners, dispatched Government officials accompanied by a large number of settlers. In consequence a dispute arose between America and Japan, but the moderation of the former brought the controversy to a happy termination, the United States Government finally recognizing, in the year 1875, Japan's claim to their possession.

The Formosan expedition.

Closely connected with the question of Loochoo is that of Formosa. In 1872 a Loochooan junk was wrecked on the coast of Formosa, over which China had claimed sovereignty. This island was then inhabited by savage tribes, and many of the crew of the junk who went ashore were brutally massacred by the natives. Japan demanded of China punishment of the murderers, asserting that the Loo-Chooans were Japanese subjects. China, disclaiming sovereignty over the islands, said that she was not responsible for any act committed by the savages of a place with which she had only a 'remote connection.' The Japanese Government, exasperated by the traditional policy of the Celestial Empire not to give any definite and satisfactory response to remonstrances, decided to send a punitive expedition, and the island was easily occupied by our expeditionary forces. China strongly protested against this 'breach of her sovereignty,' and war appeared imminent. Fortunately, however, the British Minister at Peking, Mr. Wade (afterwards Sir Thomas Wade), interposed between the two Powers, and succeeded in bringing about an agreement. Under this, Japan undertook to evacuate Formosa, while China consented to the payment of an indemnity.

The most disturbing influence upon Japan's politics.

Four years after the Restoration, Japan, having grown in stature and increased in importance, found it essential to her dignity to revise the humiliating treaties concluded by the Shōgunate with the Western Powers. For a long time, though often hindered by more urgent domestic and Korean problems, the question of Treaty Revisions had been the chief cause of popular emotion, and exercised as disturbing an influence upon the politics of Japan as the Home Rule question once did in Great Britain. Many a Ministry had been upset, and the strongest Cabinets Japan could produce—the Ministry of the 'Elder Statesmen,' or of 'All the Talents'—failed to cope with the problem. (See *post*, p. 163.)

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Treaties concluded by the Shōgun.

The Treaties of Commerce and Navigation, concluded by Japan, or more properly speaking, by the Shōgunate with the Western Powers, provided for the residence of foreign subjects at the 'Treaty Ports,' and for their separate jurisdiction therein. Roughly speaking, the conditions of the treaties were as follow:

1. The opening of the ports of Yokohama, Kobé, Ōsaka, Nagasaki, Niigata, and Hakodaté, together with Tōkyō, the capital, to commerce and residence.
2. The granting of extra-territorial jurisdiction, that is to say, exemption of foreigners from the jurisdiction of the Japanese law-courts.
3. The maintenance of a very low scale of import duties.

Foreign governments, which were cognizant that such conditions could not be permanently maintained, were wise enough to insert in their treaties with Japan a clause providing for future revision, upon notice from either of the signatory Powers after the year 1872, but, when that year came, none of the High Contracting Parties was prepared for revision, as everything depended upon Japan's fitness to enter into the family of Christian Powers on terms of equality. The object of Prince Iwakura's mission in 1871 to America and Europe was to revise the unjust treaties concluded between the Powers and the Shōgun, who was at best only an official of the Mikado, but the main object of the embassy proved abortive, the Japanese Government finding it impossible to offer suitable guarantees, since Japan's laws and usages did not yet approximate to the necessary standard. At the same time, there was an external hindrance to revision, for the eighteen signatory Powers had pledged themselves to act conjointly in their negotiations, and it was difficult for them to find a common basis upon which to proceed. Some were in favour of low import duties, while others were reluctant to place their subjects at the mercy of the Japanese laws. The United States alone showed its willingness to conclude a separate treaty, which surrendered the chief disputed points in the old document. A proviso, however, that the new treaty should not have operative force until after the signing of similar treaties with the other Powers, had practically the effect of leaving the matter *in statu quo*.

Prince Iwakura's mission to America and Europe.

Treaty Revision.

It may not be altogether out of place here to recapitulate briefly the case of Japan and that of the Powers in the question of Treaty Revision.

Japan demands restoration of Judicial and Tariff Autonomy.

Japan asserted that a great national wrong had been done her by the Powers, whereby she had been robbed of her birthright, namely, Judicial and Tariff Autonomy. She alleged that it was prejudicial to the dignity of an independent and civilized State to have foreign law-courts sitting within its dominion, and to be prevented from fixing its own tariff. If the Powers would agree to make these two concessions, Japan in return would open the whole country to travel and trade.

The Powers contended that the opening up of the entire country would not give them any benefit, for they did not see a prospect of any great commercial advantages accruing from the step.

Difficulties in the way of Treaty Revision.

They objected to the abolition of Consular jurisdiction, for whilst they admitted that they fully believed in the ability and moral qualities of Japanese judges, they urged that the latter lacked the traditions and the status of European judges. Moreover, the existing Japanese laws were not satisfactory from a European point of view, and the Powers were afraid of 'miscarriages of justice,' due to the inexperience of the Japanese Bench. The Powers had evidently overlooked the fact that their subjects residing in South American Republics were under the jurisdiction of those States.

The history of Treaty Revision, as far as Japan was concerned, was one of bitter disappointment and chagrin until the year 1894, when the British Rosebery Ministry, with a happy foresight into the future, took the initiative in the matter, and forty years' national wrong and humiliation were happily wiped out. No less than half a dozen overtures had been made before then to the Treaty Powers. The two earliest attempts have been briefly touched upon, but it may not be out of place here to deal with the attempts made by Count Inouyé and his successors, and the events which led to the final settlement.

Inouyé's negotiations.

In 1882 Count Inouyé made overtures to the British Government, and a preliminary conference was summoned to settle the basis of negotiations. The Japanese Government proposed the abolition of Consular jurisdiction outside of the

foreign settlements as soon as an English version of the Japanese new Civil Code should be published; the abolition of Consular jurisdiction even in the 'settlements' after a period of three years; and the establishment of a 'Mixed Court,' that is to say, a certain number of foreign judges were to sit on the Japanese Bench. The tariff was to be raised from five per cent. to ten per cent., and the promised codes were to be submitted to the Treaty Powers for approval. Elaborate preparations were made for a Great Conference, which was to be a final one. At this Conference every Treaty Power was to be represented, and Great Britain and Germany led the way by formulating a definite scheme in which they showed their willingness to make liberal concessions. The Conference produced, however, very little result, although Count Inouyé and the Foreign Representatives met no less than twenty-eight times in the course of the year subsequent to May 1886. Meanwhile, the conditions of the proposed treaties leaked out, and evoked much hostile criticism from the Japanese Press. The people started a vehement agitation against the proposed basis of revision. To augment the national irritation, an English steamer was wrecked on the coast of Japan, and while the captain and crew of the ship escaped, not a single Japanese passenger was rescued. Rumours were current to the effect that the Japanese passengers were forcibly put into their cabins and locked in before the ship sank. Popular anti-foreign agitation reached such a pitch that the Government was obliged to notify the Powers of its intention to postpone Treaty Revision 'until a more fitting time.'

Opposed by the people.

Not discouraged by the failure of his predecessors, Count Ōkuma, who succeeded Count Inouyé as Minister for Foreign Affairs, started fresh negotiations in 1888. Before approaching the Powers, however, he felt that it was necessary to convince the troublesome foreign residents in Japan of the advisability of revising the treaties. With a view to this, he adopted a high-handed policy towards them. Furthermore, instead of dealing with the Powers collectively, as his predecessors had done, he approached them individually, hoping thus to find their force abated. He first made overtures to Mexico, a country which had no trade to be influenced, and no citizens

Ōkuma's negotiations.

residing in Japan to protect. The only concession he offered was the presence of foreign legal assessors in the Japanese Supreme Court in cases which concerned foreigners. There was to be a space of at least three years between the putting into force of the promised codes and the abolition of extra-territorial jurisdiction. The Mexican Treaty was signed on these lines, and America, Germany, and Russia soon followed suit. The new treaties were to come into force in 1890. France was on the eve of signing, to be soon followed by the other Powers. Even Great Britain, whose preponderating commercial interests in Japan had made her the arbiter of the situation, was within measurable distance of the same end, when suddenly vehement popular opposition arose against the appointment of foreign judges, and finally an attempt was made upon the life of Count Ōkuma, who happily escaped, though with the loss of a leg. Thus was dropped once more the question of Treaty Revision, which had taxed the brains of our statesmen. (See also *post*, p. 162.)

His failure.

Not to be outdone, Viscount Aoki, who succeeded Count Ōkuma as Minister for Foreign Affairs, gallantly resumed negotiations. He formulated seven proposals, namely:

Aoki's negotiations.

1. Consular jurisdiction to be retained in the 'settlements' for a period of five years, after the expiration of which all foreigners were to be placed under Japanese jurisdiction.
2. Foreigners to be prohibited from owning railways, mines, and shares in Japanese banks, railways, or shipping companies.
3. No foreign judges to act on Japanese tribunals.
4. Foreigners to be prohibited from engaging in the coasting trade.
5. Existing codes to stand.
6. In return for the above concessions on the part of the Powers, Japan would open the whole country for European residence and travel.
7. Tariff should be fixed at from ten to twelve per cent. on all goods, except spirits, tobacco, oil, and soy, which were to be outside the conventional tariff.

Happily, the British Conservative Government, which was then in power, received the Japanese proposals with the most friendly feelings; but soon after the above overtures had been made, Count Yamagata, who objected to the conditions, resigned the premiership and was succeeded by Count Matsugata. About the same time a fanatic made an attempt on the life of the Tsarevitch (the present Emperor of Russia), who was then visiting Japan on a tour round the world. Viscount Aoki had to resign in consequence, and was succeeded by Viscount Énomoto, who endeavoured to make the final abandonment of Consular jurisdiction synchronise with the promulgation of the promised codes. The Government was, however, defeated on the Budget and resigned.

Énomoto's negotiations.

Address to the Throne on Treaty Revision.

In 1893 the Lower House of the Imperial Diet voted an Address to the Throne on the question of Treaty Revision. It stated the necessity of revising the unjust treaties, which deprived the nation of judicial as well as tariff autonomy; further, that the exercise of the extra-territorial system was highly derogatory to our national dignity; further, that the restrictions imposed in respect of the customs tariff prevented Japan from exercising her natural rights, while foreign countries imposed prohibitive duties on goods exported by her, much to the detriment of her industries and commerce. Consequently, the members of the Lower House humbly asked His Majesty's permission to express their opinions, which were that:

1. Consular jurisdiction should be abolished.
2. Tariff autonomy should be recovered.
3. Coasting trade should be prohibited.

It thus became evident that the Government thenceforth had to deal not only with the Powers, but also with the Imperial Diet, which was supported by a formidable body of public opinion.

Mutsu's negotiations.

Great agitation arose against 'Mixed Residence' and foreign ownership of property, and every day the prospects of Treaty Revision became more remote. Notwithstanding this, however, the Government, with Count Mutsu as Foreign Minister, at the invitation of the Rosebery Ministry, opened negotiations with Great Britain, and fearing that the attitude

of the Imperial Diet might again break off negotiations, they courageously dissolved it, and the question which had agitated the country for forty long years was finally solved by the signing of the present treaty at London, between Lord Rosebery and Viscount Aoki, on the 16th of July 1894. (See *post*, p. 170.)

The war with China.

The war with China, from which Japan emerged victorious both on land and on sea, helped to increase her importance as a Power, and convinced the rest of the Treaty Powers that the time had at last arrived for Treaty Revision. The United States, Italy, Russia, Germany, France, and Austria-Hungary followed the example of Great Britain, and by the end of 1897 all the leading Powers of Europe had signed treaties with Japan on a footing of equality.

The Korean Question.

Korea, called Kōrai or Koma in ancient, and Chosén in modern Japanese, and Kan-Koku in our official documents, has been ruled by a succession of dynasties for many a century. It is, however, no exaggeration to say that it has almost always acknowledged greater or less dependence upon either the 'Celestial Empire' or the 'Empire of the Rising Sun.' That the claims of Japan were the earlier in origin and exercised for a longer space of time, all historians know. It was in the third century that the renowned Empress Jingu herself crossed the sea on an expedition against Korea, which she soon subdued. From that time down to the middle of the sixteenth century, though with frequent interruptions, the Koreans paid an annual tribute to Japan. The main object of Hidéyoshi's expedition against Korea was to punish the refractory vassal, which had ceased to maintain allegiance towards its lord. Iyéyasu Tokugawa, who rose into power soon after Hidéyoshi and established the Tokugawa Shōgunate, dealt with the Koreans in a lenient spirit, and succeeded in making them renew their ancient friendship towards Japan. From that time onwards, a mission bearing tribute was sent from Korea to Yédo upon the succession of each Shōgun. In 1868 the Japanese Government sent an embassy to the Court of Seoul, bearing a formal announcement of the resumption by the Emperor of full sovereignty, and invited the Koreans to renew their former friendship. The embassy, however, met with an insolent refusal. In 1875 a Korean fort on the Island

Kang-Hwa incident.

of Kang-Hwa fired upon a Japanese warship, and the Japanese Government again took up the question, with the result that a Treaty of Intercourse was finally signed by representatives of the two States. The opening words of the first article were: 'Chosén, being an independent State, enjoys the same sovereign rights as does Japan.'

Thus Japan, which had herself been opened up to the rest of the world less than thirteen years, became instrumental in doing the same for the 'Hermit Nation.' In 1880 the first Japanese Legation was established at Seoul. But the restoration of peaceful relations between the island empire and the peninsular kingdom was soon hampered by serious diplomatic complications. In 1882, at the instigation of the Regent, Tai-wen-kun, and without the slightest provocation, the Japanese Legation was attacked by a Korean mob and burned, and the Legation staff had to fight their way to the port of Chemulpo, where they found refuge on a British gunboat and were conveyed to Nagasaki. Count Inouyé, who was then Minister for Foreign Affairs, was dispatched to Korea to demand from the Korean Government an apology. The Koreans agreed to send a special embassy of apology and to pay an indemnity of 500,000 *yen*.

Korean riot of 1882.

The well-known Korean, Pak, who came to Japan as ambassador in 1882, returned home greatly impressed by all he had seen, became a staunch supporter of the Japanese cause, and painted Japanese civilization in the brightest colours to the Koreans. The Japanese Government, pleased with the welcome change in the attitude of the people of the peninsula, remitted the larger part, amounting to 400,000 *yen*, of the indemnity, which had not yet been paid. Serious complications, however, arose out of a very simple affair. On the 4th of December 1884, an official banquet was given in the capital, at which a large number of Court dignitaries and high functionaries were present. After the banquet, Prince Min, the leader of the Reactionary Party, was dragged out of the Palace and murdered, whilst several of the conservative leaders met with the same fate. The city was in a state of turmoil, and the progressives asked for the assistance of the Japanese troops to protect the Palace. But the Chinese troops, led by

Yuen-Shihkai, who numbered more than 2000 and had a numerical strength of twenty to one over the Japanese, attacked it. The King fled, and the Japanese troops beat a retreat to the Legation, which was attacked and burned. In Japan the people were furious and clamoured for war, and their cry was supported by France; but the self-restraint and caution of the Government fortunately held the upper hand, and the Treaty of Tientsin was signed. By this convention, negotiated by Count Itō with Viceroy Li-Hung-chang, both signatory Powers agreed to withdraw their troops, and each promised not to dispatch any in future without previous intimation to the other. From Korea Japan extracted an indemnity, a promise to punish the murderers, and the rebuilding of the Japanese Legation at Korea's expense. The convention, which in outward appearance was a diplomatic triumph for Japan, involving the admission of absolute equality of rights in Korea which she had been labouring to assert, became in reality the basis of China's ascendancy in the peninsula, and was one of the indirect causes of the war of 1894.

The Treaty of Tientsin.

Korea had been a bone of contention between Japan and China for centuries; but in 1884 another contestant came upon the scene, and the affairs in the peninsula assumed alarming proportions, for in June of that year Russia concluded a commercial treaty with Korea, M. Pavloff, a young and promising diplomat, having been appointed Russian Minister at the Court of Seoul. In 1888 the Russian Government concluded the famous 'Overland Commercial Treaty' with Korea, and at once laid the foundation of their encroachment on North Korea.

Russians in Korea.

Among the three rival countries at the Court of Korea the influence of China always preponderated. The causes for this are not far to seek. China had claimed sovereignty over the peninsula for some centuries, and, having bestowed much favour on Korea during that time, was naturally relied on by the Koreans, who distrusted the 'hairy barbarians' of the North and the 'dwarfs' of the East. Fortunately for China, Japan was much occupied at home with the promulgation of the Constitution, the struggle between the Government and the Diet, and the Revision of the Treaties, and therefore

China's power in Korea.

the Chinese Resident, Yuen-Shihkai, remained virtual ruler of the kingdom until 1894.

Assassination of Kim-Ok-yun.

In February of that year, however, an event happened, which, though in itself of minor importance, contributed in no small degree towards hastening a conflict. Kim-Ok-yun, leader of the Korean Revolutionists, who had escaped to Japan and lived some years in that country, having incautiously proceeded to Shanghai, was murdered there by a notable Korean, who professed to have acted by order of the King of Korea. His remains were conveyed on board a Chinese man-of-war to Korea, where they were subjected to brutal mutilation and public exposure, and the members of his family were all put to death, while the murderer was loaded with honours, and was, on his return, made a popular idol. Naturally the Japanese were much exasperated by this act of barbarism, and loudly clamoured for retaliation. The result was the formation of an association called 'The Anti-Korean Association,' which vigorously attacked the lukewarm policy of the Japanese Government.

The 'Tong-haks.'

In May 1894 the 'Tong-haks' rose in arms against the Korean Government, or, more properly speaking, against the corrupt officials of the Korean Court. The Chinese Resident, Yuen-Shihkai, thinking that Japan was too much occupied with her domestic affairs to be able to send a single soldier to suppress the rising, counselled Li-Hung-chang to dispatch a force to the peninsula. Li, after hesitating for some days, finally

China's dispatch of troops.

dispatched some 3000 troops from Wei-hai-wei to Asan. According to the provisions of the Treaty of Tientsin, China duly notified the Japanese Government that she had dispatched troops to Korea, and Japan, by virtue of the same treaty, decided to follow suit. A 'mixed brigade,' numbering about

Japan's dispatch of troops.

8000 and consisting of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, entered the capital of Korea, whereupon China demanded their immediate withdrawal, while Japan responded by urging the necessity of reforming Korea in co-operation with China. On receipt of a curt refusal from the Celestial Government, Japan drew up a programme of reform which she demanded of the Korean Government. The latter replied that no reforms should be started until after the withdrawal of the Japanese forces from

the peninsula. Nothing now remained for Japan but to act independently, duly notifying the Chinese Government of her decision. Russia had been very emphatic in her protest, for she had stated clearly and frankly in her note to the Government of Japan that, unless Japan withdrew her troops immediately from the peninsula, she would be held responsible for any breach of the peace. Japan's reply to the Muscovite was entirely founded upon reason and justice. But for the sake of peace and humanity, she again approached the Chinese Government direct in a series of negotiations, wherein she again offered to reform the internal affairs of Korea conjointly with the Middle Kingdom. A flat refusal was the sole reply, and she was therefore obliged to take independent action.

Russia's protest.

On the 25th of July a flying squadron, sent by Japan to Hoatung for the purpose of reconnoitring, met a Chinese detached squadron, consisting of the *Sei-Yuen*, the *Chao-yong*, and the *Kowshing*. The last was a transport sailing under the British flag, laden with 1500 Chinese troops. It was sunk by Captain (now Admiral) Tōgō of the *Naniwa*. Some publicists took the opportunity of contending that the action of Tōgō was contrary to the usage of International Law. In fact, many criticisms appeared in the English Press, and the affair assumed a very ugly aspect. Fortunately, however, the clear and unmistakable statement of Captain Galsworthy of the *Kowshing*, and the fair judgment of such distinguished exponents of International Law as Professors Holland and Westlake, calmed the British excitement and anger, which were at one moment most pronounced.

On the 29th of July the Japanese troops drove out the Chinese from Asan, after having inflicted a severe defeat upon them, and on the 1st of August war was formally declared at Tōkyō and Peking.

Declaration of war.

Such were the events which led up to the war with China. It was terminated by the Treaty of Shimonoséki, concluded on the 14th of April 1895, which embodied the following conditions:

1. Recognition of the full and complete independence of Korea by China.

Treaty of Shimonoséki.

2. Cession of the Liaotung peninsula and the adjacent waters to Japan.
3. Cession of Formosa and the Pescadores to Japan.
4. Payment to Japan of an indemnity of 200,000,000 *taels*.
5. Opening up of Shashih, Chungking, Suchow, and Hangchow to trade.
6. Opening of the Yangtse-kiang to navigation.

Interference of the three Powers.

Six days after the signing of the treaty, Russia, at the instigation, so it was thought at the time, of Germany, and with the approval of France, presented to the Government of Tōkyō the following remonstrance :—

'The Government of His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, in examining the conditions of peace which Japan has imposed on China, finds that the possession of the peninsula of Liaotung, claimed by Japan, would be a constant menace to the capital of China, would at the same time render illusory the independence of Korea, and would henceforth be a perpetual obstacle to the permanent peace of the Far East. Consequently, the Government of His Majesty the Emperor would give a new proof of their sincere friendship for the Government of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan by advising them to renounce the definitive possession of the peninsula of Liaotung.'

Japan had to yield at the time to the pressure thus exerted by the three great Western Powers. As compensation, however, for the retrocession of the Liaotung peninsula and its littoral, Japan received from China, through the 'friendly services' of the Powers, a sum of 30,000,000 *taels*.

Korea after the war.

At the end of the war with China, Count Inouyé went to Korea as our Minister at the Court of Seoul, and with the energy which has always characterized his doings, at once set about the task of regenerating the country. The military system was remodelled after the pattern of the Japanese army, and local administration was reorganized. As soon, however, as the Count left the country in 1895, and was succeeded by General Viscount Miura, trouble arose in the capital. A number of Korean rebels, joined by a handful of Japanese rowdies, made

a sudden rush into the Palace, where they seized and murdered the Queen. General Miura was recalled, and notwithstanding the efforts of the Japanese Government to recover the prestige they had lost by harsh measures and by the folly of certain irresponsible Japanese, our influence at Seoul was entirely gone. The King made his escape to the Russian Legation, where he was received with the greatest honours, and thenceforth the affairs of the country were directed from that place.

The Japanese officers in the Korean army were discharged and Russians were appointed in their places; lumber concessions were granted to Russia, and Korea even conceded to her the right to extend the Manchurian railway into the heart of the peninsula. These events aroused keen apprehensions in Japan, and when in May 1896 Marshal Marquis Yamagata was sent to St. Petersburg to represent the Mikado at the coronation of the Czar, the Government of Tōkyō took the opportunity of concluding, after a series of negotiations, what is known as the Yamagata-Lobanoff Convention. By this convention the two Powers agreed that each should enjoy equal rights of residence in Korea and have advisatory powers for the purpose of inaugurating a sound financial system in the country. It was further agreed that when tranquillity had been restored the King should return to the Palace.

The Russo-Japanese Convention.

Fortunately for Korea and the peace and prosperity of the Far East, Japan, recognizing her past errors, began at once strictly to conform her action to the principles of the convention. By Russia, however, the convention was treated as a dead letter, for the territorial and financial resources of Korea were very soon placed in Russian hands, and Russian intrigues at the Court of Seoul became more rife than ever. Japan, however, was not to be thus flouted; she determined to assert her rights, and notified the Muscovite Government that a new Convention granting equal rights and opportunities to the two Powers must be arranged accordingly. After lengthy negotiations a second convention, known as the Nishi-Rosen Convention, was signed. In this document each Power recognized the independence of Korea and pledged itself not to lend military or civil advisers to that country without the consent of the other. Further, Russia agreed

The new convention.

not to interfere with Japan's commercial and industrial development in Korea.

In 1899 Japan took over a scheme for the construction of a railway from Seoul to Fusan. During this year no other events of importance took place, but rumours were rife concerning Russia's intentions, and it was thought that a life-and-death struggle between that country and Japan could not long be avoided.

War between Russia and Japan. Its distant causes.

Before we proceed to discuss the causes of the great struggle for the mastery not only of Korea but of the whole Eastern Pacific, it may not be out of place here to review briefly the causes of the Boxer rising and the events which led up to it, for the incidents of the past few years both in China and in Korea have been either direct or indirect causes of the late deplorable war.

One of the results of the war between China and Japan was that it revealed to the world the weakness of the former, and at once set in motion forces which culminated in the anti-foreign outbreaks six years later.

Claims of the Powers to Chinese territory.

Soon after the retrocession of the Liaotung peninsula, Russia began to busy herself formulating her ambitious designs, and, by a secret treaty concluded with China, obtained the right to construct the eastern portion of the Siberian railway through Manchuria and to extend it to the southern part of that country. In 1898 Germany suddenly seized Kiaw-chow and obtained a lease of the place for a period of ninety-nine years. A month later the Russian Pacific Squadron entered the naval harbour of Port Arthur and forced the helpless Chinese to consent to a lease of the Liaotung peninsula and its littoral for a period of twenty-five years. Great Britain followed Russia's example by obtaining a lease of Wei-hai-wei with the Island of Liu-kung and a strip of land ten miles wide all round the bay, with rights and conditions similar to those of Russia in Port Arthur; while France extorted from China a concession for the occupation of Kuang-chow Bay on a twenty-five years' lease.

The Boxer trouble.

This greed for territory on the part of the Powers and the helplessness of the Chinese Government so disconcerted and vexed what few patriots China possessed, that in May 1900

a rising took place in the south of Chili, and a secret society of patriots known as Boxers led the movement. Communication between Peking and Tientsin was soon cut off, the German Minister to China and a clerk of the Japanese Legation were murdered, the capital was surrounded by the Boxers, and it was even reported that the foreign envoys, their wives and children, and the members of the Legations had been massacred. All the Powers, with the exception of Russia, counselled the Government of Tōkyō to dispatch a force strong enough to relieve the Legations—a request which was speedily complied with. A little later the Powers also dispatched troops, and Peking was relieved in August and a treaty of peace was signed by China and the Powers.

Russia occupies Manchuria.

Although the Boxer rising was universally deplored, it furnished an excellent opportunity to Russia of turning the fertile provinces of Manchuria into a Russian possession. For, on the pretext that a Boxer rising was imminent and that the Russian railway was threatened, she poured large bodies of troops into Manchuria and soon was in military occupation of the three provinces.

The Anglo-German Convention.

It may be as well to make passing reference here to an agreement concluded between Great Britain and Germany, an agreement which stated in unmistakable terms that, should any Power utilize the complications in China for the purpose of seeking advantages prejudicial to the interests of China and the other Powers, the signatory Powers would take the necessary steps to protect their own interests. The other great Powers also agreed to adhere to the principles of this agreement, which was calculated to preserve the integrity of China, and Japan also, ever anxious to maintain the *status quo*, became a consenting party.

Secret agreement between China and Russia.

In December a telegram was dispatched to the *Times* by its well-known correspondent in Peking, Dr. Morrison, which startled the whole civilized world. The telegram set forth briefly the terms of an agreement concluded between the Russian general commanding in Manchuria and the Tartar general Tseng, by which Russia was to become the virtual ruler of the province. This procedure of Russia's was so contrary to the principle of united action by the Powers concerned

in the East, that pressure was at once brought to bear upon China by Japan, Great Britain, and the United States not to sanction the agreement. At the same time, Japan sent a protest to Russia, in terms polite but strong. Against this even the skill of Russian diplomacy was of no avail, and the Government of St. Petersburg had to give way for the time.

Not to be outdone, however, Russia attempted a second and a third time to conclude a secret treaty with China, efforts which fortunately proved unsuccessful, owing to the vigilance and firm attitude of the Powers.

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

Early in the year 1902, there occurred an event destined to preserve permanently the integrity of China and Korea against the aggression of the Muscovite Empire. At the time of the North China affair, Great Britain and Japan found their interests in the Far East so identical that they acted in unison, and ever since then it only required a common peril in order to have their *rapprochement* clearly stated in a written agreement.

On the 30th of January 1902 a Treaty of Alliance was signed by Baron Hayashi (afterwards raised to the rank of Viscount in connection with the treaty) and Lord Lansdowne, the text being formally published at Tōkyō and London on the 12th of February. The preamble of the treaty is sufficient to show its absolutely pacific nature. It runs thus:

'The Governments of Great Britain and Japan, actuated solely by a desire to maintain the *status quo* and general peace in the extreme East, being moreover specially interested in maintaining the independence and territorial integrity of the Empire of China and the Empire of Korea, and in securing equal opportunities in those countries for the commerce and industry of all nations, hereby agree, &c.'

As was only to be expected, the Treaty received the hearty approval of nearly all the Powers interested in the affairs of the 'Celestial Empire' and the 'Empire of the Morning Calm.' But, almost contemporaneously, France and Russia notified the Governments of London and Tōkyō that thenceforth the provisions of the Franco-Russian Alliance would be equally applicable to the Far East.

It can hardly be doubted that the deplorable action of France in engaging herself to give assistance to Russia in the accomplishment of the latter's ambitious designs in the Pacific contributed in no small degree towards hastening the Russo-Japanese complication; for Russia, thus assured that even in the Far East she would never have to face a foe single-handed, soon forced China, with the support of her ally and the connivance of Germany, to sign a Manchurian convention. Fortunately, however, the advice given to China by Japan, Great Britain, and the United States was strong enough to intimidate Russia into making many important concessions, and the result was her agreement to retrocede Manchuria. Under this agreement, which was concluded on the 2nd of April 1902, Russia undertook to withdraw a portion of her troops within six months, a second portion within a year, and the remainder within eighteen months. Excepting this 'concession' on the part of Russia, the whole province of Manchuria was to be left at the mercy of the Muscovite Empire.

Russian agreement for the evacuation of Manchuria.

Thereafter events moved very rapidly. The first six months passed; a few companies of infantry were withdrawn and the railways outside of the Great Wall were returned to China.

Russia's new demands.

Suddenly, however, like a bolt from the blue, seven new demands were made upon the Government of Peking as conditions for the 'evacuation' of Manchuria.

These demands were as follow:

1. That China should not open any free port in the evacuated district.
2. That China should not employ foreigners, other than Russians, in her service in the north.
3. That Newchwang should be under Russian administration.
4. That the Russo-Chinese Bank should collect the Customs dues as heretofore.
5. That the sanitary affairs of Manchuria shou d be controlled by Russia.
6. That Chinese telegraph-poles in Manchuria should be used by Russians.

7. That no part of Manchuria should ever be alienated to any foreign Power.

Great Britain, the United States, and Japan at once sent their assurances to the Government of Peking to the effect that China would receive their united support in resisting Russia's demands. Japan, as usual, sent a strongly worded protest to St. Petersburg, while Lord Lansdowne telegraphed to Sir Claude MacDonald at Tōkyō, stating that the British Government would keep in line with Japan in the matter. Meanwhile Russia, not satisfied with the practical annexation of Manchuria, had taken aggressive measures in Korea, and large bodies of Russian soldiers dressed as civilians had settled at Yongampo on the Yalu River.

Excitement in Japan.

Excitement in Japan became intense, and the people clamoured for war. The Government, however, decided to take pacific measures, and cabled to the Japanese Minister at St. Petersburg, directing him to open negotiations with the Russian Government with a view to a definition of their respective special interests in Manchuria and Korea. Japan's proposals were in substance:

Japan's proposals to Russia.

1. Mutual engagement to respect the independence and territorial integrity of China and Korea.
2. Reciprocal recognition of Japan's preponderating interests in Korea, and Russia's special interests in Manchuria.

For reasons which are now well known, Russia did her best to defer the negotiations, meanwhile appointing Admiral Alexieff Viceroy of the Far East and expressing a wish to transfer the negotiations to Tōkyō. The Japanese Government, ever anxious to arrive at an amicable settlement of affairs, consented to the latter request. In September 1903 Baron Rosen, the Russian Minister at Tōkyō, went to Port Arthur to confer with Viceroy Alexieff, and on his return presented to the Japanese Government two counter-proposals, which were as follow:

Russia's proposals.

1. Recognition by Japan of Manchuria and its littoral as in all respects outside her sphere of interest.

2. A neutral zone to be formed in Korea, and to extend from the south of the Yalu to the thirty-ninth parallel.

Naturally these outrageous and insulting proposals produced a storm of indignation in Japan; but the Government, still desirous of settling the question without an appeal to arms, continued the negotiations, and went so far as virtually to agree to declare Manchuria and its littoral as being outside Japan's sphere of interest, provided that Russia made a similar declaration with regard to Korea. Thus frustrated in her efforts to break off negotiations, Russia went a step further and asked Japan not to fortify the south-eastern coast of Korea. To Japan's answer, tendered after 'the most careful and serious consideration,' no reply was made; but Russia continued to pour troops into Manchuria and send battleships and cruisers from the Baltic to the Far East. Nothing remained for Japan but to break off negotiations and sever diplomatic relations with Russia.

On the 10th of February 1904, one day previous to the day to be long remembered as being that on which our first Emperor, Jimmu, ascended the throne of Japan 2564 years ago, war was formally declared in Tōkyō.

Declaration of war.

Deplorable as war is, it must be confessed that it was highly necessary. The integrity of Korea is bound up with our own existence, whilst the security of the peninsula, which is within a stone's-throw of our empire, is closely connected with the safety of our own borders. And, now that its ultimate result is certain, may Russia soon come to realize the futility of her aggressive policy; may the two great warring nations soon be bound together in bonds of amity, and may all future international differences come to be adjusted at the bar of the Hague Tribunal, of which His Majesty Czar Nicholas II is the proud founder!

[As will be seen from the concluding words of the foregoing paper, the late Count only carried the foreign relations of Japan to the point when the result of the late war made his country's success assured—that is, until the end of the year 1904.

The terms of the convention which terminated the struggle

will be found elsewhere (Appendix B), but the following short *précis* of subsequent events which has been furnished by Count Ōkuma will fittingly find a place here.]

A great change has come over the Far Eastern Question since the termination of the great Russo-Japanese struggle, the fundamental cause of which is to be traced to a modification of the national policy of the Muscovite Empire as set forth by Peter the Great. As soon as the present enlightened Emperor and his statesmen realized the impossibility of her holding the sole suzerainty over the whole Eastern world, an immediate result was the proclamation of a constitution guaranteeing freedom to the people, and bringing in its train the Duma's decided opposition to an increase in armaments.

Russian statesmen also saw that it was an advantage to Russia to be on friendly terms with Japan, and that Japan's policy had for its sole object the problem of Chinese integrity, and was caused by no rooted enmity towards Russia. Added to this, Russia's financial difficulties necessitated a temporary postponement of the reconstruction of her Navy—circumstances which have combined to bring about a Russo-Japanese *entente*. Russia has thus become a Power acting upon the great principle of universal peace, of which the Czar had proved himself a champion by initiating the first Hague Conference. The unfortunate circumstances that terminated in the Russo-Japanese War were due to temporary misunderstandings, and the two nations have evidenced this by following up the Peace Convention with unmistaken evidences of friendship. Why should this not be so when we see that Russia and England, who were at enmity for nearly a century, established an *entente cordiale*—an *entente* which makes still more for universal peace in the Far East? Our national excitement has subsided, and a sudden expansion in national finance has brought about a reaction towards retrenchment. The nation clamoured for a reduction in taxation; the Government became anxious to keep our credit abroad unimpaired, and so has promised to raise no more national loans and to repay the debts already incurred. To 'nourish economic resources' has become for us a watchword and general cry

On the other hand, our alliance with England, which was re-ratified and extended towards the close of the Russo-Japanese War, has been steadily increasing in importance and stability, and our understanding with Russia and France clearly demonstrate to the world Japan's solicitude for the peace and friendship of the rest of mankind. Only between the United States of America and Japan has there been any conflict of feeling—a conflict which has arisen out of the question of emigration; but the American fleet's visit to Japan and the deputation to us of prominent business men of the State of California has tended to dispel the unpleasantness, and culminated in the exchange of a convention ensuring good will on either side. Thus there is nothing to disturb the firmly established peace in the Far East. Japan's urgent need of military expansion, once felt and clamoured for, is now decreasing in magnitude, and our national finance is following this altered view of the situation. This change is, in its turn, causing an improvement in the economic conditions of the country, as well as increasing our credit both at home and abroad. Great economic disturbances are inevitable after a war, as was once experienced by Germany, but we are now entering the stage of recovery from this very necessary and salutary experience.

V

SOME REMINISCENCES OF THE GRANT OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION

PRINCE HIROBUMI ITŌ

Decline of feudalism.

LOOKING backwards for fifty years into the history of Japan, we see the feudal system in its last stage of development, with exaggerated crystallization of its external forms and formalities, and with the spirit which animated and upheld the glory of its golden age rapidly waning. Feudalism, which had endured for nearly eight centuries, and had attained a degree of development hardly approached elsewhere, stood on thoroughly worm-eaten though externally lacquered and gilt pillars, but, excluded as it had been for so long from the disturbing elements of the outside world, enjoying the self-contented tranquillity of the inertia of centuries.

Preparations for participation in international competition.

The advent of Commodore Perry, followed by a rapid succession of great events too well known to every student of our history to be repeated here, roughly awakened us to the consciousness of mighty forces at work which were changing the face of the outside world. We felt the contact with irresistible forces which were certain to draw our country very soon into the cauldron of international competition. In face of this revelation we were fain to confess to ourselves that we were ill prepared to bear the brunt of these forces, although once awakened to the consciousness of necessity, we were not slow to grapple with them. So, first of all, the whole fabric of the feudal system, which with its obsolete shackles and formalities hindered us at every step and in every branch of free development, had to be uprooted and destroyed. The annihilation of centrifugal forces taking the form of auto-

cratic feudal provinces was a necessary step to the unification of the country under a strong central government, without which we would not have been able to offer a united front to the outside forces, or stand up as a solid and compact whole for the further maintenance of the country's very existence. The natural sequence of these ideas led to the restoration of the Imperial power to its ancient vitality, making it thereby a real rallying-point and the representative standard of the united forces of the empire. With the Restoration, the Crown naturally stood face to face with the governed—with the entire mass of the people, although the word 'people' had not then the significance it now possesses, but denoted merely a numerical mass of governed units. The keen insight of our enlightened Sovereign, as well as of his advisers, was not slow to perceive that in order to become a powerful State it was a matter of prime necessity that these units, or rather each individual unit, should be developed to higher standards of perfection and of civilization, and that they should not, as heretofore, remain a passive element in the State, but should combine and actively co-operate in a solid and compact organization for the attainment of the common weal.

Political centralization.

The well-known Solemn Oath proclaimed by His Majesty in 1868,[1] at the very beginning of his auspicious reign, emphasizes, among other things, both these points, viz. a most liberal education of the people, and a government on the solid basis of national co-operation.

I must, however, disabuse my readers of the very common illusion that there was no education and an entire absence of public spirit during feudal times. It is this false impression which leads superficial observers of our country to believe that our civilization has been so recent that its continuance is a doubtful problem, the ultimate solution of which can only be judged by future events—in short, that our civilization is nothing but a hastily donned, superficial veneer. On the contrary, I am not exaggerating when I say that, for generations and centuries, we have been enjoying a moral education of the highest type. The great ideals offered by philosophy and by historical examples of the golden ages of China and India, Japanicized

The origin of Japanese civilization.

Sources of our culture.

[1] See *post*, p. 141.

in the form of a 'crust of customs,' developed and sanctified by the continual usage of centuries under the comprehensive name of *Bushidō*, offered us splendid standards of morality, rigorously enforced in the every-day life of the educated classes. The result, as everyone who is acquainted with Old Japan knows, was an education which aspired to the attainment of Stoic heroism, a rustic simplicity and a self-sacrificing spirit unsurpassed in Sparta, and the æsthetic culture and intellectual refinement of Athens. Art, delicacy of sentiment, higher ideals of morality and of philosophy, as well as the highest types of valour and chivalry—all these we have tried to combine in the man as he ought to be. We laid great stress on the harmonious combination of all the known accomplishments of a developed human being, and it is only since the introduction of modern technical sciences that we have been obliged to pay more attention to specialized technical attainments than to the harmonious development of the whole. Let me remark, *en passant*, that the humanitarian efforts which in the course of the recent war were so much in evidence and which so much surprised Western nations were not, as might have been thought, the products of the new civilization, but survivals of our ancient feudal chivalry. If further instance were needed, we may direct attention to the numbers of our renowned warriors and statesmen who have left behind them works of religious and moral devotions, of philosophical contemplations, as well as splendid specimens of calligraphy, painting, and poetry, to an extent probably unparalleled in the feudalism of other nations.

Harmonious development of the human faculties.

Thus it will be seen that what was lacking in our countrymen of the feudal era was not mental or moral fibre, but the scientific, technical, and materialistic side of modern civilization. Our present condition is not the result of the ingrafting of a civilization entirely different from our own, as foreign observers are apt to believe, but simply a different training and nursing of a strongly vital character already existent. The mass of the rural population, i.e. of common folk, did not fail to be influenced by the ideals prevailing amongst the higher and educated classes. They too were honest, industrious, ready to sacrifice their interests for the sake of their neighbours, and

especially of their village communities, peaceful and docile, with faith in life and in their fellow-creatures, law-abiding, and accessible to delicate sentiments and higher notions of morality. Here was a splendid material with which to build up a strong nation, if only it could be properly guided and educated so as to be able to meet the demands of modern materialistic civilization. The Government was not slow in its endeavour to complement the incomplete side of our ancient education, and to equip the rising generation with the intellectual arms required for the modern struggle for existence and supremacy. Hand in hand with the above (i.e. the education of the rising generation), the Government tried its best to train the mass of the people to modern ideas of public and political life. They were slowly but steadily led to extend their vision beyond the pale of their village communities, to look upon the affairs of their districts and prefectures as their own, until finally they could interest themselves in the affairs of state and nation as strongly as, or even more strongly than, in the affairs of their own villages.

Education of the people for new era.

In 1880 the laws concerning *Fu* and *Ken* representative assemblies and the provincial decentralization of administrative business were promulgated. In the same year the law of organization of rural and urban communes, framed on the modern basis of extended self-government, was published. Already in the year 1873 military service had become obligatory on all, and defence of the empire made the duty and the privilege of citizens. Other important measures of similar nature, all tending to draw in the citizens to participation in the common work of the fulfilment of our national mission, were step by step adopted. It was in 1881 that His Majesty considered the nation ripe for receiving the notice of the coming inauguration of the constitutional *régime* on the basis of a representative system. It will be seen from the above that ever since the promulgation of the Solemn Oath of 1868, it has been the unswerving policy of our Sovereign (1) to educate the people to the requirements of a constitutional state, (2) to fortify the nation with the best results and resources of modern civilization, and (3) thus to secure for the country prosperity, strength, and culture, and the consequent recognized status of

Gradual development of laws and institutions.

Essential points of the Imperial policy.

membership upon an equal footing in the family of the most powerful and civilized nations of the world.

Growth of national spirit.

With what success this Imperial policy, tenaciously upheld during forty years, has been crowned, is being witnessed by the whole world, and it has been vividly illustrated very recently by the way in which the whole country stood up to the Titanic struggle in defence of its honour and interests against the nation hitherto considered as almost the most powerful in the world. Even the simplest soldier was fully conscious and confident of, and intensely interested in, the national mission and the national destiny. It was not the defence of his hearth and of his nearest kin, as in older times, against hated neighbours or hostile races—but conscientious fulfilment of a duty—nay, he even considered it as an honour and as a privilege towards the body politic of which he felt himself an organic and living unit. Such a result as this would have been impossible in absolute monarchies, where governed classes are simply passive observers of, or obedient tools in, the work of the governing classes, and where abstract ideas of duty are not animated by personal interest in its fulfilment. So far, I think, nobody will dispute the brilliant success of the Imperial policy which slowly but steadily constitutionalized the monarchy.

Two great objects.

In other words, the problem to be solved and the object to be attained by the Constitution in our country was not only the harmonizing and conciliating of conflicting tendencies of different interests within the State, as is the case in the majority of constitutional monarchies, but also the imparting of a new vitality to the public life and its citizens—a new and increased creative energy to the public functions of the State itself. The problem was, however, far easier to comprehend than to solve. As mentioned before, it was in the year 1881 that the Emperor gave notice of the approaching inauguration of the constitutional *régime*. He allotted nine years for the preparation. The above notice was not only a warning to the people to prepare themselves earnestly for the coming active participation in the political life of their country, but it was also a warning to administrative organs of State to make necessary preparations for bringing the central administration in harmony with modern

Preparations for proclamation of the Constitution.

ideas of a constitutional 'Rechtsstaat.' Both sides fully availed themselves of this wisely arranged period of preparation.

Formation of political parties.

On the one hand, party organizations were formed throughout the country. The activities of Mr. (now Count) Ōkuma and of Mr. (now Count) Itagaki were prominent, among others. They may indeed be named as originators of political parties in Japan, in the modern sense of the word.

Administrative reforms.

On the other hand, far-reaching administrative reforms were undertaken. As mentioned before, administration was decentralized and remodelled on the basis of local self-government, the spheres of responsibility of different central administrative bodies being clearly defined; executive business was entrusted to permanent functionaries of higher education, and courts of justice were constituted with privileged and technically educated judges, &c. &c. And besides, we had also to take precautionary measures for safeguarding the efficiency of this same administration against the brunt of the onslaught of extremely democratic ideas, which showed symptoms of impatience at every form of administrative activity, whether justifiable or not—for, in such a country as ours, it was evident that it would be necessary to compensate for its smallness of size and population by a compact solidity of organization and the efficiency of its administrative activity.

Draft of the Constitution.

It was in the month of March 1882 that His Majesty ordered me to work out a draft of a Constitution to be submitted to his approval. No time was to be lost, so I started on the 15th of the same month for an extended journey in different constitutional countries to make as thorough a study as possible of the actual workings of different systems of constitutional government, of their various provisions, as well as of theories and opinions actually entertained by influential persons on the actual stage itself of constitutional life. I took young men with me, who all belonged to the *élite* of the rising generation, to assist and to co-operate with me in my studies. I sojourned about a year and a half in Europe, and having gathered the necessary materials, in so far as it was possible in so short a space of time, I returned home in September 1883. Immediately after my return I set to work to draw up the Constitution. I was assisted in my work by my secretaries,

prominent among whom were the late Viscount K. Inouyé, and the Barons M. Itō and K. Kanéko, and by foreign advisers, such as Professor Roesler, Mr. Piggott, and others. It was evident from the outset that mere imitation of foreign models would not suffice, for there were historical peculiarities of our country which had to be taken into consideration. For example, the Crown was, with us, an institution far more deeply rooted in the national sentiment and in our history than in other countries. It was indeed the very essence of a once theocratic State, so that in formulating the restrictions on its prerogatives in the new Constitution, we had to take care to safeguard the future realness or vitality of these prerogatives, and not to let the institution degenerate into an ornamental crowning piece of an edifice. At the same time, it was also evident that any form of constitutional *régime* was impossible without full and extended protection of honour, liberty, property, and personal security of citizens, entailing necessarily many important restrictions of the powers of the Crown. Again, there were the feudal nobles, many of them more or less distantly connected in blood with the Imperial Family, real reigning powers until very recently, and still with names held in veneration by the mass of the people. Besides, it was not the people who forcibly wrested constitutional privileges from the Crown as in other countries, but the new *régime* was to be conferred upon them as a voluntary gift for the sake of their future prosperity. On the other hand, there was one peculiarity of our social conditions that is without parallel in any other civilized country. Homogeneous in race, language, religion, and sentiments, so long secluded from the outside world, with the centuries-long traditions and inertia of the feudal system, in which the family and quasi-family ties permeated and formed the essence of every social organization, and moreover with such moral and religious tenets as laid undue stress on duties of fraternal aid and mutual succour, we had during the course of our seclusion unconsciously become a vast village community where cold intellect and calculation of public events were always restrained and even often hindered by warm emotions between man and man. Those who have closely observed the effects of the commercial crises of our country—that is, of

Peculiar features of the national life.

Emotional elements in the social life of the people.

the events wherein cold-blooded calculation ought to have the precedence of every other factor—and compared them with those of other countries, must have observed a remarkable distinction between them. In other countries they serve in a certain measure as the scavengers of the commercial world, the solid undertakings surviving the shock, while enterprises founded solely on speculative bases are sure to vanish thereafter. But, generally speaking, this is not the case in our country. Moral and emotional factors come into play. Solid undertakings are dragged into the whirlpool, and the speculative ones are saved from the abyss—the general standard of prosperity is lowered for the moment, but the commercial fabric escapes violent shocks. In industry, also, in spite of the recent enormous developments of manufactures in our country, our labourers have not yet degenerated into spiritless machines and toiling beasts. There still survives the bond of patron and *protégé* between them and the capitalist employers. It is this moral and emotional factor which will, in the future, form a healthy barrier against the threatening advance of socialistic ideas. It must, of course, be admitted that this social peculiarity is not without beneficial influences. It mitigates the conflict, serves as the lubricator of social organisms, and tends generally to act as a powerful lever for the practical application of the moral principle of mutual assistance between fellow-citizens. But unless curbed and held in restraint, it too may exercise baneful influences on society, for in a village community, where feelings and emotions hold a higher place than intellect, free discussion is apt to be smothered, attainment and transference of power liable to become a family question of a powerful oligarchy, and the realization of such a *régime* as constitutional monarchy become an impossibility, simply because in any representative *régime* free discussion is a matter of prime necessity, because emotions and passions have to be stopped for the sake of the cool calculation of national welfare, and even the best of friends have often to be sacrificed if the best abilities and highest intellects are to guide the helm. Besides, the dissensions between brothers and relatives, deprived as they usually are of safety-valves for giving free and hearty vent to their own opinions or

Difficulties met by the Constitution.

discontents, are apt to degenerate into passionate quarrels and overstep the bounds of simple differences of opinion. The good side of this social peculiarity had to be retained as much as possible, while its baneful influences had to be safeguarded. These and many other peculiarities had to be taken into account in order to have a constitution adapted to the actual condition of the country.

Conflict between old and new thoughts.

Another difficulty equally grave had to be taken into consideration. We were just then in an age of transition. The opinions prevailing in the country were extremely heterogeneous, and often diametrically opposed to each other. We had survivors of former generations who were still full of theocratic ideas, and who believed that any attempt to restrict an Imperial prerogative amounted to something like high treason. On the other hand, there was a large and powerful body of the younger generation educated at the time when the Manchester theory was in vogue, and who in consequence were ultra-radical in their ideas of freedom. Members of the bureaucracy were prone to lend willing ears to the German doctrinaires of the reactionary period, while, on the other hand, the educated politicians among the people having not yet tasted the bitter significance of administrative responsibility, were liable to be more influenced by the dazzling words and lucid theories of Montesquieu, Rousseau, and other similar French writers. A work entitled 'History of Civilization,' by Buckle, which denounced every form of government as an unnecessary evil, became the great favourite of students of all the higher schools, including the Imperial University. On the other hand, these same students would not have dared to expound the theories of Buckle before their own conservative fathers. At that time we had not yet arrived at the stage of distinguishing clearly between political opposition on the one hand, and treason to the established order of things on the other. The virtues necessary for the smooth working of any constitution, such as love of freedom of speech, love of publicity of proceedings, the spirit of tolerance for opinions opposed to one's own, &c., had yet to be learned by long experience.

Political ideas still undeveloped.

It was under these circumstances that the first draft of the Constitution was made and submitted to His Majesty, after

which it was handed over to the mature deliberation of the Privy Council. The Sovereign himself presided over these deliberations, and he had full opportunities of hearing and giving due consideration to all the conflicting opinions above hinted at. I believe nothing evidences more vividly the intelligence of our august Master than the fact that in spite of the existence of strong under-currents of an ultra-conservative nature in the council, and also in the country at large, His Majesty's decisions inclined almost invariably towards liberal and progressive ideas, so that we have been ultimately able to obtain the Constitution such as it exists at present.[1]

Draft of the Constitution completed.

In 1889 the Constitution was finally proclaimed as law with most solemn ceremonies, and since that time everything in regard to it has been known to the public. But a few words in regard to its actual working may not be out of place here. As was expected, the first contact of bureaucratic Japan with popular or democratic elements was extremely stormy. Not yet provided with the requisite virtues for the successful co-operation of different factors of public authority and with no social lubricators to mitigate the effects of conflict between them, the two camps were confronting each other with the firm determination each to defend its own rights, without the good will, the tact, and the experience necessary for co-operation towards the happy working of the whole. It is, however, highly to the credit of the nation that after a few years of conflict and of bitter experiences, both sides fully realized that the spirit of tolerance and of conciliation, together with the tacit and mutual consent to place the welfare of the nation high above party politics or party passions, were necessary for the vitality and harmonious working of any constitutional government.

Proclamation of the Constitution.

And now, looking backwards over sixteen years of its operation, it is not without a certain degree of gratification that I feel that the experiment has been, in spite of its many shortcomings, upon the whole a success. At all events, I believe that I am justified in considering that the present state of popular sentiment, when even the poorest peasant feels the transcendental importance of the events in which this country is playing a predominant part—the popular feeling which

Successful working of the Constitution.

[1] For full text of the Constitution see Appendix A. See also *post*, p. 161.

regards the present gigantic undertaking of our country both as a national affair and as an affair in which he is personally closely interested—in short, the strong and intensely united public opinion backing the executive department in this supreme moment of our national existence, would not have been possible, at least to an equal degree, but for the habitual and active participation of the entire country in the management of its public affairs, that is to say, in a constitutional and representative from of government.

VI

THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN JAPAN

PROFESSOR KAZUTAMI UKITA, D.C.L. (JAPAN), AND COUNTS ITAGAKI AND ŌKUMA

I.—THE FALL OF FEUDALISM

Social relationships.

WITH the exception of England there is probably no nation in the world that is at once so aristocratic and so democratic as Japan. From the earliest times onward, its history and civilization have centred round its Imperial House and its nobility. The people revered the Imperial House, considering it of divine origin, and regarded with a respect, that oftentimes amounted to pride, the nobility, although they were attached to them either as vassals or serfs. The social relationships existing between the upper and lower classes were grounded on respect, and enmity or hatred on the part of either was almost unknown; moreover, intermarriages between the higher and lower classes during many generations introduced an infusion of aristocratic blood and traits of character that welded the whole together.

Thus it happens that democratic views are to be found amongst those of the highest rank, whilst high ideals are recognizable even amongst those of the lowest. The recognition of this fact is an indispensable preliminary to a right understanding of the history of Japan during the past fifty years.

Feudalism.

The feudalism of Japan which existed before the Restoration was perhaps the most perfect in history. The Tokugawa Government, or Shōgunate, had *de facto* the whole power

of administration in its hands. The office of Shōgun was inherited, but it needed the formal sanction of the Emperor for each succession. The feudal chiefs also, great and small, had their local jurisdiction, in fact, as a hereditary possession, but it also required legal confirmation by a new Shōgun when he succeeded. Although the form of government in general was despotism, yet there was no one absolute power, each being limited by some other power either above or below it. The unifying central power stood side by side with locally divided powers, thus making our feudal system akin to that of England established by William the Conqueror, rather than to that of Continental Europe. For the past two centuries and a half before the reopening of the country, there was no civil dissension in the land, and all the people enjoyed peace and tranquillity.

The loss of progressive spirit.

But during this long period of quietude the nation lost its progressive spirit, and this was due to two reasons: first, the foreign policy of the Tokugawa Government which closed the whole country, and secondly, the hierarchical system of social and political organizations, by which the nobles and the common people were fixed in their hereditary functions, and were not allowed to choose their own occupations.

Besides the Court nobles attached to the Emperor, there were feudal chiefs, to whom the *samurai* (or hereditary vassals) were subject. These latter were also divided into higher and lower, of which the higher were few and rich, and alone had the privilege of sharing in local administration. The latter were the poorest and most numerous, and however able-minded, were in a condition of subservience to their betters.

Motives of the reformers.

Thus, the Imperial House, the Court nobility, and the lower *samurai* classes were each in a most unfortunate position, and consequently in their minds there gradually arose the conviction that the Tokugawa Government had in its hands illegitimate power. Again, some few intelligent men entertained a well-grounded suspicion that the policy of exclusion was not for the good of the nation, and thereupon they endeavoured to arouse the nation from its slumber and prejudice. These two movements arose independently, and in the beginning

the two parties representing them were at variance, but the coming of the Americans in 1853 gave them the opportunity, and in a spirit of patriotism, common to both, they coalesced, and made possible the Restoration of 1868.

The dominant power of Satsuma and Chōshū.

That the progress of society is dependent upon the guidance of a few men, and on the opinions formulated by them, was well shown in this great event. Its originators belonged mostly to the lower ranks of the *samurai* class. Like the country gentlemen of England, compared with the greater barons, they were nearer to the common people than to their superiors, and they had for them very intimate sympathies. They thus became the reformers in every feudal clan, and in a few cases they succeeded in convincing the feudal chiefs of the necessity of change, and, by revolutionizing the opinions of those clans, they reformed their local administration, thus making an experiment in local government which became the prelude of the great national revolution of 1867–68. This explains why, after that event, the Government was administered by men from a few principal clans, and finally fell into the hands of those belonging to the two most powerful ones, Satsuma and Chōshū.

Establishment of Constitutional Government.

It was clearly foreseen by intelligent observers that the Tokugawa Government would fall like a rotten tree, by its own internal disorganization, even though no external pressure was brought against it. But if Commodore Perry had not come, and no threatening diplomatic affairs had embarrassed the Government, it would not have fallen so quickly as it did. Moreover, had the Tokugawa fallen by means of internal causes alone, the outcome would not have been the establishment of Constitutional Government, for some strong feudal chief would probably have seized the administrative power, and the Shōgunate, or Military Government, would have been continued in a new dynasty. The fact that the Emperor finally took the real power into his own hands and unified the whole empire was due, in the first place, to external pressure, and in the next, to the historical genius of the people, which enabled them to absorb the elements of Western civilization and adapt themselves to changed circumstances and a new environment.

II.—The Rise of Public Opinion and the Beginning of a Popular Movement for the Establishment of a National Assembly

Cause of the collapse of the Tokugawa Government.

Throughout the whole period of Tokugawa rule prior to 1853, it was the established policy of the Government, both in internal and foreign affairs, to have its own way irrespective of the Imperial authority or of the opinion of the various clans in the provinces. Buddhism, too, was regarded as the only authorized religion, and Confucianism as the basis of national education. Observing the new conditions both at home and abroad, and the consequent embarrassment of diplomacy, as it presented itself on the arrival of the American envoy, the Government realized the impossibility of further maintaining the long-pursued policy of exclusion, which had existed ever since 1638. And yet, because of its lack of determination to change the national policy by its own will, and because of its desire to evade responsibility, it attempted to solve the question of whether to enforce the policy of exclusion or not by calling upon various clans for their opinions, and by seeking the sanction of Imperial authority. To this attempt, it is believed, the Tokugawa Government owed its ultimate downfall.

Three factions at its close.

But while the mass of the people, who had lived so long under a kind of despotism, proved to be as submissive as ever, lively interest and strong opinions were manifested among the various clans and their retainers. These were divided into three factions:—First, those who supported the policy advocated by the Mito clan, a branch of the Tokugawa family, namely, loyalty to the Emperor and the exclusion of foreign intruders. Secondly, a small number of very intelligent persons who pleaded for the opening of the country to foreign intercourse. Thirdly, those who feared that the fatal antagonism between the advocates of the first two policies might result in civil war, and who, therefore, endeavoured to bring the Imperial authority and the Tokugawa Government into harmony, in order to reach some definite foreign policy. Ultimately, the Tokugawa Government, knowing too well that the opening of the country to foreign intercourse and trade was the only possible solution

of the situation, concluded provisional treaties, and subsequently ratified them, with America, Russia, England, France, and Holland (1858), without consulting either the wishes of the Emperor or the sentiment of the feudal chiefs. This conduct on the part of the Tokugawa Government excited the *samurai* of various clans, who denounced it as an insult to the Imperial Throne and as a policy of cowardice. Infuriated, they deserted their native places, poured into Kyōto, the then capital of the country, preached their principle of 'loyalty to the Throne and the exclusion of foreigners' among the princes and nobles of the Imperial Court, and plotted to overthrow the Government. Thus the situation grew more and more critical, until the whole country was in commotion, and in many parts in the hands of terrorists, and even assassins. After suppressing an insurrection in the Mito clan, and pending the subjugation of a revolt of the Chōshū clan, the death of the Shōgun Iyémochi occurred in Ōsaka Castle (1866). In the following year the reigning Emperor died, the present Emperor came to the throne, the army sent against the Chōshū clan was recalled, the last Shōgun, Yoshinobu, surrendered his hereditary power and office, and a proclamation was issued that the national government hereafter should be directed and administered at the Imperial Court.

Situation after the Restoration.

But the Restoration was not carried through without a struggle. Prior to the resignation of the Shōgun, the difficulty of maintaining the empire's prestige with two different sources of national authority—the Emperor and the Shōgun—was painfully felt by many statesmen. Amongst these one of the strongest advocates of national unity was Yōdō Yamanouchi, chief of the Tosa clan, and it was he who persuaded the Shōgun, through Shōjirō Gotō, one of his retainers, to follow the timely and admirable course of resigning his office. There were also two other prominent characters who rendered good service in bringing about the new era, namely, Awa Katsu, a great statesman, and Takamori Saigō (elder Saigō), an illustrious general. The resignation of Yoshinobu and the above-mentioned Imperial proclamation did not relieve the country, for some of the feudal chiefs, who were strongly attached to the Tokugawa rule, protested against the dictatorial power

of the Satsuma and Chōshū clans in the new Government. The conflict ultimately culminated in the battles of Toba and Fushimi, where the late Shōgun's party was defeated. It was owing to the presence of such men as Katsu among the followers of Tokugawa, men who had a keen insight into politics at home and abroad, and owing to the generous-hearted Saigō's influence among the leaders of the Imperial force, who declined to carry the conflict to extremes, that the restoration of peace was made possible within a year.

Changed attitude of intelligent anti-foreigners.

Hitherto the Tokugawa Government had pursued the policy of opening the country to all foreigners, while the Imperial Court at Kyōto advocated exclusion, so that all the clans who opposed the Tokugawa Government appeared to be supporters of the exclusion policy. But this state of affairs did not continue long, for there were many intelligent men among the Imperial party who knew the existing condition of things abroad, and who had had actual experience of fighting with Europeans in the bombardments of Shimonoséki and Kagoshima. They were already converted into ardent advocates of both opening the country and introducing Western civilization. Is it any wonder, then, that the newly established Government, controlled by these men, voluntarily retracted the policy of exclusion, resolutely followed the treaties concluded with foreign nations, and carried out a series of rapid changes and radical internal reforms which had been impossible to the Tokugawa Government—a series of events for which we find no parallel in the history either of Japan or of the world ?

Sincerity of the Shōgun.

But this happy result was not accidental. The statesmen of that critical period directed and managed national affairs with the utmost sincerity and disinterested motives, and jointly advanced the interests of the whole country. This was clearly manifested in the words of the petition of Yoshinobu Tokugawa presented to the Emperor in resigning his office :

'The fact that there is more than one source of authority in the administration of national affairs is a hindrance to the establishment of the national policy, especially when our foreign

intercourse is increasing day by day. In order to remove this difficulty, your humble servant, Yoshinobu, beseeches Your Majesty to relieve him from his office of Shōgun, though long inherited, and prays that the Imperial Court will directly manage all national affairs. It is earnestly believed by your servant that the interests of the country may be best advanced and its position best maintained among the nations of the world by the awakening of public opinion and by the patriotic and unanimous co-operation of all, under the guidance and decision of the Imperial will.'

In granting this petition, the Imperial authority issued an epoch-making proclamation announcing the restoration of administrative power to the Emperor. It read as follows:

'Be it known unto all the people that Naifu' (such was the Shōgun Kéiki's official title) 'Tokugawa is hereby relieved from the long-trusted responsible position in the management of national affairs and from the office of Shōgun, at his own request. The critical national problems, without parallel in the history of Japan, which presented themselves since 1853, proved to be most distressful to the late Emperor. In consideration thereof and to restore the national prestige, it is considered by His Majesty befitting to resume the administrative power. The old system of national government and the office of Shōgun shall be replaced by such temporary offices as "*Sōsai*," "*Gijō*," and "*Sanyo*," through which the administration of all national affairs shall be conducted. It is His Majesty's sacred will to establish his new Government on the basis of the first Emperor Jimmu, and to share his fortunes with all the people by having each contribute towards the fair and proper discussion of public affairs, without any distinction of civil or military profession. Accordingly, you are hereby urged to diligently perform your respective duties, redeem the country from its old habits of ease and indolence, and serve it with sincere and loyal heart.'

Origin of public opinion and of the

Thus it will be seen that whilst the perplexing problems forced upon the country by the sudden advent of foreigners compelled the Tokugawa Government to seek the support of the

idea of a national assembly.

feudal chiefs by calling on them for counsel, so when the Imperial authority assumed the administration it decided to follow a similar policy and to cast in its lot with the whole people. It may be said that the seeds of public opinion and the idea of government by national assembly both appeared at this time.

Advice of Yokoi to establish a national assembly.

In the advice tendered by Shōnan Yokoi, a distinguished scholar and statesman, in 1866, to Shungaku Matsudaira, chief of Echizén clan, the following opinion was set forth :

'At a time of radical transformation such as to-day is, I believe it most opportune to institute a deliberate assembly, the upper house of which shall be composed of civil and military nobles, while the lower house shall be composed of able men widely selected from among the people.'

Advice of Yōdō to Shōgun.

Again, in advising the Shōgun to resign his office, Yōdō Yamanouchi, chief of the Tosa clan, set forth the same ideas :

'I urge you to follow the just and most rational course, and by the co-operation of all the people, to bring about a change in the form of national government which has existed for several hundred years, and to firmly establish it by restoring power to the Imperial authority. This, I think, is a great opportunity.'

In an accompanying paper he said :

'All powers of government absolutely rest with the Throne, hence all laws, decrees, orders and regulations must proceed from the "*Giséisho*," or Council in Kyōto. The "*Giséisho*," or Council, should be divided into upper and lower chambers, the members elected from among the nobles and the common people, men of pure and upright character being chosen.'

Establishment of '*Dajōkan*.'

Accordingly, in the beginning of 1868, a new official organization was made, by which the central government was to be called '*Dajōkan*,' and under it seven departments were to be formed. Under the President (*Sōsai*) the '*Dajōkan*' was to have two sets of councillors, respectively called '*Gijō*' and '*Sanyo*.' There was also a provision made by which

two other groups of councillors of lower order, respectively called '*Chōshi*' and '*Kōshi*,' were established.

'*Chōshi*' and '*Kōshi*.'

There was no limit as to the number of '*Chōshi*,' who were to be appointed from among intelligent people, while the number of the '*Kōshi*,' who were to represent the various clans, varied according to the size of each clan; the larger clans to have three, the intermediate clans two, and the smaller clans one each. The following directions concerning the '*Kōshi*' may be noted:

'Those who are selected by their clan chiefs to be members of the lower council are called "*Kōshi*." Their duty is to consider public opinion and to deliberate accordingly. While their number is limited, there is no limit to their tenure of office, which is left to the discretion of their chiefs.'

Representative government.

In the foregoing quotations, the words 'public discussion' and 'public opinion' are plainly seen. Thus we can trace the first effort made by the Government to initiate a representative system in establishing the councils of '*Gijō*' and '*Sanyo*' (the 'Upper Council') and of '*Chōshi*' and '*Kōshi*' (the Lower Council). Although this system was still based upon feudalism, yet it was in a manner modelled after Western constitutional government.

Having brought the country to a state of unity by restoring the governmental power to its only legitimate holder, the Sovereign, His Majesty, in April of the same year, assembled all the Court nobles and feudal chiefs, and in their presence swore the following oath of five articles, which was proclaimed to the public:

Imperial Oath of the Five Articles.

'1. Public councils shall be organized, and all governmental affairs shall be decided by general discussion.

'2. All classes, both rulers and ruled, shall with one heart devote themselves to the advancement of the national interests.

'3. All the civil or military officials and all the common people shall be allowed to realize their own aspirations, and to evince their active characteristics.

'4. All base customs of former times shall be abolished, and justice and equity as they are universally recognized shall be followed.

'5. Knowledge shall be sought for throughout the world, and thus the foundations of the empire shall be extended.'

Division of legislative, executive, and judiciary functions.

This is indeed the fountain-head of all constitutional ideas in Japan.

In the same year, what was known as the '*Séitai-sho*,' or 'Institutes of Government,' was made public. Part of it read as follows:

'All administrative powers shall be vested in the "*Dajōkan*," whereby a dual system of political authority is precluded. The functions of "*Dajōkan*" shall be divided into legislative, executive, and judiciary, in order to maintain the equilibrium of administrative authority.

'The legislative officers shall not, at the same time, hold executive offices, and *vice versa*. Exceptions may be allowed in the case of officers on tour temporarily inspecting cities, and of those dealing with foreign affairs.'

It may be noticed that, in the articles above quoted, which are the first Constitution of the Méiji Government, we find a curious trace of the doctrine of threefold division of powers as taught by Montesquieu, although the authors of this reformation had no such dreamy conception of restoring the country to the ideal state of nature as had the French revolutionists. Their avowed object was to establish everything on the basis laid by the first Emperor, Jimmu, to regard only wisdom and ability, and not lineage or social rank, as the passports to office, and to steadily carry out progressive reforms, standing at the same time on the historic sense and the conservative spirit of the nation.

Authors of the Restoration.

That the country made rapid progress, introducing reform after reform since the relinquishment of their fiefs by the feudal chiefs in 1869, and the subsequent abolition of all feudal clans and the establishment of a prefectural system in their place in 1871, must be attributed to a peculiar quality of our people which combined a conservative spirit with one of progress, a spirit which they had inherited from their ancestors. But the direct cause must be found in the fact that the feudal spirit had been gradually dying out, and the feudal hierarchical

system had begun to be discarded in the later periods of Tokugawa rule, which resulted in the shifting of actual power from the hands of feudal chiefs into those of their more influential retainers, as the requirements of the critical times demanded men of real power and energy. Thus the Restoration may be said to have been the result of an opportunity offered to those retainers, low in rank but high in ability, to realize their ideals, though it must here be pointed out that those who held prominent positions and exercised wide influence after the Restoration were neither old *Kugé* (Court nobles), nor former feudal chiefs, nor retainers of higher standing, but only *samurai* of the lower rank. Though the Restoration and the abolition of the feudal system were accomplished in the name of the nobles and feudal chiefs, the actual power behind the movement was other than they. The continued peace of more than two centuries and a half, and the privilege of hereditary idleness, had deprived the higher nobles of their virility, and the Restoration had to be accomplished by the *samurai* of lower rank, who were in constant contact with the common people.

Absence of political parties in the early period of new era.

The question may now be asked why political parties failed to appear at that time. The answer appears to be, in the first place, that it was no easy task to put into practice the proposed division of legislative, executive, and judicial power, as well as the election of councillors and officials, at this early period of hurried change and reform. The people in general had no intelligent appreciation of the meaning of these reforms, and had had no preparatory education to form public opinion by discussion. As is stated above, the Restoration was brought about by a comparatively small number of intelligent *samurai* low in rank. Thus the circle in which political discussions and public opinion could be created was extremely limited. It was the bewitching phrase 'public discussion' and 'public opinion' that enabled the new Government to carry out radical reforms, such as the equal rights of all men, abolition of feudalism, and establishment of the prefectural system. A large majority of the nation were astonished at the unexpected radical reforms so rapidly effected by the Government, and not a small number of the

better classes were ready to censure or oppose them. But they knew no other weapon to resort to except resistance by force, for the constitutional idea of criticizing and opposing governmental measures by appealing to the power of speech and pen had never entered their minds. As to this, it should especially be remembered that the former leaders were then filling executive positions in the Government, and those who were left in the private ranks were a remnant of feudal times, bigoted and ignorant of the actual needs of the country. Under such circumstances it was next to impossible to look as yet for the establishment of political parties.

Steady development of clan bureaucracy.

Although the Restoration had been successfully carried out under the fair names of 'public opinion' and 'public discussion,' we must also recognize the combined military strength of several clans which overawed all other clans. Among them (as we have said, p. 135) Satsuma and Chōshū were dominant. Therefore, alongside the steady development of new government, it was not surprising to see their former retainers occupying prominent and important official positions, while the men of other clans gradually dropped out of office. Thus a new form of bureaucracy steadily grew up, the spirit of regard and respect for public opinion and discussion having gradually yielded place to another sentiment. Besides, various reforms carried out by a small number of reformers had deprived the *samurai*, who had hitherto monopolized the civil offices and discharged the duty of military service as a hereditary profession carrying due emoluments, of material means of self-support and of the privileges of their special rank. Some of them, becoming desperate, organized and took up arms against the Government, while others individually became assassins. But the authorities fortunately succeeded in suppressing them. As for the common people, who were not oppressed at all, they proved to be extremely submissive, so that the Government found it no longer necessary to appeal to the gratifying name of 'public opinion.' Consequently the '*Shūgiin*,' or Assembly of Legislative Discussion, which was established in 1869, soon practically lost its *raison d'être* along with the abolition of the feudal system and the establishment of prefectural government. Although the '*Dajōkan*' had

been divided into three sections—'*Séiin*' or central section, '*Sain*' or left section, and '*Uin*' or right section—and had transferred the functions of the '*Shūgiin*' to the '*Sain*' or left section, the power of the '*Shūgiin*' was reduced to little or nothing, and the executive was left to extend and tyrannically exercise its functions. These things gave an impetus to the birth of a set of radical politicians among the prominent *samurai* of the Tosa and Hizén clans, who criticized and opposed the statesmen in power. This became evident when, in 1873, several '*Sangi*' or Councillors of State, Takamori Saigō, Tanéomi Soyéshima, Shōjirō Gotō, Taisuké Itagaki, and Shimpéi Etō, all of whom advocated war against Korea, jointly resigned their offices, and left Iwakura, Kido, Ōkubo, and others (all of whom favoured internal reforms rather than a foreign expedition) to direct the affairs of government. Of the seceding councillors, Saigō retired to his native town Kagoshima, while Itagaki, Gotō, Soyéshima, and Etō, all former members of the Tosa and Hizén clans, remained in Tōkyō. Just about this time a party who had gone to England, to investigate political conditions there, returned and, vigorously eulogizing the English parliamentary system, insisted upon the immediate need of enlarging the bounds of legislative power. These, together with those who had lately resigned their positions, pleaded that if the attitude of the Government was not checked now, there would be no alternative left except the monopoly of all authority by a limited number of the former retainers of a few clans; and that it was far better to strengthen the spirit which had at first so highly esteemed public discussion and opinion, and to grant the suffrage to the people, in order to save the country from bureaucratic absolutism. This opinion was at last embodied in a memorial to the Government for the establishment of a popularly elected legislative assembly, which was signed by Itagaki, Yuri, Soyéshima, Gotō, Etō, Komuro, Furusawa, and Okamoto, and was made public on the 18th of January 1874. The reason of especially prefixing the words 'Popularly Elected' to the name 'Legislative Assembly' was the desire to make it the representative organ of the people, unlike the former Legislative Assembly, which had been an officially

The Korean Question.

Memorial for a representative assembly.

elected body. The petitioners also had it in their mind to organize a political party, but the word 'party' had been understood to mean a band of rebels from the time of the Tokugawa Government, which strictly prohibited such organizations. For this reason the petitioners called themselves the '*Aikoku Kōtō*' ('Public Society of Patriots'), distinguishing it thus from a lawless band.

Spread of democratic ideas.

The populace had by this time attained to considerable knowledge and a marked advance in social education, much of which they owed to the efforts of Yukichi Fukuzawa, who had devoted himself to the translation of foreign democratic publications. The translation of the civil code of France by Rinshō Mitsukuri, which was widely read and studied among scholars, also sowed ideas respecting the rights of man. However, the proclamation of the gospel of freedom and liberty, as it is politically understood, was not announced until the day when the memorial for a popularly elected legislative assembly and the manifesto of the '*Aikoku Kōtō*' were made public through the newspapers. Heretofore the terms 'public discussion' and 'public opinion' had been understood to refer only to the retainers, or *samurai*, of various clans. In future the words were to be interpreted in a wider sense, so as to include the views and sentiments of the whole nation.

III.—The Genesis of Political Parties

The organization of '*Risshisha*' by Itagaki.

At this time Kido, one of the most prominent statesmen of the Restoration, was understood to represent the Government in advocating the moderate principle of gradual progress, while Taisuké Itagaki was openly recognized as the champion of the radical progressive policy. In January 1874 the late Councillor Etō retired to his native city, Saga, where he was forced by his old comrades to assume the leadership of an armed insurrection. This changed the attitude of the Government and compelled Itagaki to sever his relations with it. He thenceforth stood in the position of a simple citizen. There was no alternative course for him and his friends to follow but to attempt to evoke a national movement, and by the strength of public opinion to compel the Government

to adopt the liberal and progressive policy which he advocated. Accordingly, he also retired to his native province. Following the spirit of the manifesto of the '*Aikoku Kōtō*,' Itagaki established a school called the '*Risshisha*' in Tosa, to propagate the idea of self-government and an independent spirit among the people, and there he taught the principle of freedom and liberty and encouraged the study of European jurisprudence. Youths from every part of the country found their way to this school, until its numbers swelled to several thousands. This school, together with the private school '*Shigakkō*' at Kagoshima under the leadership of the elder Saigō, stood in opposition to the power and influence of the autocratic central Government.

Ōsaka Convention.

The publication of the manifesto of the Society of Patriots, and the establishment of the Tosa school, found an echo in the establishment of many other similar organizations of a political nature in different parts of the country, all of which co-operated for the common end. In 1875 a convention of deputies from many of these organizations was held in Ōsaka, and was attended by Itagaki. It was just at this time that Kido also resigned his position in the Government, and went home to Yamaguchi. Kaoru Inouyé and other prominent men considered this state of things detrimental to the interests of the country, and through their efforts, in January 1875, a conference of representative statesmen was arranged at Ōsaka, the object of which was to bring about a perfect understanding between the statesmen who were in the Government and those who were out. The conference was attended by Kido, Ōkubo, Itagaki, and others, Saigō, who alone declined the invitation, being absent. The following were the cardinal points of agreement made between the leaders:

'1. It shall be our common principle to establish constitutional monarchical government.

'2. In order to carry out this principle, we advocate the adoption of a system of government by assembly for the purpose of legislation.'

As a result of this conference, Itagaki, along with Kido, re-entered the Government, and, together with Ōkubo and

Growth of the ideas of the rights and freedom of the people.

Itō, were commissioned to investigate constitutional institutions. In the following April an Imperial message was issued announcing the desire of the Emperor to gradually establish constitutional government and share the benefits thereof with the people, and as a step towards this end the Government established the '*Genrōin*,' a senatorial body, and the '*Daishinin*' or supreme court, thus crudely introducing the principle of the threefold division of power. From this time onward the ideas of freedom and liberty were popularized, and public meetings, in which political questions were freely debated and discussed, were held extensively, and political parties were organized everywhere.

Further, in June of the same year, the Government convoked an assembly of prefectural governors, and admitted two delegates from each prefecture, representing the people, as well as newspaper editors, to the audience seats of the assembly. But the conduct of the Government was severely criticized and mercilessly denounced by the Press as ephemeral and half-hearted. In consequence, the following month the Government issued a Press law and law of libel, thereby restricting the freedom of pen and speech. Meanwhile Itagaki, leader of radical progress, finding it impossible to co-operate with Ōkubo, advocate of gradual progress, seceded in October from the Government and found himself again a private citizen pledged to the development of public opinion and popular representation.

Government Press restrictions.

Memorial by Kataoka for the establishment of national assembly.

In January 1877 the students of the private school ('*Shigakkō*') in Kagoshima took up arms against the Government, having forced the leadership upon the elder Saigō. Seeing the probability of many dissatisfied persons throughout the country joining the insurgents, Itagaki decided that this was a good opportunity to press upon the Government a demand for the establishment of constitutional institutions, and consequently addressed a memorial to the Emperor in Kyōto, through Kenkichi Kataoka, who later became President of the House of Representatives. Its main points were to redress administrative grievances by enlarging the sphere of public discussion, to strengthen the division of legislative, judicial, and executive functions, and to promptly establish

the representative assembly. Although these reforms were most urgently recommended, the memorial was instantly rejected, as the Government was too busily engaged in the suppression of the Satsuma insurrection.

In the midst of this insurrection, Munémitsu Mutsu, then a member of the '*Genrōin*' (Senate), and subsequently Minister of Foreign Affairs and Count, Taku Ōyé and other prominent men were arrested upon the discovery of a plot to raise an armed force against the Government and to institute constitutional government in its place. Kataoka and his associates of the '*Risshisha*' were also arrested on suspicion. These events, coupled with the suppression of the Kagoshima insurrection, appeared to have completely wiped out all dissatisfaction, leaving no one able to contend against the Government with armed force, and giving the authorities a free hand to exercise autocratic power. Thus it seemed that the establishment of a national assembly was indefinitely delayed. However, the fact was otherwise, for the attempt to suppress popular movement produced determined opposition on the part of the oppressed, and thereafter rapid progress was made towards the realization of the long-cherished ideal. In May 1878, Toshimichi Ōkubo, the most resolute and perhaps the most able statesman of this period, fell under the hand of an assassin. A little later, the Government enacted a law instituting elective assemblies in the various prefectures and cities, and thus took a further step towards the founding of a national assembly. Itagaki, with undaunted courage, urged the '*Risshisha*' to push forward, appealed to the public at large, and with the object of popularizing the '*Aikoku Kōtō*' began a political campaign throughout the country. The first general convention of the '*Aikokusha*' (thenceforth so named) was held at Ōsaka in the following September, and at the same time Hironaka Kōno, who later became President of the House of Representatives, held a similar convention of the radical parties of the seven prefectures of the north-east in the city of Sendai. In March 1879 the second convention of the '*Aikokusha*' took place in Ōsaka, in which twenty-two local organizations were represented, the number of delegates exceeding that of any previous convention. This meeting

Arrest of prominent men.

decided to present a petition for the establishment of a national assembly, and it divided the whole country into ten sections, to each of which were dispatched propagandists. In March 1880 a third convention of the '*Aikokusha*,' attended by several thousands, was held, and another petition for the establishment of a national assembly was presented. For the sake of order, the number of those who might debate and vote was limited to the delegates of societies having more than twenty members. There were ninety-six such societies, and their total membership was reported to have been over 98,000. Thus the petition to be presented was signed by approximately 100,000 persons.

Government repression.

On hearing the report of this convention, the Government suddenly enacted a law restricting public meetings, enforced it on the same day, and by telegraph ordered the dissolution of the convention. Meanwhile leaders, on receiving beforehand an intimation of the Government's intention, instantly passed a resolution to continue the organization until the establishment of a national assembly, and called the society the '*Kokkwai Kiséi Dōméi Kwai*' or 'League for the Establishment of a National Assembly.' The convention had chosen Kenkichi Kataoka and Hironaka Kōno to proceed to Tōkyō and forward the petition to the Government. Taking different routes, by land and sea, they arrived in Tōkyō, and presented the petition at first to the '*Dajōkan*,' which rejected it on the ground of having no regulations applying to such documents; then to the '*Genrōin*,' which also refused it on the pretext that it was not a memorial in due form. The League now determined to pursue their object by establishing their head-quarters in Tōkyō, and dividing the whole country into eight districts in order to secure the signatures of a majority of the entire population. The sentiments set forth by the League found response everywhere, and a great number of representatives from different parts of the country, one after another, hastened to Tōkyō. Their constant visits to Government offices and to Ministers of State proved to be so vexatious that the Government finally issued an order directing all petitions and memorials to be forwarded through the local authorities. Being thus deprived of means to press their claims directly upon the central

Government, the agitators naturally turned their attention to the provinces in order to extend their power and influence among the people. From this time local unions and associations sprang up, and meetings of a political nature were held in every province. Taking advantage of this, Itagaki toured the country and was welcomed everywhere, both in the cities and in the rural districts. This mode of political agitation by means of local associations, public meetings and speeches, was a new phenomenon in the history of Japan.

Secession of Shigénobu Ōkuma.

The action of the Government, in July 1881, in disposing of the Government properties in Hokkaidō (the northern island, then under special administration) to private hands for less than their worth, provoked general indignation and violent criticism against the authorities. The whole Press united in condemning the Government, and mass meetings were held to arouse public sentiment. Even among the higher officials there were not a few sympathizers, among whom the name of Shigénobu Ōkuma may be mentioned as a most powerful opponent of the Government's procedure. In the beginning of the new era he had entered the Government service from the Saga clan, and became *Sanyo* at first, and later *Sangi*, i.e. a Councillor of State. As a councillor, in company with many prominent men of Satsuma and Chōshū, he supported the Government in the path of progress and reform. He also managed successfully the difficult problems of foreign affairs and national finances, and he firmly believed the establishment of a national assembly to be the only radical remedy for the evils of clan administration. Accordingly, he attempted to address a memorial to the Throne for the establishment of a national assembly by the year 1883. His determined attitude took the whole of officialdom by surprise. On the 11th of October, upon the return of the Emperor from his tour in the north-eastern part of the country, a Cabinet meeting was held in the presence of His Majesty. It was participated in by all the Ministers and Councillors of State, and the decision of the Government with regard to the disposition of the Government property in Hokkaidō was cancelled. On the following day, an Imperial decree promising to convene a national assembly in the twenty-third year of Méiji (1890) was issued,

and simultaneously Ōkuma, the chief promoter of this decree, was relieved of office, as were also his colleagues and followers in the Government—Binkén Kōno, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce; Hisōka Maéjima, Superintendent of Communications; Judge Harufusa Kitabataké, Fumio Yano, Takéshi Inukai, Saburō Shimada, Yukio Ozaki, Azusa Ono, Gengaku Mutaguchi, Shuichi Numa, Buéi Nakano, and several others. Thus all those associated with Ōkuma were swept out of office. This was the greatest political upheaval since the Korean question broke up the Cabinet in 1873.

Comparison of Ōkuma and Peel.

The position of Ōkuma in this matter strikingly resembles that of Sir Robert Peel in 1846, when such men as Richard Cobden, John Bright, and other advocates of free trade, who organized the Anti-Corn Law League, were arousing public sentiment. Peel also supported public opinion, and at the sacrifice of his party position asserted the claim of Cobden and Bright, which ultimately caused the dissolution of his Cabinet. Although Ōkuma was not Prime Minister, yet he was without doubt the most influential person in the Government since the death of Ōkubo. His attitude in co-operating with Itagaki, and his joining the rank of private politicians at the sacrifice of his official position, strikingly remind us of Peel. Unlike Peel, the success of whose free-trade policy must be accounted the final achievement of his political career, Ōkuma remained from that time a leader of the opposition party for the greater part of twenty-six years, and was feared as such by the Government. While the credit of having first organized a political party must be given to Itagaki, the Imperial decree promising the first opening of the Diet in 1890, and the organization of such a stout opposition party on and after the establishment of the Diet, would not have been possible, had it not been for the secession of Ōkuma and his subsequent career.

Two leaders of Opposition.

Hitherto the Government had only one leader of the Opposition to contend with, but now it had another formidable foe added who possessed a thorough knowledge of administrative affairs. On the other hand, it naturally cemented the bond between the Satsuma and Chōshū statesmen, and Itō, Inouyé, Yamagata, Kuroda, Matsugata, Tsugumichi Saigō (younger

Saigō), and others united closely in joint efforts to prepare for the opening of the Diet, and to prevent, if possible, the rise of a strong opposition among the people.

Organization of the Liberal Party.

Prior to this, in November 1880, Itagaki had organized the '*Jiyūtō*,' or Liberal Party, with his followers among the members of the league '*Kokkwai Kiséi Dōméi Kwai*,' and had adopted a programme of several articles. In October 1881 the members of this party and of the League, whose aim had been practically attained by the issue of the above promissory decree, coalesced into one, organized a new and larger party having a definite principle and constitution, and adopted the name of '*Jiyūtō*.' Itagaki was chosen President, while his friend, Nobuyuki Nakajima, who became later the first President of the House of Representatives, and Shōjirō Gotō, Tatsui Baba, Shigéyasu Suyéhiro, and Masami Ōishi, the last of whom later occupied the position of Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, were chosen as the party's standing counsellors. This was the first organized political party in Japan. In the same year the '*Rikkén Séitō*,' or Constitutional Party, was formed in Ōsaka, and it requested Nobuyuki Nakajima to become its President. In March 1882 a Progressist Party was organized in Kyūshū; and in the same month, those who had shared the fate of Ōkuma, namely, Kōno, Maéjima, Kitabataké, Numa, Yano, Fujita, Ono, Shimada, Ozaki (who later became Minister of Education), and Inukai (who also later occupied the same position), organized the '*Rikkén Kaishintō*' or Constitutional Progressive Party. Ōkuma was chosen for its President and Kōno for its Vice-President. The principle of the party was very clearly, concisely, and characteristically set forth. Standing against the two leading parties, Genichirō Fukuchi, Torajirō Mizuno, Sakura Maruyama, and others (who adhered to and advocated the conservative principle), organized the '*Rikkén Téiséitō*' or Constitutional Imperial Party, and a few days afterwards announced its party principle, and constituted itself the Government party. Thus it was that the period between October 1881 and the early part of 1882 was the budding time of political associations in anticipation of the coming Diet. But the two parties which, among so many, may be

'*Rikkén Séitō*.'

'*Kyūshū Kaishintō*.'

'*Rikkén Kaishintō*.'

'*Rikkén Téiséitō*.'

mentioned as standing above all others in organization and coherence, and which may be said to be still in existence under different names, were the '*Jiyūtō*' led by Itagaki and the '*Kaishintō*' led by Ōkuma.

Attempt on the life of Itagaki.

The untiring devotion of Itagaki to his party and its principles was well demonstrated in an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate him by one Aibara, in April 1882. Since he had assumed the leadership of the Liberal Party, he had redoubled his agitation by holding political meetings and making public speeches wherever he went, in order to infuse liberal ideas into the mind of the people. The attempt on his life was made at a reception given to him in a park at Gifu on his visit to that city. The assassin, who regarded him as a man dangerous to the national welfare, evidently sought to strike at the heart of the party by killing Itagaki. But we may well recall his immortal utterance at this critical moment: 'Itagaki may perish, but not liberty.'

IV.—The Parties before the Establishment of the Diet

Cause of the separate existence of the '*Jiyūtō*' and the '*Kaishintō*.'

Had the two parties '*Jiyūtō*' and '*Kaishintō*,' which had the common end of opposition to clannish despotism, united their forces against the common foe, they would have become an irresistible power, and this was what the Government feared. But closer observation of the characters of the two leaders and their followers showed the impracticability of union, for though both had almost the same principle and programme and were modelled after the party system of England, Itagaki was a man of military origin, radical in his ways, purely rational and deductive in his mode of thinking, whilst Ōkuma was a man of civil origin, moderate in principle, with a mind practical and inductive. The '*Jiyūtō*' advocated the theory of national freedom and equality, some of the party even favouring the idea of a unicameral system, and most of them inclining at this time to bringing about a political reform by resort to revolutionary means. The '*Kaishintō*' held the principle of the happiness of the people in general, and advocated the establishment of a bicameral system, the abolition of

oligarchy, and the gradual extension of the suffrage. With these differences in the *personnel* and tendencies of the two parties, the difficulty of effecting their union will be understood, the more so when it is remembered that the Government spared no steps to stir up antagonism between them.

Investigation of modern Constitutions by Itō.

In February 1882 the Government dispatched Hirobumi Itō (now Prince) to Europe to investigate the Constitutions of various nations as a preparation for the establishment of the Diet, but in June it made an extensive amendment of the law regulating public meetings, in order to prevent the growth of political parties, thereby restricting more vigorously the freedom of public association and meeting. In November the spirit of rivalry already existing between the two parties came into open conflict when Itagaki, in company with Gotō, undertook a tour of Europe, and one of the newspapers belonging to the Progressist Party published a rumour that the Government had secretly furnished travelling funds to the leader of the Liberal Party. The attack was quickly responded to by the '*Jiyūtō*,' and, in 1883, its newspaper organs condemned the conduct of Ōkuma during his official career. Many of its members also criticized the '*Kaishintō*,' as well as the '*Mitsubishi Kisén Kaisha*' (Mitsubishi Steamship Company), which, enjoying a Government subsidy, had monopolized the coasting trade, had greatly contributed to the suppression of the 'Satsuma Rebellion,' and had subsequently grown in power and wealth. As the development of this company took place while Ōkuma was Minister of Finance, the fact was taken advantage of by the '*Jiyūtō*' for attacking the rival party. As at this moment the Government, following the suggestion of Shinagawa, then Under-Secretary of Agriculture and Commerce, organized the 'Union Transportation Company' (*Kyōdō Unyu Kaisha*), in order to compete with the Mitsubishi Company, it gave the appearance of its opposing the '*Kaishintō*' by forming an alliance with the '*Jiyūtō*.'

Conflict between the '*Jiyūtō*' and the '*Kaishintō*.'

The strife between the two parties, and the consequent neglect of their main object of attacking the common enemy, encouraged the Government to resort to still more vigorous means of oppressing the political parties, and the '*Rikkén*

Dissolution of various parties.

Séitō,' or Constitutional Party of Ōsaka, had voluntarily to dissolve, being unable to endure the severe enforcement of the law restricting public meetings. In 1884 the '*Jiyūtō*' unanimously decided to take the same step, on the advice of Itagaki and other leaders, who declared it useless to maintain a party when the law prohibited the establishment of local and branch organizations, as well as intercommunication between them, and rendered the superintendence of members by the head-quarters impossible. This may, however, have been also due to Itagaki and his fellow-thinkers believing it more advisable to depend upon secret and free movement of individual members than to maintain an organized effort and corporate responsibility. Prior to this the Government party—'*Rikkén Téiséitō*'—dissolved itself, and in May 1885 the '*Kyūshū Kaishintō*' also was dissolved. Meanwhile, the '*Kaishintō*' had decided that it was not only useless, but disadvantageous to the development of the party, to keep a register of the names of its members, and at the same time the leaders, Ōkuma and Kōno, withdrew from the party, considering it better to render private service and support the party informally.

Government restriction and popular reaction.

The action of the Government, however, aroused the profound indignation of some of the former Liberal Party, and drove them to desperate measures, for which they suffered. For instance, the constant friction, from 1882 onwards, between Governor Mishima of the Fukushima Prefecture and the Provincial Assembly terminated in the arrest of Hironaka Kōno, President of the Assembly, and of over fifty Liberals, on a charge of political offences, and their transport to Tōkyō, where they were sentenced to imprisonment for several years. Almost simultaneously, more than twenty members of the '*Jiyūtō*' of Takata, in the province of Echigo, were arrested on a charge of attempting to assassinate Ministers of State. Again, in September 1884, Tōru Hoshi, a member of the '*Jiyūtō*' who acted as attorney at the trial of Kōno, and who was afterwards President of the House of Representatives and Minister of Communications, was imprisoned on a charge of infringing the law concerning freedom of speech. In the same month some members of the late '*Jiyūtō*' made an

armed insurrection at Kabasan in the Ibaraki Prefecture, but were subdued, and many of their number taken prisoners, several of them suffering the penalty of death. It will thus be seen how many of the Liberals became revolutionists, believing it useless to rely upon the power of speech in a contest with the despotic Government, and concluding that blood was the only price with which to purchase liberty and freedom. Some went so far as to plot armed rebellions at home, while others, like Kentarō Ōi, and even a few women, formed a conspiracy to attempt a secret expedition to Korea, in order to aid the party of independence in that peninsula. The '*Kaishintō*,' on the other hand, from the beginning steadily adhered to the peaceful method of relying upon the power of speech and the Press in the political contest with the Government, and expected to accomplish reform thereby.

New institution of peerage.

In July 1884 the Government enacted a peerage law, whereby five orders of nobility, namely, those of prince, marquis, count, viscount, and baron, were created. The old nobles were given titles corresponding to their former positions, while many civil and military officials were ennobled in recognition of their services; for instance, the Restoration statesmen, Itō, Yamagata, Kuroda, Saigō, Inouyé, and Matsugata, were made counts. The law was recognized as anticipatory to the establishment of an Upper House, which should act as a check on the Lower. Several years afterwards, such men as Katsu, Ōkuma, Itagaki, and Gotō, who were also recognized as chief promoters of the Restoration and whose lives and services were profoundly esteemed and respected, were given the same rank, the delay being due to the fact that they were then in seclusion. From the time of the Restoration there was a central section of the Government, known as the '*Dajōkan*,' in which were the Prime Minister and two other ministers, known respectively as '*Sadaijin*' (Minister of the Left) and '*Udaijin*' (Minister of the Right). These offices were held by former Court nobles ('*Kugé*'). The head of the '*Dajōkan*' was Prince Sanétomi Sanjō, and next to him was '*Udaijin*' Prince Tomomi Iwakura. Below them were Councillors of State and heads of departments. But the march of events, as well as the approach of the Diet and the

Formation of a Cabinet.

death of Prince Iwakura in 1883, demonstrated the inadequacy of the old system of government. Therefore, in December 1885, the present Cabinet system was adopted, the Cabinet being composed of the Prime Minister and the heads of the various departments. Count Hirobumi Itō was appointed the first Premier of the Cabinet. He had gone to England in 1863, in company with his friend Kaoru Inouyé, and on their return they had co-operated with Ōkuma and others in the work of the Restoration. Since the death of such elder statesmen as Kido and Ōkubo and the withdrawal of Ōkuma from the Government, there was left no man among the officials equal to Itō in understanding the politics of Europe and America, and possessing wisdom and ability to adapt them to the needs of the country. The shrewd and courageous Count Inouyé, who became Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Itō Ministry, attempted to bring the long-standing question of treaty revision with foreign countries to a successful issue before the opening of the coming Diet. On the 1st of May 1886, he invited the foreign representatives to confer on the matter at the Foreign Office, and conferences to the number of thirty-six were held between then and April of the following year. The Government even went so far, in order to gain the favour of foreigners and to bring the conference to the desired end, as to adopt European manners and customs, a procedure which resulted in rousing a conservative spirit among the people for the preservation of their national characteristics. Vehement opposition, both among officials and people, was also especially provoked by a clause proposed by Count Inouyé, by which mixed courts were to be created. In June, Viscount General Tani, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, resigned his position, being unable to agree with his colleagues in regard to this question. The already aroused public sentiment drew political agitators from every prefecture to the capital, and the dissatisfaction and political commotion were so general, that it forced the Government to abandon treaty revision for a time, and in the following August Count Inouyé resigned his portfolio.

Inouyé's negotiation for treaty revision.

It was about this time that politicians outside the Government ranks began to realize the folly of antagonism over

trifling differences of opinion or feeling, and, in consequence, the relations between the former '*Jiyūtō*' and the '*Kaishintō*' showed a tendency towards conciliation. On the other hand, the Government, through its failure in treaty revision, began to lose the confidence of the people. In such circumstances, a noteworthy movement was started by Count Gotō, which swept the whole country and resulted in the organization of the '*Daidō Dankétsu*,' a league of heterogeneous political elements pledged to co-operate for a great common end. Count Gotō was, it will be remembered, the man who had advised the Shōgun Yoshinobu to resign his office, and who, in the beginning of the new era, became one of the Councillors of State, and served in the Government till 1873. Upon his resignation, together with Itagaki and others, he was one of those who presented a memorial for the establishment of a national assembly. He was also one of the promoters of the '*Jiyūtō*' when it was organized in 1881. In October 1887 he appeared once more in the political arena, showing great power and activity. He declared that it was no time for Japan to waste her energy in petty party strife: on the adjacent continent Russia was constructing the Siberian Railway for military purposes, as an instrument for grasping Manchuria: it was a critical moment for the peace and existence of Oriental countries: a time for all to cast aside trifling differences and unite for a great common purpose, and thus strengthen the coming national assembly: confronted by a body thus united, the clan oligarchy would prove of no account; it would fall of itself. His declaration was opportune, for the '*Jiyūtō*' had been dissolved and the '*Kaishintō*' had lost its head, so that the public welcomed the new movement. Forgetting their former enmity, a part of the '*Kaishintō*' joined hands with members of the late '*Jiyūtō*' and flocked to the '*Daidō Dankétsu*' under his leadership. Thus the newly born political giant marshalled its forces to attack the Government from all sides. This was the first occasion in Japanese political history when several parties joined together and formed a coalition to accomplish a common purpose.

The organization of '*Daidō Dankétsu*' by Gotō.

Simultaneously, Itagaki and the former '*Jiyūtō*' members, following the tactics used previously, summoned delegates

Presentation of three petitions.

from all sections of the country to present three petitions at the same time; namely, for the reduction of the land tax, which had been openly promised by the Government; for the recovery of the national prestige by means of treaty revision; and for freedom of speech and public meeting. The province of Tosa, the stronghold of '*Jiyūtō*,' sent more than a score of delegates, under the leadership of Kataoka, Hayashi, and others. To these were added crowds of agitators and young men who, since the last outbreak of political excitement over treaty revision, had been congregated in Tōkyō, and who now made demonstrations against the Government.

The Peace Preservation Regulations.

But the powers were not slow to act, and on the 25th of December 1887 there was issued Peace Preservation Regulations, which, being instantly enforced, drove all agitators and suspected men out of the city. The persons thus expelled numbered 570, among them being such prominent men as Tōru Hoshi, Yūzō Hayashi, Nobuyuki Nakajima, Yukio Ozaki, and Tokusuké Nakaé, Kenkichi Kataoka, Shichō Nishiyama, who later became Chief of the Metropolitan Police, and several others who, protesting against the order as inapplicable to them, were arrested. This was followed by the imprisonment of Hoshi, on the charge of having engaged in secret publication. The majority of those that came under the operation of this law were former members of the '*Jiyūtō*.'

Mild policy of the Government.

Although the Government succeeded in repulsing the vehement attack of these agitators and opponents by the single aid of a new law, yet, on account of the failure of treaty revision, it lost prestige at home and abroad. In particular, the position of the Minister of Foreign Affairs was made so difficult that no one could fill it, save the former leader of the '*Kaishintō*,' Count Ōkuma, who was still recognized as actual leader of that party. During the above-mentioned agitation Ōkuma and his party had remained quiescent, and there were but few among its members who came within the operation of the law. Ozaki was one, but he was then a member of the '*Daidō Dankétsu*.' The question of treaty revision, which had been absorbing the people's minds so much, was not one between rulers and ruled, as had been the case in previous disputes; it concerned the interests of the country

as a whole. Appreciating the real nature of the problem, and anxious to placate the inimical sentiments of the people, the Government invited Count Ōkuma to take the head of the Department of Foreign Affairs in February 1888. At the same time, Count (now Prince) Itō gave up the position of Premier in favour of Count Kuroda, then the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, and himself became President of the newly created Privy Council. Meanwhile, the efforts of Count Gotō in the north-east to propagate his '*Daidō Dankétsu*' were welcomed everywhere by the former members of the '*Jiyūtō*,' but in June, when the *Séiron*, the organ of the new party, was published, the Government arrested and imprisoned Masami Ōishi, the editor-in-chief, and several others on a charge of violating the law, although those in high places were now not regardless of public sentiment. The Premier, Count Kuroda, had a sincere desire to include all his friends and the statesmen of the Restoration in his Ministry, in order to successfully negotiate treaty revision with foreign countries, and also to inaugurate the constitutional system of government with success.

Promulgation of the Constitution.

On the anniversary of the accession of the first Emperor Jimmu (February 11, 1889), the Imperial Constitution, the result of studies and investigation spread over many years by Count Itō and others, was promulgated. At the same time, in commemoration of the act, those condemned on account of political offences and alleged abuse of freedom of speech were released, among them being Hoshi, Kataoka, Kōno, Ōi, and others. The entrance of Count Ōkuma into the Cabinet left Counts Itagaki and Gotō in the field as leaders of the opposition, but they realized the danger of needlessly increasing the friction between the Government and the people at the very outset of the establishment of the constitutional system. Consequently, on the 22nd day of that month, Count Gotō entered the Cabinet on the solicitation of the Premier Kuroda and became Minister of Communications. As a result, the '*Daidō Dankétsu*' split itself into two fragments, thus bringing the country, so far as the political parties were concerned, to a position corresponding with that subsequent to the dissolution of the '*Jiyūtō*' in

1884, when there was no large association left, but only smaller factions.

Count Ōkuma's efforts for treaty revision.

Count Ōkuma, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, now attempted to push forward the treaty revision negotiations, on the one hand, by strictly enforcing the existing treaties, in order to make foreigners understand the disadvantage of them, and, on the other, by resorting to separate discussion with each treaty Power instead of carrying on a joint conference of all the foreign representatives, as Count Inouyé had done. In these efforts he made steady progress, although the various political parties watched his proceedings with jealousy, considering that his success would mean an access of power to the '*Kaishintō*.' So when a draft of the proposed treaty appeared in the London *Times*, and was found to contain an article providing for the employment of foreign judges, although the treaty was on the whole far better than the one proposed by Count Inouyé, it provoked great opposition among the public. The first attack was made by the *Nippon*, the organ of the Conservative party under the leadership of Viscount Tani, who was against the settlement of foreigners in the interior. This attack was followed by the '*Daidō*' party, and the former '*Jiyūtō*,' who denounced it as an imperfect treaty not based on the footing of equality. The criticisms of these parties aroused general agitation, and some of the Government officials, who at first supported Ōkuma, began to be influenced by the popular opposition. With the exception of the '*Kaishintō*' and some individual politicians who favoured the proposed treaty, considering it injurious to our national credit to attempt treaty revision and break off the negotiations so often on account of internal opposition, the public opinion as expressed by a majority of politicians was against it. Undismayed by this clamorous opposition, Count Ōkuma stood his ground and would have concluded the new treaty in defiance of everything, but the joint and united demonstrations of the various parties opposed to it grew more and more violent. At last, on the 18th of October, a young man, Tsunéki Kurushima, who was a member of the political organization known as the '*Genyōsha*' of Fukuoka, attempted to assassinate Count Ōkuma in front of the Foreign

Office as His Excellency was returning from a Cabinet meeting; Kurushima threw a bomb into the Count's carriage, and then committed suicide on the spot. Owing to this catastrophe, not only did Count Ōkuma lose his right leg, but the Kuroda Ministry, which had the honour of signing their names to the promulgation of the Imperial Constitution and had undertaken with sincerity the negotiations for treaty revision, went out of office. It was some time before a new Cabinet could be formed, and during the interval Prince Sanjō, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, acted temporarily as Prime Minister. In the following December, Count Aritomo Yamagata (now Prince), the late Minister of Home Affairs, was summoned to organize a Ministry, which proved to be the first Cabinet to meet the first Imperial Diet.

V.—Political Parties after the Establishment of the Diet

First general election.

In accordance with the Constitution promulgated in February 1889, the first general election of the members of the House of Representatives took place on the 1st of July 1890. As was only natural, the occasion, being without precedent in Oriental history, attracted the attention of interested parties both at home and abroad, who watched the proceedings with critical eyes.

Count Ōkuma says that feudalism produced constitutional government, and that constitutional ideas and movements grew out of feudalism. This is true not only with regard to our recent history, but also with regard to the history of European nations. Though we were so distant from Europe and so different in manners and customs, art, science, philosophy, and religion, we were not so far apart in our political development. That is the main reason why the Japanese people have been successful in adopting the political institutions of Europe and America. The representative system grew out of the medieval feudal assemblies in Europe, and, indeed, it is only since the great French Revolution that European nations have shaken off the last fetters of feudalism, whose influence and after-effects are still to be seen.

In conformity with the provisions of the Constitution, the number of qualified voters out of 42,000,000 people amounted only to 460,000, or little more than one per cent. of the whole population. However, as the people in general were not yet sufficiently advanced in political ideas to demand the privilege of the suffrage, those who organized political parties, aroused public sentiment, and otherwise took an active part in politics, were only a small number of educated men, so that there was no dissatisfaction with the Constitution on this point. But great doubt existed as to whether the Government would observe the spirit of the Constitution and establish a Cabinet responsible to the National Assembly. On this point the various popular parties anticipated that they would have trouble with the Government. The election, although unprecedented in Japan, was in the main carried through successfully and quietly, and without the corrupt practices of later years.

Conditions of the parties.

As was stated in the previous section, the '*Jiyūtō*' disbanded itself, leaving the '*Kaishintō*' to stand alone, and the '*Daidō Dankétsu*' split itself into two parts, one called the '*Daidō* Club' and the other the '*Daidō Kyōwa Kai.*' The '*Daidō* Club' included many discordant elements, having both Liberals and Conservatives among its members. The former manifested an inclination to withdraw and establish a separate organization, while the '*Daidō Kyōwa Kai*' called themselves a reconstructed '*Jiyūtō.*' A futile effort was made by Count Itagaki to harmonize the discordant elements of the members of the '*Daidō* Club,' and in November 1889 he personally attended the Ōsaka Convention and attempted to reconcile them under the name of the reconstructed '*Jiyūtō.*' Upon the failure of this attempt he organized, in January of the following year, a separate party under the name of the '*Aikoku Kōtō*' (Party of Patriots), and for a time stood in opposition to the '*Daidō* Club' and to the reorganized '*Jiyūtō*' as a third party. Beside these, there were a band of progressives in Kyūshū known as the '*Kyūshū Dōshi Kai,*' and other men not belonging to any political party but favourable to the Government, and there was also a body of Conservatives. Amid such a confused congerie of petty parties the general election took place.

Had the first session of the Diet been opened under these conditions, the policy of the Government towards the Diet would have been a very simple matter. But the party men were not asleep, and they saw that the time was ripe for incorporating several parties in order to cope with the Government. The task of bringing the progressive elements together, in order to contend with the combined forces of the Conservatives and the Government, was undertaken by the '*Kyūshū Dōshi Kai*.' But as leagues of different political parties were prohibited by the Government, the several parties were obliged to disband and organize a new and larger association. Consequently, the four parties, '*Kyūshū Dōshi*,' '*Daidō*,' '*Jiyū*,' and '*Aikoku*,' coalesced to form a new party under the name '*Rikkén Jiyūtō*' (Constitutional Liberalists). The '*Kaishintō*,' which had secured only a little over forty seats in the Lower House in the election, but was still recognized as a powerful factor because of their compact unity, declined to join the new party, but they agreed to co-operate with it in all questions against the Government. Thus, when the first session of the Diet opened, the combined parties, amounting to 170 members, commanded a large majority in the Lower House. Count Itō was elected President of the House of Peers, and Nobuyuki Nakajima, a member of the '*Jiyūtō*,' became President of the House of Representatives.

Parties in the first Diet.

The Yamagata Ministry steered its way with great difficulty through the first Diet—from November 1890 to March 1891—by reducing the Budget by a sum of 6,500,000 *yen*, and by promising administrative adjustment in the next fiscal term in order to cut down the current expenditure and to effect necessary reforms. In May 1891 the Cabinet resigned and the Matsugata Ministry took its place, among whose members the most prominent and influential was Viscount Shinagawa, Minister of Interior.

The first Diet.

In March of the same year the '*Rikkén Jiyūtō*' changed its name to '*Jiyūtō*,' and invited Count Itagaki to become its president. Meanwhile, the coalition of the '*Jiyūtō*' and the '*Kaishintō*' remained unchanged, even after the adjournment of the first Diet. Their practical union was consummated by a conference between their leaders, Ōkuma and Itagaki,

Coalition of the '*Jiyūtō*' and '*Kaishintō*.'

and by a social gathering of all the members of the two parties. But instead of a policy of conciliation, the Government assumed a very hostile attitude towards them, and resolved to crush them by a bold policy, as was demonstrated by official action and by the nature of the Bills presented to the second Diet.

The reason of the Yamagata Cabinet's success in peaceably closing the first Diet was the promise made by it to effect administrative reforms and reduce current expenditures. Therefore it was natural, on the Diet's part, to expect the succeeding Cabinet to fulfil that promise. Contrary to expectation, however, the Matsugata Ministry followed the policy of not yielding a single step to the opposing parties, and, out of the surplus funds which the first Diet had laid aside from the general Budget, appropriated several million *yen* for the relief of sufferers by an earthquake in the Gifu and Aichi prefectures, and for public works. A part of the appropriation was justified, the case being one of urgency which demanded immediate aid, but the outlays for permanent public works, as to which there was sufficient time for the Government to confer with the Diet, ought to have been postponed. The action of the Government in deliberately assigning these funds during the recess was understood to be an attempt on the part of the Ministry to thus interpret its constitutional prerogatives. In the Budget the Government also appropriated all the surplus left by the first Diet to new enterprises, and at the same time rejected the demand of the Diet for reduction of the people's burdens, thus making a collision with the Diet inevitable. The two opposition parties were indignant, and in the second Diet—from November 21 to December 25, 1891—they united their votes so as to command a majority, and rejected all the Government Bills, including the relief funds for the two prefectures.

Dissolution of the second Diet.

The Government thereupon at once dissolved the Diet, and, under the leadership of Shinagawa, tried to gain a majority by interfering with the elections through the prefectural authorities and all other available channels. Bribes were given to voters out of a secret fund, besides which they were intimidated by ruffians instigated by the police authorities. This resulted

Government interference with the election.

in a reign of terror throughout the country, under which not only Government officials, but all bankers and commercial men in any way connected with the Government, as well as all other business folk under its indirect control, found it impossible to cast their votes of their own free will. Even worse conditions prevailed in Kōchi and Saga, the provincial head-quarters of the two opposition parties, and in certain northern prefectures, where armed mobs paraded the streets in broad daylight, with the result that many were killed and wounded. But, in spite of these endeavours made at the cost of peace and order, the outcome of the elections was still a majority for the Opposition.

Evil precedent in elections.

After this interference with elections by the Government, the corrupt practice of purchasing votes by means of junketings and money was introduced. Comparing the first election in 1890 with those that followed after 1892, the first was unattended by violence, and the voters prided themselves upon the small amount of expenditure involved. Now it is entirely different. The custom that still prevails of relying upon pecuniary influence to secure election is the fruit of the abuse of Government authority in 1892.

The conduct of the judiciary during this official interference deserves special mention, for whilst the executive authority resorted to every available means to interfere with the elections, and the police, instead of preserving peace and order, practically ignored the ruffians, there was but one resource left to the people, namely, the Courts of Law, whose conduct and independence were anxiously watched by the public. Fortunately at this juncture, Ikén Kojima, the Chief Justice of the '*Daishin-In*' (Court of Cessation), perceiving that the maintenance of judicial authority and its credit depended on the firm attitude of the judges, issued personal instructions to all judges, ordering them to be strictly governed by justice and impartiality regardless of any party, popular or governmental. Thus a light shone in the darkness, and its effect was markedly felt. It is true that some few judges were not absolutely free from partiality, but such cases were exceedingly rare, and, generally speaking, the independence shown by the Bench amply demonstrated to the people the Judicial Bench as the

Impartiality of Chief Justice Kojima.

only trustworthy authority among the several organs of government.

The third Diet: a change in the Ministry.

The governmental interference with the elections thoroughly disgusted the people, and some among the elder statesmen did not hesitate to show their displeasure at it. In consequence, hoping to conciliate public sentiment, the Government dismissed Minister Shinagawa and appointed Count Tanéomi Soyéshima, Vice-President of the Privy Council, in his stead. But in spite of this, the third Diet—which only lasted a month, namely, from May to June 1892—passed a resolution calling the Government to account for its interference. Meanwhile, Count Soyéshima tried to reconcile the Ministry and the Diet, but meeting opposition from his own colleagues, resigned his position. After the adjournment of the Diet, the Government appointed Binkén Kōno, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, to take the portfolio vacated by the resignation of Soyéshima, but, lacking internal harmony, the whole Cabinet resigned on the 8th of August. It was followed by the second Itō Ministry, which included such elder statesmen as Yamagata, Kuroda, Inouyé, and Ōyama, Munémitsu Mutsu being appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs.

'*Kokumin Kyōkai.*'

A new phenomenon was the appearance after the third Diet of the '*Kokumin Kyōkai*' (National Association). Under the leadership of Count Saigō (younger brother of Takamori Saigō) and Viscount Shinagawa, this new party was organized for members of the Diet elected through the influence of the late Ministry. It took for platform the doctrine of State omnipotence, extension of national rights, and expansion of armaments. Some independent members also organized themselves into the '*Dōméi* Club' (Union Club), and, though they were few in comparison with the combined '*Jiyūtō*' and '*Kaishintō*,' they were regarded as a flying squadron of the popular parties, on account of their strong and resolute attitude against the Government. The fourth Diet—from November 1892 to March 1893—like the preceding ones, attempted to correct the long-established evil practices of the Government. Accordingly, though they recognized the need of a fund for building warships, yet they vetoed it on account of their many grievances and the unreliability of

The fourth Diet.

the Government policy with regard to national defence. They also demanded a reduction of about 8,718,272 *yen* from the total sum of 83,759,666 *yen*, the estimated expenditure of the State. When the Government refused to concur, the Diet took a recess to give the Cabinet time to reconsider the matter, and then attempted to pass an address to the Emperor. This was met by retaliatory action on the part of the Government, which suspended the session for fifteen days. On reassembling the Diet passed an address to the Emperor and again stayed its proceedings. Against this action there appeared to be no alternative for the Government but to resign and give place to the Opposition, for it had no hope of securing a majority even if it were to dissolve the Diet. However, the Ministry neither dissolved the Diet nor resigned, but issued an Imperial message on the 10th of February, and thus brought the fourth Diet to a peaceful conclusion. The message announced an Imperial donation of 300,000 *yen* annually for six consecutive years, to be obtained by reducing the expenditure of the Imperial household, and commanded that both civil and military officials should contribute ten per cent. of their salaries for a similar period in order to complete the building of warships. His Majesty further enjoined the Ministry and Diet, as distinctive organs of the Constitutional Government, to co-operate within their respective spheres towards the accomplishment of the national wants. In obedience to this mandate, the Lower House, receiving the Government's promise to adjust its affairs and reduce current expenses before the next session, passed the Budget with only such reductions as the Government was willing to accede to.

An Imperial message.

A change in the conditions of political parties became apparent during the fifth Diet—November to December 1893. There was an unpleasant scandal with regard to Tōru Hoshi, a leader of the '*Jiyūtō*' and the then President of the Lower House, in connection with certain Bourse transactions, and thereupon the House requested him to resign his position and expelled him. This split the '*Jiyūtō*' into two parties, namely, those for and those against Hoshi. In consequence, the '*Jiyūtō*,' which had leagued itself during the previous Diet with the '*Kaishintō*' and '*Dōméi* Club,'

The fifth Diet.

now began to show signs of disinclination to co-operate with the '*Kaishintō*,' and an inclination to approach the Government. On the other hand, the '*Kokumin Kyōkai*' now publicly assumed a hostile attitude towards the Itō Ministry. The failure of the Government to strictly enforce the existing foreign treaties, which enforcement was counted essential to obtaining new and favourable ones, gave an opportunity to the '*Kaishintō*,' the '*Dōmei* Club,' and the '*Kokumin Kyōkai*' to form a league advocating a strong foreign policy, in opposition to the Ministry. Thus, after the session had been twice suspended, the fifth Diet underwent dissolution.

The sixth Diet.

In spite of instructions given to the prefectural governors by the central authority not to interfere with or unduly influence the new election held on the 1st of March 1894, the struggle was a fierce one, and political excitement rose to fever heat. A few days before the meeting of the sixth Diet —from May to June 1894—the '*Dōmei* Club' united with another body named the '*Dōshi* Club,' and thus organized a new party under the name of the '*Rikken Kakushintō*' (Constitutional Reform Party), which, jointly with the '*Kaishintō*' and the '*Kokumin Kyōkai*,' called for an energetic foreign policy and the principle of ministerial responsibility. In the Diet the Opposition held a majority, in spite of the changed attitude of the '*Jiyūtō*,' whose members numbered 120. The Lower House was therefore dissolved after a session of eighteen days. The interval between the sixth and the seventh Diet was a most eventful period, during which vast changes occurred both in national and international affairs.

War with China.

After the dissolution of the sixth Diet, a war with China commenced over the Korean question (July 25, 1894). On the 27th of August a revised Anglo-Japanese Treaty was made public, which opened the way for the conclusion of new treaties on a footing of equality with all other European countries, and thus settled the question which had called for solution ever since the Restoration (see *ante*, p. 107). The attention of the nation being absorbed by the war, the general election held on the 1st of September was a very quiet one. At the extraordinary session of the seventh Diet—from the 18th to the 21st of October—which was held at Hiroshima,

domestic quarrels were for once forgotten in the face of foreign war. A Government Bill calling for the appropriation of an extraordinary war fund, amounting to 150,000,000 *yen*, was unanimously passed without a single dissenting vote, and, after discharging all the remaining business within four short days, the Diet was closed. The eighth Diet—from December 1894 to March 1895—also terminated without any conflict between the Government and the political parties, each refraining on account of the war.

The eighth Diet.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Itō Cabinet was Mutsu, a man of singular talent, who had served a five years' term of imprisonment after his failure in the conspiracy with the Tosa men to overturn the Government in 1877. When amnesty was subsequently granted to him he remained in Tōkyō and secretly lent aid to the '*Jiyūtō*,' being intimately associated with Itagaki and his friends. Afterwards he travelled in Europe, and later was appointed Minister at Washington. In 1890 he entered the Cabinet as Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, and on the formation of the second Itō Ministry he became Minister of Foreign Affairs. With great ability he accomplished the treaty revision and steered the State through the difficulties of the Chinese War.

Coalition between the Government and the '*Jiyūtō*.'

The Treaty of Shimonoséki, which put an end to the war, and which was concluded by Count Itō, Mutsu, and Li-Hung-chang, was materially impaired by the subsequent interference of the three allied Powers, but, in recognition of these services, Count Itō was created a marquis and given the Grand Order of Merit, while Mutsu was made a Count. Mutsu had the *nous* to perceive, not only the powerlessness of political parties incompetent to hold the administration in their hands, but also the impossibility, on the Government's part, of disregarding political parties under the Parliamentary system. He saw an opportunity for the '*Jiyūtō*' either to oppose or to co-operate with the Government, after the former's withdrawal from the league of opposition parties. Taking advantage of his intimate intercourse with the members of the '*Jiyūtō*,' he planned a coalition between that party and the Government, which was accomplished and publicly announced by the '*Jiyūtō*' in November 1895. As the '*Kokumin Kyōkai*' also allied

The ninth Diet.

itself with the Government, in the ninth Diet—from December 1895 to March 1896—the Ministry commanded a majority for the first time in the Lower House against the combined '*Kaishintō*,' '*Kakushintō*,' and other parties. Finding it impossible to cope with the Government supporters, all the opposition parties dissolved themselves, and, with the addition of some independent members, organized a new and larger party, named it the '*Shimpotō*' (Progressist Party), and published its programme on March 1, 1896.

Coalition between the Government and the '*Shimpotō*.'

As the Government had successfully passed through the ninth session of the Diet by an alliance with the '*Jiyūtō*,' the Itō Ministry, soon after its Diet's adjournment, gave to Count Itagaki, President of the '*Jiyūtō*,' a place in the Cabinet as Minister of the Interior. But the Cabinet was unable to remain in office long, weakened as it was by the resignation of Count Matsugata, Minister of Finance, on account of his disagreement with the Premier, and by that of Mutsu on account of illness. There were, in addition, difficult financial problems to be solved, and they were faced by the failure of their foreign policy caused by the interference of the Triple Alliance in the Far East. Thus the Itō Ministry gradually lost credit within and without official circles. Yielding to the manifest wish of the public to see Count Matsugata installed as Minister of Finance, and Count Ōkuma as Minister of Foreign Affairs, so that financial conditions and foreign relations might be improved, the second Itō Ministry resigned (September 1896), and was succeeded by the Matsugata-Ōkuma Cabinet, in which Count Matsugata became Premier and Minister of Finance, while Count Ōkuma headed the Department of Foreign Affairs. On the formation of this new Cabinet, the Premier, Matsugata, assembled the prefectural governors and urged them to respect the rights and liberty of the people as granted in the Constitution, and to secure to them the freedom of speech, Press, and public meetings; to follow the simplest methods in official transactions, avoiding cumbrous formalities; and expressing his intention to appoint only the right men for the right places, selecting them from wide circles, and to carry out administrative reforms. Hereupon the '*Shimpotō*' declared its agreement with the

Government, and consequently became the Government party, thus driving the '*Jiyūtō*' into opposition.

The tenth Diet.

In the tenth Diet—from December 1896 to March 1897—the Matsugata-Ōkuma Ministry commanded a majority, as the '*Kokumin Kyōkai*' also supported the Government, although the members of the '*Jiyūtō*' outnumbered those of the '*Shimpotō*.' A speech made by Count Ōkuma in the Diet with regard to foreign policy particularly attracted attention. In substance he said that the foreign policy must now be adapted to world-wide relations, must be steadfast and continuous, must not be subjected to change with each Ministry, and must adhere to international law, having justice and equity for its essential conditions, so as to commend itself to the sympathy of the world. This was his maiden speech in the Diet, as it was also his first delivery at which he displayed his great talent in public. In this Diet the popular parties were successful in passing an amended Press law which abolished the clause empowering arbitrary suspension of newspapers, which had been an object of their earnest efforts ever since the first Diet. It was an epoch-making act of legislation in defence of the freedom of public opinion, and will always be remembered as one of the triumphs of this Cabinet. Another important Act was the change of the monetary system from the silver to the gold standard, which was carried out by this Diet in deference to the views of the Premier Matsugata and many other financiers.

Dissolution of the eleventh Diet.

Although the Cabinet, soon after the adjournment of the Diet, appointed several members of the '*Shimpotō*' and others, who were in close relations with the Ministry, to certain subordinate positions, yet none of the party politicians except Count Ōkuma was allowed to take a seat in the Cabinet, which was mostly filled by Satsuma men not very eager in the cause of constitutional measures. Consequently the already dissatisfied '*Shimpotō*' became indignant when the Government failed to execute the promise made by the previous Diet to readjust administrative and financial affairs, and contention arose between the Satsuma clansmen and the '*Shimpotō*,' which ended in the resignation of Count Ōkuma and his followers in November 1897, and the severing of

relations between the '*Shimpotō*' and the Government. Thereupon the latter attempted to form an alliance with the '*Jiyūtō*' in order to maintain its position, but the '*Jiyūtō*' declined the proposal and resolved to remain in opposition, as did also the '*Kokumin Kyōkai.*' Owing to the union of the three parties, the House of Representatives, in its eleventh session—from December 24 to 25, 1897—proceeded at once to pass a resolution of non-confidence in the Government. The House was instantly dissolved, and the Cabinet itself resigned on the same day. The Government's action was unavoidable, for there was no hope for it to obtain a majority in the forthcoming election sufficient to pass the projected Bill for an increase of taxes.

Beneficial enactment of the twelfth Diet.

The third Itō Ministry succeeded, in which Count Inouyé filled the difficult position of Minister of Finance. A general election, held on the 15th of March 1898, brought no change in the strength of the parties, with the exception of the '*Kokumin Kyōkai,*' the numbers of which were somewhat reduced. Premier Itō then held a conference with Count Ōkuma and Count Itagaki in order to form an alliance with one of the two parties; but he failed. In the twelfth Diet—from May to June 1898—the foreign policy and a Bill for increasing taxes were the vital questions between the Government and the Lower House. An address to the Throne proposed by the '*Shimpotō*' with regard to foreign policy failed to pass, on account of the dissent of the '*Jiyūtō*' and the '*Kokumin Kyōkai,*' but the Government Bill to increase taxation met with the combined opposition of the '*Jiyūtō*' and the '*Shimpotō,*' and, after three days' suspension, was vetoed in the Lower House by a large majority, whereupon the Diet was at once dissolved. However, to this session of the Diet Japan owes gratitude for an amendment of the law regulating the election of the members of the Lower House, which, having been a standing project since the first Diet, and having been introduced in the Lower House every year, was presented to the Diet by the Government and passed both Houses. It was a great step forward in constitutional government. Its main points were: abolition of a property qualification for members of the Lower House, reduction of the tax qualification

for the electors, and the establishment of large electoral districts, except in cities. While the advantages of the third of these points remain to be seen, there is no doubt as to the benefit of the first two, by which the people acquired the right to elect one representative for every 100,000, and to have one elector in every fifty of the population. For our countrymen, most of whom had hitherto considered the suffrage as a duty and not as a right, this amendment must be regarded as a great advance.

The dissolution of the twelfth House of Representatives provoked the bitter opposition of all parties, and opened the way for a combination of the '*Shimpotō*' and the '*Jiyūtō*.' A few days after the dissolution, these two parties passed a resolution to dissolve their respective organizations and form a new party under the name of '*Kenséitō*,' or Constitutional Party, which was at once joined by the respective leaders, Ōkuma and Itagaki, and thus gained tremendous power and influence. Marquis Itō endeavoured to organize a Government party to oppose it, but failed owing to objections made by others of the elder statesmen; and there being no alternative, he tendered his resignation, naming Counts Ōkuma and Itagaki, leaders of the new party, as his successors. There was no one among the elder statesmen able either to form a Cabinet in succession to Itō, or to assist in its formation. An Imperial summons to Counts Ōkuma and Itagaki to form a new Cabinet shortly followed, and the former was appointed Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, with Count Itagaki as Minister of the Interior. With the exceptions of Marquis Saigō, Minister of the Navy, and Viscount Katsura, Minister of War, the Cabinet was filled by party politicians: Masami Ōishi, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce; Yukio Ozaki, Minister of Education; Gitétsu Ōhigashi, Minister of Justice; Masahisa Matsuda, Minister of Finance; and Yūzō Hayashi, Minister of Communications. Of these, the first three were former members of the '*Shimpotō*,' while the last two were former members of the '*Jiyūtō*.' By the formation of this new Cabinet, political parties appeared to have achieved the ideals cherished by them for more than twenty years, and the accomplishment in this peaceful manner of their object

The '*Kenséitō*' Ministry.

was attributed to the statesmanship of Ōkuma, Itagaki, and Itō, the position of the last resembling that of Katsu at the closing period of the Tokugawa Government, and receiving on that account much sympathy from the public at large.

Disruption of the '*Kenséitō*' Cabinet.

As a first step towards the long-advocated reform of administrative affairs, the new Cabinet appointed a committee with Count Itagaki as its chief, and effected great changes in the Government service, dismissing 4522 officials and thereby reducing the expenditure by 742,570 *yen*. The general election, which was held in August, was very quietly conducted, as the Government strictly enforced the regulations by means of an emergency Imperial ordinance, and as everyone expected to see the re-election of former members. Almost all those elected were of the new Government parties; the Opposition members numbering only twenty of the '*Kokumin Kyōkai*' and an equal number of men not belonging to any association. The fact that the Government had no strong Opposition to contend with, which was essential in order that the newly organized party might develop strong internal union, proved a fatal misfortune to it, and ultimately caused its downfall. Difficulties sprang up soon after the election, almost before the Government had time to nominate former members of the '*Shimpotō*' and '*Jiyūtō*' to official posts. Politicians who failed to obtain any position were highly dissatisfied, whilst there was strife in the Cabinet, with regard to the apportionment to ministerial portfolios and to the balance of power between the former '*Shimpotō*' and '*Jiyūtō*.' The latter demanded that Tōru Hoshi, who had recently returned from America, should be made Minister of Foreign Affairs, and this occasioned a bitter contest between the two sections of the '*Kenséitō*.' At this moment, too, a speech made by Yukio Ozaki, Minister of Education, before the Educational Society, served as a signal for a general attack on the Government, for which purpose the former '*Jiyūtō*' and the Conservative parties joined hands. On the 27th of October Ozaki resigned, but Inukai of the former '*Shimpotō*' took his place, whereupon the infuriated '*Jiyūtō*' resolved to overturn the Cabinet. On the 29th, without waiting for the concurrence of the former '*Shimpotō*,' the old '*Jiyūtō*'

members dissolved the '*Kenséitō*' and organized another party under the same name, excluding the former '*Shimpotō*' elements from it. This was followed by the secession from the Government of ministers and other officials belonging to the former '*Jiyūtō*.' Two days later, Premier Ōkuma and all the other Cabinet Ministers belonging to the former '*Shimpotō*' also tendered their resignations, thus bringing the '*Kenséitō*' Cabinet to an unfortunate termination. In November the former '*Shimpotō*' organized a separate party and named itself '*Kenséi Hontō*' (*Kenséitō* Proper) in opposition to the '*Kenséitō*.'

Relations between the Government and parties.

Upon the first establishment of the constitutional system, the Government entirely disregarded political parties, and it was only when harassed by them in the Diet that it resorted to such unconstitutional acts as interference with elections, but obtaining no result from this, it at last surrendered its position to the political parties. But even when the two largest parties united to form a Cabinet, their lack of internal unity, political training, and confidence quickly compelled them to give up the long-coveted spoils. This experience taught both the elder statesmen and the party leaders that the only course, both for the clan statesmen and the political parties, was to join hands in the management of national affairs.

VI.—Government by Coalition

Coalition between the Government and the '*Kenséitō*.'

The dissolution of the '*Kenséitō*' Ministry took place while Marquis Itō was in China. For this reason, probably, an Imperial summons was sent to Marquis Yamagata to form a Cabinet, and a second Yamagata Ministry, consisting of Satsuma and Chōshū clan statesmen who were unconnected with political parties, was formed. The '*Kenséitō*' promised the Government their support, but the '*Kenséi Hontō*' passed a resolution to oppose it, and denounced the conduct of '*Kenséitō*' as antagonistic to constitutional principles.

The thirteenth Diet.

The thirteenth Diet—from December 1898 to March 1899—was a peaceful one, as the Government adopted for the most part the plans of the Ōkuma Cabinet, and had the support of the '*Kenséitō*.' The Ministry was not, however, in reality,

favourably disposed towards any political party, and was only compelled to coalesce with the '*Kenséitō*' through the necessity of commanding a majority in the Diet. The '*Kenséitō*' was aware of this, but desiring to strengthen its party, it allied itself with the Government in order to utilize the latter's influence. The Ministry did not wish to appoint party politicians to any office in the Government, and by a new civil-service regulation it required qualifications for appointments to the higher positions, with the exception of high officials directly appointed by the Emperor and those coming under the rule of special appointment. Thus an end was put to the ambition of political office-seekers. As this course nearly drove the '*Kenséitō*' into opposition, the Ministry sought to maintain their favour by selling public forests and lands, as well as by a special grant of funds, both of which demoralized the political parties. The principal issue in the Diet was a Government Bill for increasing the land tax, to which the '*Kenséi Hontō*' was opposed, while the '*Kenséitō*' favoured it, subject to certain amendments which necessitated an increase in the postal revenue and railroad fares, in order to meet the deficit caused thereby.

The fourteenth Diet.

The state of the parties during the session of the fourteenth Diet—from November 1899 to February 1900—remained practically the same as in the previous Diet, with the exception of the '*Kokumin Kyōkai*,' which stood between the two parties and kept the balance of power. Soon after the prorogation of the previous Diet, this party had reorganized itself into a new association under the name of '*Téikokutō*' (Imperial Party), but it never developed into an influential and powerful Government supporter. As for the '*Kenséitō*,' though it had allied itself with the Yamagata Ministry, it was not satisfied with the attitude of the Government, and finally, severing its relations with the latter, made strenuous efforts to induce Marquis Itō to enter its ranks. The Marquis, who had already recognized the need of political parties in constitutional government, entertained a hope of organizing one for himself, but was determined to eliminate the evil tendencies of the existing political parties, and so declined to join the '*Kenséitō*'; and on the 15th of September he organized a new party called

the '*Rikkén Séiyūkai*,' upon which the '*Kenséitō*' voluntarily dissolved and all its members joined the '*Séiyūkai*,' with the exception of Count Itagaki, who, though he assisted the organization indirectly, retired from it. This practically placed Itō and Ōkuma—who had stood so long in rivalry, the former as an official, and the latter as a private individual—at the head of two great political parties. The principle of the '*Rikkén Séiyūkai*' was based upon the doctrine advocated by Marquis Itō: namely, that, instead of making party Cabinets its dogma, it declared the power of ministerial appointment under the Constitution to be an absolute Imperial prerogative, regardless of any party's concurrence or opposition. Pointing out the evil tendency of existing political parties to sacrifice the national welfare to party interests, which was not in accord with the spirit of the Constitution, the new party posed as the embryo of a model political association. The conduct and movements of Marquis Itō, who enjoyed, as one of the older statesmen, the confidence of His Majesty, attracted the profound attention of all parties, for his action constituted a new phase in the political development of the country.

The Yamagata Ministry resigned, finding it impossible to meet the resistance of the '*Séiyūkai*,' which included all the members of the former '*Jiyūtō*' and the personal followers of Marquis Itō, and possessed power and influence far above that of the '*Kenséi Hontō*.' An Imperial order summoned Marquis Itō to form a new Cabinet, but as the organization of his party was hardly complete, he hesitated; however, there being no other person who could command a majority in the Diet, he finally decided to organize the fourth Itō Ministry. With the exception of Katsura, Minister of War, Yamamoto, Minister of Marine, and Takaaki Katō, Minister of Foreign Affairs, all the members of the new Cabinet were members of the '*Rikkén Séiyūkai*.' Matsuda became Minister of Education, Hayashi of Agriculture and Commerce, Hoshi of Communications, Watanabé of Finance, Suyématsu of the Interior, and Kanéko of Justice. The first three were former members of the '*Jiyūtō*,' while the last three were men of experience, having previously held important official

The '*Séiyūkai*' Ministry.

positions under Marquis Itō, and were also members of the '*Séiyūkai.*' Thus, a new Cabinet was formed in accordance with the principles of the '*Séiyūkai.*' This was the second instance of party government in Japan, the first having been that of the '*Kenséitō*' in 1898. In both cases failure ensued, not because of external attacks, but because of internal discord. It is easier to become an executive head of a despotic government, relying upon the confidence of a king or an emperor, than to be a Premier in a constitutional government and the leader of a political party. The sovereign is one, but the party consists of many members. To gain the confidence of one is simple and easy, but to enjoy the confidence of many is a very difficult task. The head of a party must consider the opinions and sentiments of the body, and thus he is often led by them instead of leading them. Although Marquis Itō made great efforts to educate and train his party, internal friction between the former members of the '*Jiyūtō*' and his own personal followers became evident as time went on.

The fifteenth Diet.

Still, the '*Séiyūkai*' possessed a majority in the fifteenth Diet—from December 1900 to March 1901—and he was thus able to pass through the Lower House a Bill for the increase of taxes. But, contrary to his expectation, he met with strong opposition in the Upper House. He had had in the past a powerful influence in the Upper House as its President, and later by his simultaneous appointment to the Premiership and Minister of the Imperial Household, but by degrees circumstances had changed, and thus, though he easily gained a majority in the Lower House as leader of the '*Séiyūkai,*' he could not escape vigorous attack in the House of Peers, a majority of whom were partisans of the former Cabinet or personal followers of Marquis Yamagata. Hence, when the Government's Revenue Bill, after having passed the Lower House, appeared before the Upper, it was at once rejected, and only after two successive suspensions, and by order of His Majesty, was the Cabinet able to secure the passage of the Bill. This did not save the Itō Ministry from dissolution, for though the actual additional revenue to be collected during the fiscal year amounted only to 7,000,000 *yen*, it was impossible to carry out the Budget passed by

the Diet. Watanabé, Minister of Finance, was an experienced financier, having previously occupied the same position in the second Itō Ministry and having contributed much towards the successful management of the Chinese War, as well as in the organization of the '*Séiyūkai*,' and he advocated the suspension of public works and of new enterprises, as the financial conditions of the time were not favourable to the issue of loan-bonds. Nevertheless, there was not only a lack of harmony but opposition between him and the other members of the Cabinet from the outset. Finding himself unable to harmonize these discordant elements, Marquis Itō tendered his resignation, and thus failed in his party government just as Count Ōkuma had previously. Itō's last Ministry remained in office a little more than six months.

Change of the Ministry.

After the temporary appointment of Marquis Saionji as acting Premier, a council of elder statesmen was called, as was customary in all such cases, to consider the formation of a new Cabinet. After an unsuccessful attempt had been made by Count Inouyé to form one, on the 2nd of June the task fell to General Viscount Katsura, who organized a new Cabinet as Prime Minister, excluding all elder statesmen, although the members of the Cabinet were mostly followers of Marquis Yamagata, who on that account was regarded as the maker of this Ministry. Through his assistance the Government succeeded in pacifying the Upper House, and through the support of Marquis Itō it was able also to check the antagonism of the '*Séiyūkai*,' and to steer safely through the sixteenth Diet—from December 1901 to March 1902. This Cabinet it was that was so fortunate as to realize the long-cherished hope of both the British and the Japanese people in the conclusion of an Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which was announced to the Diet on the 12th of February. It was a diplomatic success without parallel in the history of Japan and greatly strengthened the Ministry.

The sixteenth Diet.

The seventeenth Diet—from December 9 to December 28, 1902—was distinguished by two things. In the first place, the members of the House of Representatives were the first to be elected after the expiration of the full term (four years) prescribed by the Constitution. In the second place,

The seventeenth Diet.

it was the first Diet elected in accordance with the new law of election which established the system of large electoral districts and the method of voting for a single representative without the signatures of voters. The election was held quietly throughout the country, being conducted in compliance with the wish of all parties to strictly enforce the electoral law, and under Government instructions to all prefectural authorities to that effect. Still, the fact that not a few persons were arrested on charges of bribery proved the inadequacy of the new electoral law to remove all evil practices in elections.

Dissolution of the seventeenth Diet.

Prior to the opening of the Diet, the Katsura Ministry manifested a determination to carry through the Diet Bills for the extension of armaments and for providing for the continuation of the increased land tax as a means to that end. Aware of the avowed opposition of the '*Séiyūkai*' to the proposed increase of the land tax, Premier Katsura attempted, but failed, to bring about some compromise through Marquis Itō. A conference was meanwhile held between Itō and Ōkuma, leaders of the two opposition parties, which resulted in a practical coalition; it was effected largely by the personal sympathy for Marquis Itō shown by Count Ōkuma, who, judging from his own experience, admired the Marquis's spirit of devotion to the principle of political parties. The disagreement between the Government and the Opposition ended in the dissolution of the seventeenth Diet after two successive suspensions. The ensuing general election gave 300 seats to the combined forces of the two parties, and had the Katsura Ministry still adhered to the land-tax issue, there would have been no course but to repeat the unfortunate step of dissolution. The object of the Government was an enlargement of the Navy, and the Bill for increasing the land tax was simply a means to that end. Therefore, in the eighteenth Diet—from May to June 1903—this difficult problem was solved by a conference between the Premier Katsura and Marquis Itō, leader of the '*Séiyūkai*,' which resulted in the Government withdrawing the Bill for increasing the land tax. At the same time the railway appropriations were turned over to the naval fund, and means for the construction and improvement of railways were provided by issuing Government bonds.

The eighteenth Diet.

It was also agreed that administrative affairs should be reformed and the Government expenditure retrenched. But the position of Marquis Itō was perplexing to the Ministry, for, on the one hand, he had held so many important positions in the Government during the past twenty years, and had exercised such a powerful personal influence, that no other elder statesman could compare with him. On the other, the fact of his being the leader of the '*Séiyūkai*' gave at once an advantage as well as no little disadvantage to the Government. He was not only the leader of a political party, but also an elder statesman, whom the Government was obliged to consult on important State affairs. Whether to treat him simply as a party leader, as in the case of Counts Itagaki and Ōkuma, was a delicate problem for the Government to solve. At the same time, Marquis Itō had already experienced considerable difficulty in the management of his party, a task very dissimilar to that of directing subordinate officials in the Government, and he had consequently begun to weary of his position as a party leader, having failed to realize many of his aspirations. So, when the Emperor invited him to become President of the Privy Council soon after the close of the eighteenth Diet, he promptly obeyed the Imperial order, giving the leadership of his party to Marquis Saionji, who was then the President of the Privy Council, and so exchanged his position with that of Marquis Itō.

Withdrawal of Marquis Itō from the '*Séiyūkai*.'

The relations with Russia began at this time to assume a serious character. The difference began with a question between Russia and China, Russia failing to fulfil an agreement made in the Russo-Chinese Treaty to withdraw her soldiers from Manchuria. But Japanese interests in Korea were involved in the question, and finally became a matter of dispute between Japan and Russia. Repeated but futile efforts were made by the Government for several months to settle it amicably, whilst popular sentiment began to grow impatient at the moderation of the Ministry. Those hostile to Russia organized themselves into the '*Tairo Dōshikai*,' or 'Society for Solving the Russian Question,' and vigorously advocated a strong policy towards that country. The '*Kenséi Hontō*' also denounced the Government for having no fixed policy from

Relations with Russia.

Dissolution of the nineteenth Diet.

the outset. The '*Séiyūkai*,' too, in alliance with the '*Kenséi Hontō*,' stood against the Government on the issue of foreign policy in the nineteenth Diet—from December 10 to 11, 1903—and Hironaka Kōno, President of the Lower House, a member of the '*Kenséi Hontō*,' contrary to the established custom in making the reply to the Imperial message given at the opening of the session, took upon himself in that reply the responsibility of criticizing and censuring the policy of the Cabinet. As the result, the Diet was at once dissolved. On February 9, 1904, war with Russia broke out, the whole nation giving unreserved support to the Government.

General election during the war.

On March 10 a general election took place, but was conducted in an extremely quiet manner, as the whole attention of the people was fixed on the war. The result showed that there were in the Lower House 116 members belonging to the '*Séiyūkai*,' 80 to the '*Kenséi Hontō*,' 16 to the '*Téikokutō*,' 15 to the '*Saikō Jiyūtō*' (Resuscitated *Jiyūtō*), while neutral members numbered 76. The twentieth Diet—from March 18 to 30, 1904—voted an extraordinary war fund of 380,000,000 *yen*, asked for by the Government. All parties temporarily forgot their controversies relating to home affairs, and wishing to meet the immediate needs of the war and secure success for the nation, gave unanimous support to the Government, as they had done during the Chinese War of 1894–95. The twenty-first Diet—from November 1904 to February 1905—was also held in the midst of the war, and the attitude of all parties remaining the same, they instantly passed the Budget for the fiscal year, amounting to some 211,000,000 *yen*, and an extra grant of 780,000,000 *yen* for war expenditures. It is a characteristic trait of our Diet and political parties, demonstrating that their sense of duty and patriotism is stronger than their party spirit, and Japan may well be proud of the fact. It should, however, be mentioned that through a misapprehension of a duty of national unity and harmony, public men during the war did not investigate and debate the subject, but passed over lapses in the executive departments, thereby neglecting their duty as a legislative body. On September 5, 1905, the Treaty of Portsmouth was concluded, and the twenty-second Diet—

The twentieth Diet.

The twenty-first Diet.

The twenty-second Diet.

from December 1905 to March 1906—met as the first Diet subsequent to the restoration of peace. The Katsura Ministry, having concluded the war and realizing that it was best for them to retire, recommended Marquis Saionji as Premier of the succeeding Cabinet. This was done in appreciation of the service rendered by the '*Séiyūkai*,' in assisting the Government during and after the war. The Saionji Ministry was organized in January 1906, its members, with the exceptions of the Premier, Saionji, the Home Minister, Hara, and the Minister of Justice, Matsuda, being men who belonged to no party, but enjoyed the favour of the clan elder statesmen, as they were called. The formation of the new Cabinet brought a change in the relations of the '*Séiyūkai*' and the '*Kenséi Hontō*,' which had taken joint action during the end of the Katsura Ministry. The former, with the associates of Yamagata and Itō, now became the Government party, while the latter passed into independent opposition. The successful formation and continuance of the Saionji Ministry may be attributed to the support of the elder statesmen and official circles, on the one hand, and to the presence of a powerful opposing party on the other, which party was then and is still in reality led by Count Ōkuma.

Change of the Ministry.

Attitude of political parties.

Later events have been as follow:—In May 1908 there was a general election, which resulted in the return of 192 *Séiyūkai* members, it being the first time that a single party had secured a majority.

The twenty-third Diet.

On July 4, 1908, the Saionji Ministry resigned, the official reason being the ill-health of the Premier; the real cause, probably, was opposition of the Upper House and the people's desire for more retrenchment of national finance after the war than the Ministry was prepared to make.

Ten days later, namely on July 14, 1908, the second Katsura Ministry was formed.

VII.—The Future of Political Parties

The history of Japanese political parties as stated in the foregoing sections may be divided into four periods. The first began with the movement inaugurated by Itagaki,

First period.

Soyéshima, Gotō, and Etō in 1874 by the presentation of a memorial for the establishment of a popularly elected legislative assembly, and closed with the withdrawal of Ōkuma from the Government in 1881. It was during this period that political parties had their origin. Though as yet no organized body existed, still the fact that there was a party in unorganized form, whose leader was Itagaki, cannot be questioned. The second period began with the secession of Count Ōkuma, and the issue of an Imperial decree promising the establishment of a Diet in 1890. This was followed by the Government's instruction to Itō and other officials to formulate the Constitution. During this period political parties reached the stage of organized bodies. They were subjected to severe Government persecution, and the '*Jiyūtō*' was for a time forced to dissolve, although it was recognized just before the opening of the first Diet and became a nucleus for the combination of the Opposition. During the third period, which commenced with the opening of the Diet in 1890, the Government fought bitterly against the combined forces of the '*Jiyūtō*' and the '*Kaishintō*.' Strenuous efforts made by the Cabinet to control the Diet, by dissolving it and then by interfering with the elections, proved futile, and the opposition parties always commanded a majority in the Lower House. The relations of the Government to the Diet were in a most perplexing condition, when they were suddenly relieved by the war with China. Thereafter, the Government recognized the defeat of its attempt to suppress political parties, and the political parties also began to realize the disadvantage of their being always in opposition to the Government. The '*Jiyūtō*' and then the '*Kaishintō*' allied themselves with the Government, but finding the result unsatisfactory, both coalesced and jointly formed a party Cabinet, which failed owing to a lack of unity. These successive events demonstrated the impossibility of maintaining the Government without the help of political parties, on the one hand, and the immaturity of the parties to establish their own Cabinet, on the other.

Second period.

Third period.

Fourth period.

The fourth period commenced with the dissolution of the Ōkuma-Itagaki Cabinet and the organization of the second

Yamagata Ministry in 1898, and runs into a future whose termination is as yet invisible to us. This is the period during which the bureaucratic Government and one of the parties, having effected a compromise, are working together in the administration of national affairs. The formation of the '*Séiyūkai*' Cabinet under Itō seemed for a time to indicate the success of party government, but when it fell without any attack from external foes, the unripeness of political parties to take upon themselves the responsibility of Government was again proved. The successive failures of party Cabinets under Ōkuma and Itō may not be final, but may be signs of tentative movements and an advance towards ultimate success. The '*Kenséitō*' Cabinet, formed when the amalgamation of the '*Shimpotō*' and the '*Jiyūtō*' had not yet matured, was a temporary union of two bodies having different heads and members. What Napoleon said about one bad general being better than two good ones is also true in the case of political parties. It was not surprising, therefore, to see a dissolution of the '*Séiyūkai*' Cabinet under the conditions of a conflict between the members of the former '*Jiyūtō*' and the immediate associates of Marquis Itō. It was a case of an organization having one head but various limbs actuated by irreconcilable feelings and interests. These experiences do not at all demonstrate the hopelessness of party government, but simply show the difficulty of maintaining a union of two parties, and the weakness of a coalition Cabinet based upon such a union.

Theory of political parties.

Theoretically speaking, political parties should not necessarily be limited to two, but there should be several different parties, according to the nature of the problems and questions presented. A mixed Cabinet under such circumstances may be considered as the form of government best adapted to represent popular opinions and sentiments. Notwithstanding these theoretical views, study of the English and American systems of Government, where party politics have been tried so long, points to a tendency to produce two great parties as a result of the constant struggle for existence, in which smaller parties are defeated and pass out of existence or are absorbed into larger ones. On the other hand, the influence

and strength of political parties on the European Continent are very feeble where the above-mentioned tendency is not known, and where there are many small parties in existence. It is not on account of the truth of any political theory that two great political parties are produced in England and America; it is simply a natural consequence of party politics and the struggle for supremacy. Therefore, there have been many instances in which a political or social question changed the existing conditions, and split up a powerful party into fragments, some of which became independent, while others joined the opposite party and formed a mixed Cabinet. In such cases we no longer see a strong Cabinet which can maintain the unity and continuity characteristic of one based upon a large and harmonious single party. It is then the natural sequence of events that a similar tendency towards the gradual formation of two large parties should prevail in this country.

Peculiarity of the Japanese political parties.

The peculiarity of our political parties in general is that they are all moderate in principles and very gradual in their progress. There is a conservative party, but no reactionary one. There is a progressive, but no extreme radical or revolutionist party. It is true that the '*Jiyūtō*' at first gave some indication of becoming a revolutionary party, but that phase has disappeared with the establishment of constitutional government. The '*Shimpotō*' is radical in some respects, but its radicalism is limited to questions concerning foreign affairs or ministerial responsibility; on all other matters it maintains a dilatory and conservative attitude. The '*Séiyūkai*' has been, above all, mild and moderate both in domestic and foreign politics. As for the '*Téikokutō*,' formerly known as the '*Kokumín Kyōkai*' and now as the '*Daidō* Club,' which holds the balance of power between the two great parties, it may be said that it is somewhat more conservative in domestic politics than the '*Séiyūkai*,' but that it stands on the same level with the '*Shimpotō*' in regard to foreign politics, and has always advocated the expansion of armaments. It now holds a very feeble position among the parties. Naturally, a party with the almost meaningless name of '*Kokumin Kyōkai*' (National Association) or '*Téikokutō*' (Imperialists) grows weaker and feebler, as is actually the case. Such a party has

no particular principle to uphold and cannot succeed in a country like ours, where there is perfect unity among the people and where there is not a single element of racial or sectional discord. After all, unless there come a change in social conditions, with the consequent rise of a labour or socialist party, it is reasonable to suppose that the present political situation will remain unchanged.

Merit and demerit of political parties.

In order to establish a form of government of which the people of the Orient had never dreamed, and to obtain rights and liberties for people the majority of whom had no notion about such things, the political parties of our country hoisted high the flag of liberty and constitutional government and assailed the fortress of clan bureaucratic despotism with manly courage. The time has been too short since these parties were formed to furnish the people with an opportunity for the training and discipline necessary in political movements and organizations. Hence the success attained by the parties in establishing constitutional government is nothing short of marvellous. That they could not hold the reins of power in their own hands after they obtained the coveted prize, that they could not secure the sympathy and support of a people habitually indifferent to party politics, and that they had to contend more than once with the too strong opposition of conservative associations, must be regarded as inevitable results where a party system is not yet firmly established. But, when it is remembered that the political parties remedied the evils of clan oligarchy by their opposition and contributed materially towards many political reforms and advancements, thus rendering good service to the people, we can easily see that the benefits conferred by political parties have more than counterbalanced their defects and failures. If the political parties had not arisen in 1873–74, and if their activities had not increased after 1877, there would not have been in 1890 the establishment of constitutional government. If the old system of arbitrary government still continued to exist, there would have been no means of checking it, and there would have been hindrances and obstructions to internal improvement. The wide barrier between the people and the Government, and also the sharp distinctions between various classes, would have

remained more marked than it is now, making it hard to maintain the progress already accomplished, imperfect as it is. In particular, it would have been evidently impossible to realize such success at a time of external crisis as we obtained in the late two wars with China and Russia through the united effort of the whole nation. Therefore, although there are many things to be regretted, such as the ineffectiveness of political parties, the imperfection of the Diet, the disorganized condition of public affairs, the backward tendency of the conservative elements, and many other cognate instances, we must wait, practise patience, and not expect too much in our passionate zeal. But, to hold that the old system of government is better because of the evils which prevail under the new, and to overlook the benefit of constitutional government and the merit of political parties, must be regarded as an unfair judgment of biased men. Without political parties it is hopeless to see the full operation of the representative system and to secure the benefits of constitutional government. Viewing the matter from this standpoint, the nation must hope for the progress and development of political parties. The first immediate duty of a political party is to deepen and broaden its basis among the people. It must educate the people in political affairs, so that they can sympathize with and become strong supporters of the party's programme. It must extend the suffrage, strengthen the power and enlarge the sphere of public opinion, in order to firmly and permanently establish the foundations of political parties, and train the people so that they may be able to understand the nature of the topics of the day, and to adopt the principles or policy of the party which they approve. Again, it is the duty of a political party to advocate the reform and improvement of internal administration, and thereby promote the progress of society. Hitherto, the parties opposing the Government have, time and again, contended with it on issues relating to foreign politics. This is to fight on ground advantageous to the enemy, for the facts of foreign politics are usually kept secret, so that the gist of the affair is unknown to the public until the critical moment is past. It cannot, therefore, be a wise step for political parties to make such a matter an issue between them and the Government.

Need of political parties.

The country's foreign policy must be established upon some fixed national principle, and in execution of that policy great tact, discretion, and prudence must be observed. Who knows but there may be an irretrievable mistake on the part of the Government, if it follows popular sentiment with regard to foreign relations, however clamorous the cry may be? There is therefore wisdom on the part of our people, since they rely more upon the ability of the Government than they trust the capacity of political parties to judge rightly on foreign affairs.

A step toward their success.

Political parties should therefore make domestic questions, rather than foreign policy, a subject of contention with the Government, thus educating the people politically, appealing to their sympathy for the principle at stake, and giving them an opportunity to pass an opinion on it. The majority of the people are certainly not intelligent; hence to awaken their sympathy, to secure their support, and finally to create public opinion by spreading the views of a small body of intelligent men, requires no little patient labour and training. If we observe carefully the present political, social, and economical conditions of our nation, there is clearly a wide field for the future activity of political parties. The central Government, with its strongly concentrated powers, is harassing everything, suppressing the spirit of the people for autonomy, and barring the development of constitutional institutions. Reform on these points should be made an issue by the political parties opposed to the Government. Again, our educational system sets education and religion entirely apart, giving unparalleled advantages for the management of schools, which cannot be found in Occidental countries; but in spite of this, the evil tendencies of centralized government manifest themselves here also; the independent spirit is lacking in educators, and the system abounds in formalities, no part having any vital power unless set in motion by the central authorities, nor is the system well fitted to develop men of talent and to discipline a great nation. These are timely questions on which the political parties should advertise their opinions and arouse public sentiment. As a result of social development the gulf between the rich and the poor is widening; and the progress of industry,

which requires vast capital, produces more wealth, but has a tendency to cramp the freedom of men. There are, besides, many other questions of a local nature which demand solution by intelligent people. Should the political parties turn their attention towards them, there can be no doubt that there will be a prompt and active response on the part of the people.

Significance of Japanese political parties.

The history of political parties is the history of constitutional government in Japan. It was the political parties who first created the public demand for the establishment of a national assembly and hastened the enactment of the Constitution, and later, commanding a majority in the Diet, forced the Government to act constitutionally, while the people in general were as yet indifferent to the right of participation in political affairs. In some respects the significance of political parties is greater in Japan than in England. The political parties in England arose several hundred years after Parliament had come into existence. Before the parties became of any use to the nation, Parliament existed as an essentially important organ and rendered effective services to the public. Not so in our country. Here the political parties antedated the Constitution and the Diet, the former being the motive power which produced the latter. In England the Parliament was prior to the political parties, and was one of the causes which produced them. But in Japan the political parties arose before the Diet came into existence, and were the chief causes which produced the Diet. If the two large parties—the '*Séiyūkai*' and the '*Shimpotō*'—were taken out of the Diet, there would be no life or vitality in the latter. Therefore, the repeated failures of party Cabinets may be said to be nothing but a step towards success in future years, when they can have the support and confidence of the people. Unfortunately, the tendency of all political parties in every country is to resort to any means, regardless of moral worth, in order to defeat their opponent, and thus to obtain their immediate end. We here in Japan view with much regret how unworthy of our respect are some individual members of the political parties. But when we consider their past successes and their future prospects, there can be but one opinion in regard to our political parties as

an indispensable element of our constitutional government. They must perform greater functions in future than in the past, and must be more in contact with the people in order to educate them and receive their support. If they turn their attention to this, they will obtain permanent success and secure their reward in the gratitude of the people. The duties of our political parties are very great, and their goal is yet far distant. Those of us who are faithful to the Constitution sincerely hope for this development and progress amongst political parties.

VII

THE JAPANESE ARMY

FIELD-MARSHAL PRINCE ARITOMO YAMAGATA

I.—THE JAPANESE ARMY BEFORE THE OPENING OF THE COUNTRY TO WESTERN INTERCOURSE

Geographical situation a strong protection.

THE isolated situation, as well as the mountainous features of Japan, which consists of innumerable islands stretched in an oblique line from the torrid to the frigid zone off the coast of the Asiatic Continent, afforded of old no small advantage to chieftains and warriors, who, secluding themselves within their own territories, where they were nursed in blood-thirsty militarism, became extremely difficult to conquer or to unify into one empire. It was, according to Japanese mythology, Prince Izanagi and Princess Izanami that first succeeded in bringing the unruly eight provinces of Japan under their personal sway, and their descendants becoming powerful and influential among the aboriginal chiefs, at last Prince Wakai-ratsuko, of Kyūshū, defeated the powerful chiefs of Yamato and was crowned at Kashiwabara, in the province of Yamato, as the first Emperor Jimmu of the new empire. So, too, Kumé and Ōtomo, whom that Emperor appointed as governors of the provinces and of the Court guards, were the ancestors of the military families of the country. But content was not as yet to be expected, and emperor after emperor had to send armies against his unruly chiefs. The Emperor Sujin, for instance, sent out four generals into the four districts to conquer and govern them, and the Emperor Suinin stationed garrisons for the defence of the frontiers, whilst the Emperor Kéikō and Prince Yamato-Takéru spent most of their days in quelling

different local chiefs. The Colonial Government which had been established at Mimana, Korea, when Shiragi, over the sea, showed signs of disobedience, brought about a result quite contrary to what was intended, for it stirred the people of the peninsula into open resistance, and the Emperor Chūai had to lead an army westward, but, dying on the way, was succeeded by his consort, the Empress Jingō, who crossed over to Korea to do her deceased husband's will, subjugated the peninsula, and stationed garrisons there in 200 A.D. This was the first time in the history of Japan that it had a possession outside its own shores. Wars were constantly carried on in the remote northern provinces, though these regions proved, in later periods, to be the cradle of Japan's most martial spirits. The first regulations for the Army were issued by the Emperor Tenchi in 661 A.D., when our troops were fighting the Chinese beyond the sea, and the valiant Prince Kurikuma, appointed by the Emperor Temmu to be the chief of the military administration, revised the conditions of national defence, and established regular guards of the Court and garrisons of the frontiers. The Empress Jitō made soldiers of a quarter of the population in 689 A.D., and trained them in tactics and military arts. The first military organization, however, was effected in 701 A.D., when each corps was made to consist of a thousand soldiers, and was subdivided into companies under their respective leaders. Cavalry was also formed of those accustomed to horsemanship and hunting. At this period expedition after expedition was sent out to each remote province, both for conquest and colonization, and no Court families were allowed to evade martial training.

First regulations for the Army.

In 780 A.D. the Emperor Kōnin issued a law of conscription, according to which every man of good constitution was specially trained, whilst the weak and feeble were left to do farm work: thus a division arose between the military class and the farmers, to the disadvantage of the latter. In spite of the material, as well as the intellectual, progress that Japan made during several centuries of peace that followed, the adoption of these measures deprived the military class of its Spartan habits, and brought it so much under the influence of luxury that it lost all the war-spirit of its ancestors, which

Separation of military and farming classes.

existed no longer save in the frontier garrisons. The Engi code (so called from the period of its enactment), compiled in the reign of the Emperor Daigo (927 A.D.), contained a minute and well-regulated system of military organization, but it was of little practical use and soon fell out of observance, for a spirit of plunder and rebellion ruled everywhere in the empire, and even the Imperial capital had no means of defence save the families of professional soldiers. Naturally, all military authority fell into the hands of these *samurai* families, and the centralization of authority gradually gave way to individual and scattered feudal administration. The Minamoto and the Taira families became the two centres of military power, having subdued all the less powerful local chiefs. But a contest for the upper hand quickly ensued between these two victorious families, which ended in the fall of the latter, the Minamotos beginning a military administration at Kamakura which was to last for centuries. It is to this feudalism that Japan owes so much of her renowned 'Yamato' (classical name of Japan) spirit.

Ancient weapons.

The ancient weapons of the Japanese were of two kinds: swords and bows. The former were used in close fighting, and the latter in struggles at a greater distance. Cross-bows were also employed in the defence of the frontiers, though they lost their practical use by the ninth century. The spear first appeared in the fourteenth century, or during the Civil War of the two Imperial Courts. Though the only weapon used in storming, the spear was too long to be handy, and on that account it was at first wielded almost entirely by officers. Later, in the sixteenth century, however, when the local chiefs and lords were for ever quarrelling with one another, and contests were frequent between them, necessity improved the use of weapons, and long spears were then given a first place in the line of battle. Shields of wood being almost useless except to ward off arrows, the enemy's blows were met, not with a shield, but with a sword and a spear. These two weapons were not without their defects. Swords, though indispensable in close fighting, required considerable intervals between the men. Thus our early battles seemed, as it were, to be single combats between very loosely connected units.

When the longer weapon came to be used, close corps of spearmen were organized, but they formed only a very small part of a troop.

Introduction of fowling-pieces.

The year 1543 was epoch-making in the history of weapons in Japan, for the Portuguese then brought fowling-pieces into the Island of Tanégashima, off the coast of Kyūshū. No weapon then in use could naturally be of any value against it, and the art of war had to be revolutionized. Japan had long been one universal field of battle, and everybody was anxious to get the best weapon he could; the new arms, therefore, at once became the object of both the greatest interest and the most careful investigation, and, within the course of ten years after their first introduction, they were imitated and came into almost general vogue. This was the more wonderful if we consider into how many petty contending territories the empire was then divided and how imperfect internal communication was. It shows that our armsmen have always been very quick in the choice and adoption of new weapons. No warrior, however bold and audacious, could stand up against a bullet from the new firearms, and none of our weapons could bear any comparison with the foreign weapon. The firearm now naturally held pre-eminence in the battle-field, and henceforth knowledge, and not physical strength, became the conqueror in war. Still, the old weapons were not altogether abandoned, for the gun was almost useless as a storming force, for it took some time to load, and it was not yet provided with a bayonet. Consequently, the formation of battle array and disposition of troops were soon found to need close study, and the contest between Shingen Takéda and Kenshin Uésugi, two of the bravest and ablest lords of the day, which lasted over ten years, in the middle of the sixteenth century, taught many new lessons in the art of war. The Korean invasion of 1592 added practically nothing to the progress of weapons, though it demonstrated abroad the bravery and activity of our warriors.

Fortifications.

Still it was about this time that fortifications, another foreign importation, the remains of which are still to be seen everywhere throughout the country, were most extensively carried out. Then the three hundred years of the Tokugawa *régime* consolidated warriors, both lords and retainers, in the cause of

loyalty and patriotism, and though, during the long-continued peaceful age, such of the higher class as had ample means for luxury lost much of their martial courage, the lower class warriors were still full of spirit and vigour. The view, however, still held ground that military training consisted only in the use of the old weapons, namely, the sword and spear, and, inasmuch as mechanics were looked down upon by soldiers, our military implements saw very little general improvement during the long era of peace, so little, indeed, that even the fowling-piece was left almost as it had been at the time of its importation.

Characteristics of Japanese warriors.

The above is a brief summary of the history of military administration and weapons in the early days of our country. As for our warriors, they were brave, but they also indulged in peaceful pursuits, some of them being poets and scholars. The highest importance was attached to chivalry and humility, and especially to leaving a good name after death. Far from insulting a foe, they treated him with courtesy even in the heat of combat. Yoshiiyé Minamoto, warring against Sadatō Abé, followed him in hard pursuit, but whilst fixing an arrow to his bow, he addressed his enemy in a short improvised poem, whereupon Sadatō checked his horse, and in return recited an extempore verse telling how hard it was to defend his castle. Yoshiiyé was touched, and at once gave up the pursuit. When Munétō surrendered on the death of his brother Sadatō, Yoshiiyé not only received him hospitably but added him to his retainers. Again, when Kenshin Uésugi learned that his mortal enemy, Shingen Takéda, had had his supply of salt cut off by Hōjō, he sent supplies from his own provinces. No less chivalry was shown in our own day in the pursuit of the Russian warship *Rurik*, when our men, in the very midst of the hottest engagement, saved and protected the drowning Russians with no less humanity than they would have done in time of peace.

II.—Military Matters subsequent to the Opening of the Country

(a) *The Last Days of the Tokugawa Régime*

Foreign impetus.

Japan had slept so peacefully for centuries, that even the aggressive grasp of the Russians on the Kurile Islands in 1789, or the later appearances of other foreign ships on the Japanese seas, could not rouse her from her slumber. But the sudden arrival of the American squadron in 1853 was more than a bolt from the blue, and the surprise of the nation may be imagined rather than described. Yet this sudden awakening, whilst it showed that there was still a martial spirit in the nation, although it had been long pent up, should not have so taken Japan by surprise. In the forties, years before the unexpected arrival of the American ships, Shūhan Takashima, of Nagasaki, who had devoted himself to the study of military science, had lodged a petition with the Shōgunate, in which he urged that (like her neighbour, China, which had been so utterly defeated by European forces through her defences being altogether out of date) Japan, if she did not reform her weapons and art of war, would fail to defend her own coasts from a foreign invasion, and that nothing was of greater importance to the empire than to make a radical change in its military system. He went so far as to obtain some guns from Holland, and with his followers, whom he had trained in their use, came to the Shōgun's capital to show the new tactics and to urge upon the Government the necessity of adopting Western methods of organization. The authorities were too short-sighted to give full hearing to him, although his petition served to attract to a certain degree the attention of the Shōgunate and of many far-sighted warriors, who began to study under him, and in the end his petition actually proved to be the dawn of the reorganization of the military system of the empire. Takashima went so far, in co-operation with Egawa, one of his pupils, as to cast guns and elaborate measures for the national defence, but his only reward was that the conservative authorities arrested him in 1842 and put him in prison. Nothing daunted, he

still studied the art of war. He died prematurely, but history remembers him as the real introducer and founder of the new system of our military organization. Egawa succeeded Takashima, and was equally zealous and far-sighted, disciplining his followers in the art of casting guns. His views on national defence at last won him the confidence of the Minister of State, and the batteries at Shimoda and Shinagawa, the two bulwarks of the Shōgunate, are said to have been planned and constructed by him. He died in 1855, two years after the coming of the American men-of-war. The enthusiasm of these pioneers of military systems in Japan at last succeeded in persuading the Government, who set to work to do all that it could for the fortification and defence of the country. Not only were firearms largely imported for the Army and the Navy, but their manufacture was extensively carried on by both central and local governments, so that the ineffective smooth-bore guns were soon replaced by rifles.

Manufacture of gunpowder.

The manufacture of gunpowder was also undertaken with success. Big-grain powder, first manufactured in 1825, had proved effective when used in a wooden tube, but Egawa was not satisfied with it, and he sent some of his followers abroad to investigate the method of producing a still more effective explosive. They came back with apparatus obtained in Belgium, which was at once set up at Ōji for the manufacture of gunpowder, and has since evolved into the present Takinogawa Powder Manufactory.

Fortresses and batteries.

Coast defence received attention from the clans, and fortresses and batteries were built everywhere along our shores. The batteries at Shimoda, Kamitsushima, and Shinagawa, built in 1853, the fortresses at Hakodaté and Kaméda, particularly the defences of Hokkaidō, built in 1855, and the stone fort at Wada Point in Hyōgo erected in 1862, were among the chief products of those days. The guns mounted in these batteries and fortresses were clumsy old-fashioned pieces of the smooth-bore type, but in the buildings themselves the new method of fortification was adopted.

By this time the pressure of foreign Powers upon Japan to open her doors was great, and it at last culminated in the bombardment of Kagoshima by the English in 1863,

and of Shimonoséki by the combined fleet of the English, Americans, and French in the following year. Everything now showed how necessary it was to have complete fortifications for the empire, and how impotent our old-fashioned weapons were against the bulwarks of foreign ships.

Organization of three corps.

In the end, the Shōgun's Government was obliged to adopt the foreign military system, and it organized, in 1862, three corps, consisting of 8306 infantry, 1068 cavalry, 800 field artillery, 2045 garrison artillery, with 1406 officers, making altogether a total of 13,625. The grades of officers were also assimilated to those of foreign countries, and they were instructed by resident foreign officers, some being even sent abroad by the Government to study. Meanwhile, the country was disturbed by diplomatic troubles, which brought about the Kyōto affair and the Nagato rebellion in 1864. The Government sent an army against Nagato, but the rebels were light-armed and free of action, whilst most of the Shōgun's troops still wore heavy old-fashioned helmets and armour, and the Government failed to subdue the rebels for all the large army it sent out. This decided the nation and at last convinced it that the old military system was no longer trustworthy. In 1867, therefore, the Government engaged French officers to make a thorough and radical reform of the Army, and every clan followed the example. Soon the battles of the Restoration followed, and the new era of Méiji dawned.

Engagement of foreign officers.

(b) *The Era of Méiji—Construction of the Japanese Army*

Military system at the time of the Restoration.

The three corps of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, disbanded on the fall of the Shōgunate, were reorganized by the new Government, and every fief that had adopted one or other of the foreign systems was already training its troops. Thus Satsuma followed the English, Kii the German, and some other clans the Dutch. It is not surprising, therefore, that the new central Government found a difficulty in deciding as to which particular country's system should be adopted, and that opinions could not be easily brought into unison. For, though all administrative authority was supposed to be restored to the new Government, feudalism, deeply rooted

in the heart of Japan, had not altogether disappeared, and the Government's main support consisted of small bodies of men supplied by the Satsuma, Chōshū, and Tosa daimyotes. Quarrels still went on among the clans, and at last even Satsuma and Tosa withdrew their support from the Court, and only two battalions of Nagato men were left in the Imperial capital. Prior to this, Masujirō Ōmura of Chōshū, on his appointment as Minister of War, had endeavoured to eradicate feudalism, and had tried to summon recruits equally from all classes of the people, but he met with a strong objection on the part of privileged *samurai*. Convinced that the then commanders of the troops were not competent to instruct their men in the new tactics, he established a military school at Kyōto in 1868—which was moved to Ōsaka the next year—as a staff college. Among his many other plans of weighty importance was one for establishing six garrisons in the empire, but unfortunately, he fell a victim to assassination before the execution of these important schemes.

Reformation of the military system.

When Aritomo Yamagata and Tsugumichi Saigō came back in 1870 from European tours undertaken to investigate foreign war systems, they were appointed at once to reform the military administration. Following the French system, they organized Imperial Guards with the soldiers of Satsuma, Chōshū, and Tosa in 1871, and instead of the troops raised from local clans, which they disbanded, they established garrisons in Tōkyō, Sendai, Ōsaka, and Kumamoto with detached posts at every important place, and stationed there troops newly recruited from each clan. Thus military authority was centralized in the Government and the security of the restored monarchy was assured. In 1872, when Departments of the Army and the Navy were established in place of the War Department, the *samurai* class was relieved of military service, and a new system of conscription was adopted that required every male, without distinction of rank or class, to serve the country as a conscript, three years being the period of active service, together with two years in the first and two in the second reserve. This was a great step forward in our military organization, but, as in every other reform, there were many obstacles to surmount. One of the greatest

Law of conscription.

was that, military service having been in the past hereditary, the *samurai* were too proud of their descent to mix with common soldiers summoned from among classes other than their own. Fortunately, however, those that came from good families were too weak and incompetent either to be exemplary officers or to take their place with common soldiers, and practically the officers who most efficiently commanded soldiers were from the middle class. This, therefore, ultimately proved no serious obstacle in the way of the reform. Another difficulty was that it was doubtful as to whether the sons of classes other than the military, who had never been in touch with warlike pursuits, could stand the hardships of the field, and remain faithful to the call of honour. But Yamagata, having seen that the European systems were all founded on this same principle of general conscription, believed that not particular sections but the whole people should be enrolled as conscripts. He was, moreover, confirmed in his belief by the fact that some farmers, whom the Shōgunate and the Chōshū clan had drilled in foreign discipline, proved themselves to be good soldiers.

The six military districts.

In 1873 the whole country, excepting Hokkaidō, where the land was as yet too little reclaimed, was divided into six military districts and each had its garrison. Tōkyō, Sendai, Nagoya, Ōsaka, Hiroshima, and Kumamoto were the headquarters of the divisions, the Imperial Guards being stationed in the capital. A military district was divided into two divisional districts with subordinate military stations and garrisons. The whole force consisted of fourteen infantry regiments, three cavalry squadrons, eighteen artillery batteries, ten sapper sections, six commissariat sections, and nine coast artillery companies, making 31,680 strong altogether in time of peace, and 46,350 on a war footing. In the same year the first conscripts were summoned, according to the new law of conscription, and several battalions were filled from them. One of the greatest difficulties met with at the start was a lack of staff officers, and to meet this urgent need of the time the Military School in Tōkyō turned out graduates after a shorter course of training, while efficient volunteers from different clans were kept on the staff. Under such

circumstances there could be no settled rule for promotion, and many non-commissioned officers were promoted to be captains within the course of a year, but some of them had subsequently to be degraded for incompetency. Men of the same class as *samurai* were often classified as soldiers and officers on account of their descent or of mere precedence, while some officers were picked out from the rank and file by their superior officers on account of their competency. Notwithstanding these irregularities, the new troops were well disciplined in obedience, and the *Bushidō* spirit prevailed throughout the system. In the next year regimental colours were conferred upon the infantry. The Imperial Guards were reorganized in 1876 into two infantry regiments, one cavalry squadron, two artillery batteries, one sapper and one commissariat section. A colonial militia was organized in Hokkaidō, and the chief magistrate of that island was empowered to raise soldiers from the neighbouring provinces.

Regimental flags.

The Military School at Ōsaka had been removed to Tōkyō in 1871, and some French officers were employed in the following year, while many military books were translated into Japanese for circulation amongst the troops. The Bureau of Staff Officers was established in 1874 in the Army Department, and regulations relating to military promotion, inspection, and pensions were promulgated in 1876. Thus the Japanese Army adopted the best methods that Europe had developed during ages, but these reforms and foreign adaptations were but the buds on the tree, and Japan had to wait a long while for it to become fruit producing.

Continuance of foreign system of education.

A rebellion broke out in Satsuma in 1877, and the Government had to dispatch troops before the new Army had been thoroughly organized and while the systems of reserves and recruits were still very imperfect. Japan had formerly no system of commissariat or land transport, and the systems adopted in European countries were not adaptable to the topographical conditions and customs of the country. The question arose at once as to how to supply the troops with provisions and ammunition, and after long consideration we were forced to employ inefficient coolies and pack-horses. Another difficulty was how to make up the wastage in the troops, for

Conscripts and volunteers.

during the eight months that the war lasted, fighting and disease had weakened the Army in inverse proportion to the expansion of the field. As a last resource volunteers were called for, and were sent to the front after a training of a few weeks. As these were mostly *samurai* who had taken up other occupations upon the abolition of their clans, it was generally believed that the old *morale* which they doubtless retained would make them far better soldiers than the compulsory conscripts. But facts proved quite otherwise, for the volunteers were found to be less endowed with resolution and bravery than conscripts who had undergone regular military discipline, the reason being clear, for the Japanese, whether of the military class or not, originally sprang from the same blood, and, when subjected to regular discipline, even though they might be drawn from any other class than the military, could scarcely fail to make soldiers worthy of the renowned bravery of their ancestors. This discovery opened up great hopes for conscription, and imparted self-confidence to the nation at large.

The arms carried by the Imperial infantry were Schneider rifles, somewhat modified from the old Enfields, of 14·9 mm. calibre with a range of 359 metres, while the only cannon the Imperial troops possessed were bronze, muzzle-loading, four-pounder mountain pieces, the Imperial Guards alone having twelve 7·5 cm. Krupp half-steel guns. All these had very weak striking powers, and it is no wonder that the Imperial artillery proved of little effect during the Civil War. But the war itself was a good lesson, for it disclosed to Japan many defects in her troops.

Reformation in 1878.

In 1878 the military control was divided into three principal branches—the Army Department, the General Staff Office, and the Army Inspection Department. The first was to administer military affairs in general, the second to attend to national defence and the planning of operations, and the third to have charge of military orders and to supervise military finance. Three general officers were appointed, each to command two garrisons, which were to form one army corps in time of war under the same commanders. The conscription law was revised in 1879, when the terms of service with the colours, with the first reserve, and with the second reserve were

Revised conscription law.

changed respectively into three, three, and four years, making the whole service ten years instead of seven. But the law included several conditions for exemption and even for substitution of a conscript. In 1883 it was again revised. This time the terms of service were made three, four, and five years, and payment for exemption from service was altogether abolished, in order to make the system of conscription real and effective.

Military education system.

As to the education and training of officers: in October 1870 a corps of 423 students, from different clans, was organized after the French system, and the Government sent ten officers a year, for several years, to study military science in France. In 1871 a training school for non-commissioned officers was established, where bandsmen were also instructed. In that year the Military School sent out seventeen graduates with honours, who were at once appointed acting sub-lieutenants. The education of sappers and engineers was also commenced about the same time. In 1873 a branch of the Military School was established at Toyama, Tōkyō, for the purpose of instructing officers, both commissioned and otherwise, from different garrisons and regiments; and when, later on, it was renamed the 'Toyama Military School,' a training battalion was organized there for purposes of practice. The students were to be specially instructed in training soldiers, and, while at the school, they took one of three special courses of military tactics, gunnery, and gymnastics. Again, the same school invited applicants for veterinary surgery and farriery, and a separate veterinary school was established in 1874. But the Military School was abolished in 1875, and schools for different special courses were brought under the direct control of the Department of the Army. The Military Academy then became a regular training school for officers. A Military Medical School was also established, but the applicants for surgical training were so few that the Government soon closed it, sending ten students every year to be instructed in the Medical College of the Imperial University. By 1876 the military schools had got into thorough working order, and their students numbered no less than 2131. Those officers who were specially promoted during the Satsuma Rebellion

were also instructed in necessary sciences at the Toyama school as special students. Lastly, a telegraphic corps was formed from students instructed in telegraphy. Staff officers who had been sent abroad, coming back one after another from 1873 onwards, were now instructing the Army in European tactics and discipline in co-operation with foreign teachers, and, in fact, the Government was so eager for the introduction and diffusion of foreign learning that, in 1880, twenty-two new students were sent abroad, making forty-four Japanese officers who were studying in Europe at the expense of the State.

Imperial edict for the soldiers.

An Imperial edict was addressed to the Army and the Navy in 1882, and was quickly followed by another, all dwelling upon the necessity of armaments' expansion in view of the condition of affairs abroad. These Imperial edicts caused a radical change to be made in the national defence and the organization of the troops, and, in fact, it was upon the changes then made that the present organization of our Army was firmly founded. The officers who had been abroad constantly coming home, Japan found itself able to manage its military education without any help from foreign instruction, and the Government established a Staff College in 1883 for the purpose of giving the highest grade of military education to staff officers. The expansion of the Army made it necessary for the Military Academy, which at first took in only seventy students every year, to increase its numbers to two hundred in order to meet the increasing need for officers, while, on the other hand, a Military Medical School was again opened, where graduates of local medical schools were taken in as special students in surgery. But the demand for officers was now so great that, in 1883, non-commissioned officers of promise were selected to be trained for lieutenants. The Government took the greatest possible care in the education of young officers, encouraged them in the study of foreign languages, and particularly trained them in skeleton drill, in staff riding, and in the practice of tactics. Many military books were translated and distributed among them. An inspection officer was specially sent out each year to overlook the military drill of every corps as well as to examine the competence of company officers. So much importance was attached to individual

worth in those days that young officers of promise obtained quick promotion and high appointments, to the great encouragement of their class in general.

Development of military knowledge.

The troubles in Saga, Formosa, and Satsuma no doubt encouraged a martial spirit and increased the self-reliance of the troops, but at the same time they greatly cooled the enthusiasm for learning among the soldiers, and thus checked military progress. But the authorities were not blind to this condition, and they started many military schools and tried earnestly to do away with the self-conceit of veteran soldiers by turning out young officers of great ability and learning. In the meantime the high-handed attitude of the Chinese towards Korea, which was antagonistic to the interests of Japan, showed our officers that a great war was to be expected sooner or later on the Asiatic continent, and made them eager to acquire military knowledge, for they were as yet quite unfitted for a continental war; for our infantry, in manœuvring, still showed itself very defective in the practice of firing, the cavalry were too few in number to accomplish anything other than reconnoitring the condition of the enemy, the artillery lacked a great deal in material as well as in practice, and even the criticism of the Chief Umpire at manœuvres was hardly of a high standard. Murata rifles, invented in 1880 and improved in 1885, were given out for the first time in 1887.

III.—Development of the Japanese Army

Organization of brigades.

The basis of divisional organization was firmly laid in 1884, when brigades were formed from infantry regiments already organized, and other tactical units were correspondingly enlarged. In old times, when the Japanese were born equestrians and very skilful in horsemanship, it was quite easy to obtain voluntary equestrian corps, but the prohibition of riding that the Tokugawa Government laid on the commoners not only made horses mere beasts of burden, but caused a decline in stock breeding, so that, at the time of the Restoration, when the Government had to supply horses for the Imperial Guards and the Tōkyō garrison, great trouble was experienced in the purchase of horses, and no more than

two cavalry companies could be organized. But now at last each Division had a sufficient number of war-horses supplied.

Garrison artillery.

In 1886, when the coast-line of the empire was divided into five naval districts, each with its admiralty and port, the Army, now entrusted with the duty of defending the ports and roadsteads, furnished garrisons to several of the islands, and started a special Battery Construction Section to build batteries and fortresses at every important place where artillery was stationed.

Formation of Head-quarters of Divisions.

Another forward step that our military organization took was that (the national armaments being now nearly complete and the need of co-operation between the Army and the Navy being keenly felt) the General Staff Office was instructed to devise plans of joint operations for the two services. In 1888 the garrisons were renamed 'Head-quarters of Divisions,' and each was fully organized for independent action in war, with infantry, cavalry, artillery, engineers, and commissariat, though several years elapsed before these troops became able to form complete Field and Reserve Divisions on a war basis. At last, for the first time, the Imperial Army, now consisting of a field force of seven Divisions, fortress artillery, railway corps, and colonial militia, was ready for any continental operation.

Progress of the military education.

As to the military education of this period, the Government did all that it could for the instruction of officers and departmental officers. It newly organized a Military Medical School, in 1886, to train surgical students and non-commissioned officers, and to give medical lectures to surgeons; formed a Paymasters' School to train paymasters; a Gunnery School; a Riding School; a Training School for Fortress Artillery Staff Officers, to instruct them in the necessary science of fortification; an Artillery and Engineers' School, in 1890, to give higher training to officers of those branches; an Intendance School to qualify lieutenants of every branch for high intendants, and training institutes for military tailors and surveyors. That this encouragement was successful may be gauged from the figures, for in 1893 Japan had altogether sixteen military schools instructing 2602 students. The Drill-book and the Field Service Regulations were revised, and every officer was given considerable freedom of action so that he might improve his capacity and learn to rely upon himself. When the Educational

Regulations of the Army were revised, in 1889, officers ceased to undergo periodical inspection as had hitherto been the case, but had instead to fill up an examination paper every winter. Many of these improvements in the military organization were due to foreign instructors, of whom a German, General Mecker, heads the list. His influence is still felt and appreciated in the Army.

One-year Volunteer system.

The conscription law was again revised in 1889, and a one-year Volunteer system was adopted for recruiting reserve officers. In the meantime officers organized among themselves clubs which they termed the Monday Club and the Artillery and Engineers' Association, the purpose of both being mutual study of every branch of military science and practice. Their journals and other publications have also proved a great aid to the development of military knowledge. These clubs later merged into what is now the 'Military Club,' the only organ of intercourse and investigation among military officers.

Military clubs.

The military force at the time of China War.

The Korean problem, at last, plunged Japan and China into war in 1894. We will briefly state what the total of the Japanese troops was, for it belongs to the sphere of history to give details. Mobilization was carried out according to the revised war organization of 1893. Under this organization the Japanese Army consisted, on a war footing, of soldiers with the colours and the reserves. These formed the field army, the garrisons, and, if necessary, the militia. One Division of the field army had twelve infantry battalions (the Imperial Guards had eight battalions), three cavalry squadrons, six artillery batteries (i.e. four of field artillery and two of mountain artillery, except the Imperial Guards which had four of field artillery only), and two engineer companies, with commissariats and all other necessary organs, making the total force 18,492 strong with 5633 horses. This means that the seven Divisions formed an army of over 120,000, with 168 field-pieces and 72 mountain guns. The garrisons, which consisted of the reserve corps, the colonial militia, the fortress artillery, and the Tsushima garrison, were charged with the duty of defending the fortresses and other important places as well as the lines of communication, and, if necessary, were to be drafted into the field forces. Further, these field

Divisions and garrison troops had their conscription reserves to supply them in the time of war. Hence, the forces mobilized would make 220,580 men, with 47,221 horses and 294 field-pieces, though, in reality, the strategy and the geographical position of the Japanese Army rendered it necessary to make some changes in these numbers, so that those who were actually engaged in the China-Japan War exceeded 240,000, besides 6495 employees and 100,000 coolies. In this war our troops, organized according to the Imperial edict of 1882, achieved a signal victory and greatly added to the prestige of the empire in the eyes of the world. The officers who were actually engaged paid great attention to the relative worth of the forces of both countries and to the investigation of the real cause of the victories they had won, and far from over-estimating themselves as good fighters, they were enlightened as to their weak points, and saw in what direction they should improve themselves. This war, therefore, was, so to speak, a great training school for young officers. It taught them, among many other important lessons, this at least, that the brave and shrewd action of young officers dissipated the fear that theoretical training might impair practical efficiency; on the contrary, that there was need of still greater enthusiasm for scientific investigations. On the whole, however, the troops of the enemy proved so weak that Japanese officers did not encounter any serious military problems worthy of careful consideration. In respect of weapons, Japan was still in a transition period when the war broke out. For the only two divisions furnished with magazine rifles using smokeless powder had scarcely crossed over to Manchuria when a truce, followed soon after by the restoration of peace, was declared. They did not enter the active field, nor did they have any opportunity of trying their new weapons except in the conquest of Formosa. The same was the case with our machine guns; our artillery was furnished with breech-loading guns, but with no smokeless powder. Everything, indeed, seemed as yet to be in a very imperfect stage, but long and careful study by our officers and their actual experience in the war made them qualified and ready for another and greater war still to come.

Effects of the war.

Weapons.

IV.—Expansion of the Japanese Army

Expansion of the Army.

The China-Japan War, which disclosed many weak points in the Japanese Army, and the international relations of the Powers, obliged Japan to again revise the law of conscription in 1895, making the total term of service twelve years and four months instead of twelve years. In the place of conscript reserves, the revised law adopted the system of conscript recruits, and the militia was divided into the first and second service. In 1896, when national defence was still further enlarged, the colonial militia of Hokkaidō was formed into one Division, and five new Divisions were added to those already organized, making thirteen in all. The Regulations for Head-quarters were now issued, and three commanders-in-chief were appointed to command the Divisions. In Formosa three mixed brigades were stationed for the defence of the island. In 1898 the Higher Military Council of Field-Marshals was organized as the supreme military adviser of the Army, and the cavalry and the artillery, which had hitherto belonged to the Divisions, were, in the same year, converted into independent brigades in order to make their actions freer and more effective in the future. Nor was the fortress artillery left untouched, for new troops were added to it to make the coast defence more efficient. In short, the China-Japan War was a most valuable experience to Japan in respect of troops, weapons, and ammunition, for she found herself too far behind other Powers, and saw that the required improvements must necessarily take time. In the meanwhile, the Government applied itself to expand school work as much as possible, in order to infuse learning among soldiers. The North China affair in 1900, though brief in its duration, gave Japan a good opportunity of fighting shoulder to shoulder with Western soldiers, and of discovering their true worth for her future guidance. Consequently, the rifles of the infantry were greatly improved, and the artillery adopted quick-firing guns. It was, indeed, on account of the completion of her military equipment that Japan was able to successfully conduct the late Russo-Japanese War.

The sanitary work of the Army has received constant

attention ever since 1871, when a naval and military medical section was established in the War Department. Medical officers were summoned in 1886 to attend lectures on medical science, and many other means were essayed for the betterment of sanitary work in the Army, till the China-Japan War broke out, when Japan received many new lessons in sanitation. In the meantime, the Red Cross Society of the empire made such great progress, and such improvements were effected in field-sanitary service, that the sick and wounded were most satisfactorily housed and attended during the late great war with Russia; but all this Baron Ishiguro has fully explained in his paper on 'The Red Cross.' Sanitary work of the Army.

After courts-martial had been organized by the Defence Bureau in 1868, change after change was made in the judicial system of the Army, and finally a gendarme corps was organized chiefly to discharge the duties of military police. Every Division had one or more courts-martial to try cases below the rank of field officers, while general officers and officers of corresponding ranks were tried by the High Court-martial. The criminal laws, both of the Army and the Navy, enacted in 1871, were revised in 1881 with the laws for minor punishments, and when the Crime Act had been revised in 1888, the way was opened for reconsideration of cases, which was really a great development of the judicial system of the Army. Judicial system of the Army.

The manufacture of weapons was extensively carried out even during the Tokugawa Shōgunate, since every clan competed for supremacy in casting guns, though these guns were practically of little use. The Bureau of Weapons, afterwards called the Tōkyō Arsenal, was established in 1868 for the purpose of manufacturing arms and ammunition. This arsenal was chiefly for the manufacture of rifles and their ammunition, and the one in Ōsaka was to construct ordnance, while powder was made at powder factories at Uji, Itabashi, Ōji, and Itabana. It thus became possible gradually to meet every requirement of the troops. At first we had to depend upon foreign supplies of weapons, but when the Murata infantry rifle was invented in 1880, we were able to rely mainly upon domestic sources. The Arisaka quick-firing gun was a still greater improvement in our weapons, and when the 12-inch Arsenals.

steel gun was manufactured in 1902, we became for the first time nearly independent in respect of arms-construction, though some foreign supplies were still relied on for replacing old-style quick-firing guns, chiefly because pressing diplomatic conditions allowed us no time to wait for a home supply.

Financial administration of the Army.

To the finances of the Japanese Army reference must not be omitted. In the days previous to the opening of the country, when Japan made hardly any distinction between civil and military administration, there could not be, of course, any definite accounts of war expenses. In those times the public taxes were paid chiefly in rice and other cereals, the allowance of officers and officials being counted in the same medium, and soldiers being maintained at the rate of a hundred men for every ten thousand *koku* of rice in the revenues of a fief. Moreover, military and civil offices were all hereditary, so that the finance of the Government was very simple. When, however, the military system of Europe was adopted, it became impossible for the country to adhere to these old customs and practices in the Army. Every system and organization, from that of soldiers to that of weapons, was radically and thoroughly changed, and no trace was left of the ancient military practices. At the time when the military authority was restored to the Imperial hands, the new Government desired to appropriate, as in Europe, one-fourth of the total State revenues to naval and military uses; that is to say, out of aggregate revenues of 7,500,000 *koku* of rice (120,000,000 *yen* in value), the Government proposed to appropriate 30,000,000 *yen* as the expenses of both Army and Navy. But, in reality, the clans still retained their own troops, and the new Government could not obtain more than 2,500,000 *koku* of rice (40,000,000 *yen*), of which the Tokugawa's Government had been in receipt. This meant that the budget for the Army and the Navy could not at first exceed 10,000,000 *yen*, equally divided between the two. Even this stinted estimate of expenditure could not regularly be defrayed by the new Government, which, rising on the ruins of the old Government, was too much taken up with civil administration and had too many other drains upon its exchequer. At last all the troops were brought under one control in 1871, and a new budget was compiled for the Army. At first,

as is the case with everything at the start, more money was spent than the number of the new troops would have warranted; but by degrees the financial system underwent great improvement. A chief treasurer was appointed in the War Department in 1869. Then, when the Army and the Navy were separated in 1871, the former had a treasury bureau of its own to look after its financial affairs, and when the official organization was revised in 1886, this bureau was charged with the duty of attending to the treasury, intendance, clothing, and provisions, and every corps had a committee of paymasters. Thus the self-government of the troops was for the first time completed. In 1891 the Treasury Bureau, or, as it was afterwards called, the Bureau of Paymasters, was charged to overlook the budget, the cash accounts, the salaries and wages, the clothing, provisions, buildings, equipments, and audit, as well as the education of paymasters. The expenses of the Army have ever since been on the increase in proportion to the increase of the State's revenue.

Here is a bird's-eye view of the military expenses since 1868 to show this tendency:

EXPENDITURES

Fiscal Year.	Period.		Expenditure.
1868	Jan.–Dec.		1,038,120 *yen*
1869	Jan.–Sept.	Money	1,447,926 *yen*
		Rice	6,238 *koku*
	Oct. 1869	Money	1,391,706 *yen*
1870	Sept. 1870	Rice	5,309 *koku*
	Oct. 1870	Money	2,538,466 *yen*
1871	Dec. 1871	Rice	7,929 *koku*

	Ordinary.	Extraordinary.	Total.
1878	6,409,005	220,739	6,629,744 *yen*
1881	8,179,712	559,060	8,738,772 ,,
1884	10,764,593	771,190	11,535,783 ,,
1887	11,842,619	565,917	12,408,536 ,,
1890	12,080,985	1,741,691	13,822,676 ,,
1893	12,419,829	2,301,397	14,721,226 ,,
1896	22,613,590	30,628,934	53,242,524 ,,

EXPENDITURES—*continued*

	Ordinary.	Extraordinary.	Total.	
1899	35,577,310	16,973,888	52,551,198	*yen*
1902	39,169,669	8,222,740 2,049,649 (Incidental)	49,442,058	,,
1906	50,460,384	1,676,742	52,137,126	,,
1907	53,663,788	57,953,380	111,617,168	,,
1908	70,209,779	37,206,994	107,416,773	,,

Remarks. The ordinary expenditures include the annual outlays of the War Department and of the various corps, while the extraordinary expenditures are those which were not estimated in the general budget: as, for instance, the expenses of building barracks for the Imperial Guards and the garrisons in 1874; of quelling the disturbances in Kumamoto in 1875, and those of the Guard Artillery in 1878; of medical aid for the sick and wounded in the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877; of rebuilding the Kanazawa Barracks, which were burned down in 1879; of the manufacture of weapons; of the Korean affairs in 1881–82; and of the construction of batteries in Tōkyō Bay after 1882. The incidental expenditures are those that were needed in sending troops out at home and abroad, as, for instance, to Hōjō, Fukuoka, Ōita, and other prefectures in 1873, to Saga prefecture in 1874, to Formosa in 1875, and to Satsuma in 1877.

The sudden increase in extraordinary expenditures after 1889 was caused by the construction of batteries, cannon, rifles, and barracks.

The China-Japan War cost Japan 171,020,000 *yen*, but this was practically spread over several years, since, even after peace had been restored, expenses had to be incurred in restoring weapons, clothing, provisions, and other minor military equipment, and, besides, Japan had to station garrisons over sea till the indemnity was paid. A sum of 164,520,000 *yen* was paid between June 1, 1894, and June 30, 1896, and the remainder, 6,500,000 *yen*, was spread over several years.

The ordinary expenses were increased after 1896 on account of the military expansion of the empire and the augmenting of the troops, while the building of new barracks and new

fortresses, the improvements in weapons, and many other new works greatly increased the extraordinary expenses. The North-China affair of 1900 caused incidental expenses in that and two or three ensuing years. The expenses that were required for the subjugation of the Formosan rebels during several years are included in the extraordinary column.

Since the Russian War the *personnel* has been increased by six Divisions only, but the system of two (instead of three) years' conscription has been put into force, and within each Division the artillery, cavalry, and sappers have all been improved and enlarged, and new special branches of service added to the Divisions, so that their fighting capacity must now be much larger than the mere figures indicate. Not only in the organization, in the number of men, but also in arms, improvements have been introduced; therefore, all things considered, the fighting power of our Army may be taken as doubled. If we compare the present conditions with the time of the China-Japan War, the change will be found to be remarkable. Then there were only seven Divisions, including the Imperial Guards—afterwards it was increased to thirteen, and later to nineteen Divisions.

	Generals and corresponding Officers.	Higher Officers and Officers.	Petty Officers.	Men.	Total.
Before C.J. War	36	4,235	8,970	65,241	78,482
Before R.J. War	94	8,480	11,865	132,348	152,787
After R.J. War	125	14,388	24,066	211,396	249,975

Limits of space do not allow me to be more particular in my description, nor can some of the present conditions of the troops be made public with impunity. I can only hope, therefore, that from this brief history of the Japanese Army my readers may obtain a general knowledge of its story and status.

VIII

THE JAPANESE NAVY

ADMIRAL COUNT GOMBEY YAMAMOTO

A seafaring people.

IN a maritime country like Japan, it is but natural that its people should, from the necessities of life, cultivate a seafaring habit and be early led to gain some knowledge of nautical affairs. Japan is made up of thousands of islands, and abounds in bays and inlets, affording fine harbours and bases of action for an active and enterprising people. Under such favourable natural conditions, it early became the home of a race of people who roved the seas, and pushed their conquests far and wide by means of ships.

Navigation in the prehistoric age.

We have records of the use of boats from the earliest times. In the mythological age, the divine discoverers of the land, Izanagi and Izanami, first examined the islands on 'Heaven's floating bridge.' The valiant Prince of Susanoo sailed to and from Shiragi (Korea) by means of a 'floating board.' There is mention of the 'High bridge' and the 'Plank bridge.' From the mysterious 'Land of Eternity,' or the *Tokoyo*, came the Prince of Sukuna-hikona aboard the 'Heaven's *Rama* Boat.' The 'Eight-fathom Crocodile' afforded the sea-god Toyotama-hiko a passage over the seas. We hear also of the '*Tori-funé*' (winged ship), and the '*Iwakusu-buné*' (ship of camphor). All these are but names of different kinds of vessels used in prehistoric times, indicating the frequency of communication between Japan and the continent.

The first naval strength applied to warfare.

The first Emperor, Jimmu, was the earliest to utilize naval strength in actual warfare in Japan. In his expedition from Kyūshū, he reinforced his army at Kibi, pushed on to Naniwa

(the present Ōsaka), rounded to Kii, and invaded Yamato from Kumano, to set up his kingdom in the central portion of the island. The tenth Emperor, Sujin, also encouraged the art of shipbuilding.

Japan's relations with Korea.

His successor, Suinin, founded Japanese government in Korea, showing that the power of Japan was established in the peninsula. It was by sea that Emperor Kéikō and Prince Yamato-Takéru attempted to suppress the uprisings in the west and the north. Another Emperor, Chūai, made more extensive preparations to quell the Kumaso insurrection. He advanced his head-quarters to Kashii, in the province of Chikuzen, by sea. After his death, his work was continued by his Empress, the heroic Jingō Kōgō, who extended our naval power into Korea. In the reign of her son, Emperor Ōjin (270–310 A.D.), the north was subjugated, and the maritime arts were fostered by frequent interchange of officials and troops. A great increase of seamen and ships may be inferred from the establishment at this time of seamen's departments and ship bureaus throughout the country. This was the beginning of marine administration. For over four hundred years onwards the Korean peninsula was under Japan's control. Colonization and military rule worked side by side, and not less than fifteen expeditions were attempted to that territory, bringing about a great development in shipbuilding and navigation. In 660 A.D., in the time of the Emperor Saimyō, Abé-no-Hirafu, at the head of two hundred vessels, subjugated the unruly tribes of the north, the Mishihasé, in Oshima. On the other hand, our progress in Korea brought us into collision with the Chinese advance and caused a great war both on land and sea. We emerged victorious, and the Kings of Koma and Kudara, Korean kingdoms, were brought over to Japan. Soon after this the Government, becoming weary of foreign conquests, shut the country against the rest of the world.

Intercourse with the South Sea Islands.

In spite of this attitude, the sea-roving spirit and ambition of the race were not to be satisfied with small fishing expeditions along the coast. Active communication was opened with the South Sea Islanders, and this brought us again into rivalry with the western tribes of Kumaso and Hayato,

paralyzing commerce and stopping the passage for tax and tribute bearers. During the years of Yōrō, 717–723 A.D., in the reign of Genshō, the Hayato tribe was subjugated, and the South an Inland Seas were opened to communication.

Policing of the seas against piracy.

Soon after, in the reign of Shōmu (730 A.D.), the policing of the seas became necessary against piracy. For over two hundred years our coasts were constantly exposed to wandering marauders, until, in 936 A.D., in the reign of Shujaku, Fujiwara-no-Sumitomo of Iyo played great havoc on the western coasts at the head of plundering bands. Even after the suppression of Sumitomo, the infesting hordes were not extinguished, and in 1135, in the reign of Sutoku, Taira-no-Tadamori was dispatched to suppress the pirates. Although the expedition was unsuccessful, it was the means of establishing the prestige of the Taira clan in the west.

The first naval stations in the south.

It was about this time that naval stations were opened in the south (Shikoku Island) for the training of seamen and maritime administration, which afterward assumed much importance. In the rivalry between the Minamoto and Taira clans, the former had its base of operations at the naval stations of Iyo and Suwō, while the latter occupied the coast of the Chinzéi District (Kyūshū). In the decisive battle of Dannoura, 840 boats of the Minamoto fought against 500 boats of the Taira. Here we see a naval battle carried out on a scale hitherto unattempted.

Control of ships in the western district.

After the foundation of the feudal government at Kamakura, a ship-governor (*Funa-Bugyō*) was appointed to be stationed in the west and to overlook the Navy. About this time the stronger clans of the coast began to establish naval bases in their own territories, and trained seamen in naval arts.

Mongolian invasion.

The years 1274–81 saw the great Mongolian invasion. Its final assault was made with 100,000 seamen and a fleet of vessels that covered the Strait of Korea. With all their recklessness and valour and their education in encounters with pirates, the western Japanese were no match for such a formidable foe, and defeat seemed almost inevitable, when a violent hurricane arose which scattered the enemy's boats, annihilated their strength, and crushed once for all the

lawless ambitions of the Mongols, who had so long been a terror on the Asiatic continent. The outcome was the undisputed control by us of the seas between Japan and the continent, with our bases at the islands of Tsushima and Iki and on the western coast of Kyūshū. It was about this time that Japan became known to the West through the narratives of Marco Polo, the famous Venetian. In the three centuries which followed, and which were the most warlike period of Japanese history, the sea played an important part. It was by sea that Takauji Ashikaga, in 1336, landed at Hyōgo at the head of the fleet which belonged to the stations on the coast of Kyūshū and Nankai (the west and the south islands) and of the province of Suwō. A great civil war followed his invasion of Kyōto. It was by sea that Chikafusa Kitabataké, the royalist Minister of the Southern Court, checked the progress of the usurper by establishing communications between the naval forces of Kumano and Shikoku, on the one hand, and those of the military government of Kyūshū on the other.

Sea-fights at the time of the great Civil War.

During the period of Ashikaga ascendancy, the east as well as the west joined in the struggle for maritime supremacy, thus developing the art of naval warfare and shipbuilding. In these times, the ships of the West were especially active in Korean and Chinese waters. The clan of Kajiwara of Bingo is a notable example of a feudatory's special communication with Korea.

Ashikaga period.

The influence of Western civilization began to be felt about this time.[e] After the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope in 1497, Portuguese merchant vessels began to come East in great numbers, and some of them were instrumental in opening our country to trade with the West.

Portuguese navigators.

Three-masted merchantmen after the foreign type now began to be constructed in Japan, and voyages were often attempted to distant lands.

When the Taikō Hidéyoshi came into power, a strict policy was adopted in 1588 against pirates, efforts were made to turn the energy of adventurers towards mercantile enterprise, and Japan now entered on a trading period. A naval warfare of great significance took place in 1592 when Hidéyoshi's ambition took the shape of an expedition against Korea. The

Hidéyoshi's maritime policy.

Hidéyoshi's expedition.

leadership of the Navy, as then constituted, was given to the houses of Tōdō (of Iyo), Katō, Kurushima, Wakizaka (of Awaji), and Kuki (of Shima), joined by the fleet from Kii. At first successful, our forces were repulsed by the able Chinese commander Li, and the victorious armies, being thus cut off from supplies, were obliged to withdraw. These naval activities, however, kindled the zeal of many a young man for adventurous schemes in Formosa and Luzon.

Foreign trade at the beginning of the Tokugawa era.

The early years of the Tokugawa Shōgunate saw a great expansion of our commercial policy. European merchantmen came to our shores in great numbers. The foreign policy, fixed by the Tokugawa in 1609, was strictly commercial and avowedly possessed no political significance. This encouraged commerce and shipbuilding after foreign types. The Mexican trade was opened. Messages were sent to European Courts to request commercial relations, and traders were granted special charters. The result of the policy was that Japanese merchantmen were seen everywhere along the Asiatic coast and among the South Sea Islands. Colonies sprang up at different places, until, for the supervision of these, the Shōgun was requested to furnish boards for posting up legal notices for Japanese settlers. This commercial expansion, however, was not accompanied by naval strength. All that was done of a naval nature was the institution of what was called *Funatégumi*, or a seamen's guild, and even this rudimentary measure did not last long, for the rumour that some European nations entertained sinister intentions put a stop to our communication with the West. In the time of Iyémitsu, in 1636, the building of ships larger than 500 *koku* capacity was prohibited for domestic reasons.

Naval strength still in a rudimentary condition.

The effect of the seclusion policy.

The prohibition of foreign trade and the policy of strict seclusion had such a discouraging effect upon our enterprising sea-girt nation that for two hundred years no one spoke of sea-going, and only occasional adventurers engaged in secret trade with the continent. During this long period the nation slumbered in imagined peace and prosperity, and neglected to inquire what was going on in the outside world, until the indifference was shattered by Russian activity in Asia. This,

in the early part of the nineteenth century, directed attention to the need of coast defence.

As the Tokugawa Shōgunate was drawing to its close, European vessels were seen in greater numbers than ever in the Pacific Ocean and in the South Seas. The sight of three-masted ships off our coasts naturally led thoughtful men to inquire seriously into the conditions of the West. They found an advanced form of civilization and great military preparedness on the part of Europe and America. Thus a sense of the utter insecurity of our coasts was awakened, to be followed by the appearance, in 1848, of American men-of-war, which had come, however, for peaceful purposes, and subsequently by the arrival of Commodore Perry in 1853 to demand the opening of the country. Treaties were then, as we know, concluded with foreign countries, and the problem of coast defence became more imperative than ever. The Dutch Government, also, urged upon the Shōgun the necessity of founding a navy.

Visit of Commodore Perry.

A training station was accordingly opened at Nagasaki in 1855, whither promising young men from the Shōgun's Government and from each fief were sent to be instructed by the Dutch. A dockyard was constructed, and an iron factory established. Graduates from these institutions were sent to Yédo to act as teachers of young men selected from all the clans.

Founding of a Navy.

In connection with the school at Tsukiji, where the usual arts of the *samurai* were being taught, a naval school was opened, with the *Kankō Maru*, a present from the Dutch Government, as a training ship. War-vessels were also purchased from the Dutch Government in 1857 and 1858. These, with the addition of a man-of-war presented by Queen Victoria, made a fairly good start for a navy of the new type. For the ratification of a commercial treaty the Shōgun's ambassador was taken across the Pacific on board the *Powhattan*, an American warship. A necessity was felt about this time to send a war-vessel to America, and the *Kanrin Maru* was selected for the purpose. This was the first Japanese war-vessel to cross the Pacific. Such circumstances could not but give an impetus to the Navy then just forming, and

The first Japanese warship sent abroad.

Naval undertakings encouraged.

the Shōgun's Government with one or two prominent clans began to send young men abroad for special training, while specialists were invited from England and France as teachers. An iron factory was built at Yokohama, and a dry-dock at Yokosuka. These innovations were imitated by the clans of Satsuma, Chōshū, Kumamoto, and Saga, all of which acted as pioneers in fostering the naval arts upon European types.

Effects of the Restoration.

Then followed the Restoration, which completely overturned every institution, feudalism, the Army, and even the Navy, just then so hopefully started. After the re-establishment of peace everything needed remodelling.

Naval affairs at the beginning of the Méiji era.

In January 1868, the first year of the present reign, a general superintendency was instituted over the Army and the Navy. This was immediately changed to a National Defence Bureau, which, again, was transformed into the Office of Military Affairs, subdivided into Bureaus for the Navy and the Army, and into Departments of Construction, Material, Ordnance, and Military Administration. At this time our fleet consisted only of the ships transferred from the Shōgun's Government and those appropriated from the feudal clans of Satsuma, Chōshū, Saga, and others. In such circumstances, an Imperial edict promulgated about this time contained the following passage: 'As the Navy is an urgent need of the country, let it speedily have a firm foundation.'

Progress of naval institutions.

In 1869 the Office of Military Affairs was abolished and the Department of War was created to transact the business of the Army, the Navy, and conscription, the defence on land and sea, military preparation and education. The training of men was deemed of primary importance, and for this purpose a school was opened in Tsukiji, Tōkyō, where naval arts were taught to youths selected from all the clans. In August of the following year the school was changed in organization and name. This was the beginning of what we now call the 'Naval Academy' and the 'Naval Engineering School.' Englishmen were employed in the Navy as teachers, and students were sent to Western countries, especially to England, where they received training on board British men-of-war.

During the Franco-Prussian War the Imperial Government declared its neutrality, and three squadrons, organized out of our small fleet, were placed at the principal ports of the country to guard the coast. In 1871 these squadrons were disbanded, and two standing squadrons were formed, with one vessel set apart as a training ship and another for hydrographic purposes. Some sounding had been done in the Inland Sea by one of our ships assisted by a British man-of-war, and this vessel was again sent north with a British consort, to chart the coast of Hokkaidō and its neighbouring islands. The result was the first chart ever made by our Navy.

Neutrality maintained during the Franco-Prussian War.

The first chart made by the Japanese Navy.

In 1872 the Department of War was dissolved, and the Departments of the Army and the Navy were instituted. The official organization was revised and regulations were instituted for the unification of naval affairs. At this time our fleet consisted of seventeen vessels, of which two were ironclad, one was a composite ship, and the rest were of wood, the aggregate tonnage being only 13,812 tons.

Department of the Navy.

In 1873 the foundation of the Navy was celebrated under the personal supervision of the Emperor. In 1875 the coast was parcelled out into two sections, and the fleet was divided between the East Section in Tōkyō Bay, and the West Section at Nagasaki. In 1876 the organization of naval stations was promulgated, and a naval station for the Eastern Seas was established at Yokohama.

Yokohama naval station.

During these years many circumstances united to stimulate the art of naval construction, one of the strongest being the frequency of civil wars, such as the Hakodaté campaign in 1868, the Saga disturbance in 1874, soon followed by the Formosan expedition, the Kokwa Island (Korea) affair of 1875, the Hagi insurrection of 1876, and the Satsuma rebellion of 1877.

Some initial work in naval constructions had been begun by the Shōgun's Government, and in 1866 a war-vessel of the *Chiyoda* type (138 tons) had been built at Ishikawa-jima dockyard in Tōkyō Bay. This was the first steam war-vessel built in Japan. After the Restoration, the work at Ishikawa-jima was continued by the new Government and another dockyard founded by the Shōgun's Government was gradually improved.

Construction of warships at home.

This work was so far advanced that, in 1873, the keels were laid of the *Jingéi* (1450 tons), to be constructed for Imperial use, and of the *Séiki* (897 tons). The former was launched in 1876 and the latter in 1875. We now rapidly acquired efficiency in shipbuilding, so much so that, in 1876, all repairs and constructions of large war-vessels could be accomplished by natives.

Imports of warships from abroad.

But whilst the work of naval construction was being pushed forward at home, orders were being placed with foreign dockyards. The earliest of these were an ironclad and two steel-frame vessels ordered from England in 1875. These arrived in 1878, and were christened the *Fusō* (3717 tons), the *Kongō*, and the *Hiéi* (each 2248 tons). In January of the same year the *Séiki* was ordered to Europe, being the first home-built man-of-war commissioned for an ocean cruise. Further, training in gunnery and torpedo-boat management, manufacture of gunpowder, and ordnance works were all planned and provided for during this period.

Growth of naval strength.

In 1882 a scheme was proposed for building six large, twelve medium-sized, and twelve small vessels, and twelve torpedo-gunboats; and in the three years from 1883 to 1885, three large, five medium, and three small vessels, together with one sea-going torpedo-boat, were built. In 1886 public loan-bonds were issued to provide funds for six first- and second-class coast-defence boats, one first-class ironclad, one coast-defence ironclad, four first-, second-, and third-class cruisers, six first- and second-class dispatch-boats, eight first- and second-class gunboats, and twenty-eight torpedo-boats, making a total of fifty-four vessels. Of these, twenty ships were either launched or finished during six years from 1883. In 1889 one cruiser, one gunboat, and three torpedo-boats were added, besides three vessels of other descriptions. A new programme was elaborated in 1892 for strengthening the Navy, and the Imperial intention was made public to set apart, by economizing the Court expenses, a sum of 300,000 *yen* annually for six years towards the expense of building war-vessels. This sacrifice was gratefully received by the people, who, in their turn, were eager to follow the Imperial example in offering money for national defence.

With the increase of war-vessels, many improvements were

undertaken at all the naval ports. The dockyards were greatly enlarged; arms and gunpowder were improved—experiments and investigations were carried on in regard to the newest kinds of guns with a view to adopting the best type available; a system of gun-drill was started in 1882; manual exercises for marines were fixed; the bugle notes common to both Army and Navy were written in 1885; and rules for landing parties were instituted in 1886 to facilitate the joint action of land and naval forces.

Improvements in equipments.

As to ammunition, prismatic powder was first manufactured in 1886, while forty-seven quick-firing guns and Schwartskopf torpedoes were first made in 1891, and the Shimosé gunpowder was invented in 1892.

Improvements in organization.

During this period the official organization and regulations relating to the Navy were revised, the judicial system and penal code were improved, and a remarkable advance was made in medical arts and hygienic systems. Among these achievements, educational work was not neglected. The Naval School, erected for the training of officers, made a great advance in methods by inviting, in 1873, Commander Douglas from England, and many other instructors. In 1875 the students of the school were sent for a practice cruise aboard the *Tsukuba*, and this training has since been required of every graduate. Engineering education was first given under the management of the Naval School, but subsequently to 1874 a separate branch was started, which, after many changes, developed into a Naval Engineering College, which is now independent in management. A Higher Naval College was instituted in 1888 for the advanced training of officers and engineers. Gunnery and torpedo practices were at first conducted on a training ship in connection with the college, but in 1893 a gunnery training station and a torpedo practice station were separately opened to meet the demand of a still wider field of candidates, and for specialization of these arts. Besides these, educational facilities were furnished for those connected with the medical, paymaster's, arsenal, and shipbuilding departments, and also for sailors and non-commissioned officers. Instruction was at first much aided by foreigners, but since 1882 their assistance has been practically dispensed with, and in

Educational work.

matters of administration natives have been exclusively relied upon.

Korean disturbances.

During this period there were two disturbances connected with Korea which called for the service of our Navy, namely in 1882 and 1884. In both cases we did little beyond dispatching a few vessels to Korean waters. But in 1894–95 the whole Navy was involved in the China-Japan War, and had a full chance of testing its ability in actual warfare. Excluding sailing vessels, the Imperial Navy then consisted of twenty-eight ships, aggregating 57,600 tons, besides twenty-four torpedo-boats.

China-Japan War.

The China-Japan War attracted the world's attention to our fleet and, at the same time, made it clear to the Japanese public that we needed a better navy.

Expansion of the Navy.

In the China-Japan War we captured and appropriated seventeen Chinese vessels, and purchased one from a foreign country. A naval expansion policy, adopted in 1892, included in its plans the building in five years, from 1893, of two battleships, one cruiser, and one dispatch-boat. These with the captured vessels secured a considerable increase in strength, but in the face of the world's condition we saw all the more need of an efficient navy. The plan was finally adopted of building, as a ten years' programme, to begin in the fiscal year of 1896–97, four battleships, six first-class cruisers, ten smaller cruisers, twenty-three torpedo-boat destroyers, sixty-three torpedo-boats, and 580 craft of miscellaneous types. Another plan was formulated by which eight war-vessels were to be built in eleven years, beginning from the fiscal year 1903–1904. Two of the ships planned were purchased from a foreign country. Thus, at the end of 1903, we had seventy-six war-vessels of all types, including torpedo-boat destroyers, aggregating 258,000 tons, besides seventy-six torpedo-boats. This increase of strength was attended by great improvements in the provision of fortified harbours and establishments. The arsenals, the workshops, the Shimosé Powder Factory, and the naval repair yards, added much to their efficiency. In the manufacture of naval ordnance, including guns of large calibre, all kinds of ammunition, and torpedoes; in the work of naval construction, including the building of battleships, and the

making of all kinds of steel armour—on all hands, in fact, marked progress was seen. These arts have been carried to perfection, until now we have secured total independence in constructing and arming ships.

Recent improvements in naval institutions.

The last decade has seen the establishment of regulations relating to the Board of Field-Marshals, to the Military Councils, and to the Marine Department of the Taiwan Government. The regulations for the Imperial Head-quarters in time of war have been revised. The official capacity of the Chief of the Army General Staff and the Chief of the Naval General Staff have been well defined in order to secure the efficient co-operation of the Army and the Navy, while regulations for the Naval General Staff have been revised so as to correspond more closely with those of the General Staff of the Army. Besides the above, the official organization of the Marine Department, regulations for Naval Stations, for Government Offices at Fortified Harbours, for Naval Establishments, for Naval Service, and for Volunteers, have all been revised. Regulations for the promotion of higher officers and for reserves have been also enacted.

Development of naval education.

In this progress naval education has not fallen behind. Since 1889 the Naval Academy has admitted over two hundred students each year, and its average roll is six hundred. In recent years students have entered the Engineering School in greater numbers, and the Higher Naval College has been entirely reorganized. In gunnery, torpedo practice, and other arts, much improvement has been attempted. Rules have been made for the training of officers, men in service on shore and sea, non-commissioned officers, and seamen, and these have already borne much fruit. Great progress has also been achieved in hydrographic works, charting, and publication of records, and in the institution of medical, hygienic, treasury, general accounts, and supply departments.

Some idea of the general development of the Imperial Navy can be gained from the following table of annual expenditure, beginning from the fiscal year 1871, or the fourth year of the present reign :

ANNUAL EXPENDITURES FOR THE NAVY, 1871–1902

Fiscal Year.	Appropriation from National Treasury.	Ordinary Expenditure.	Special Expenditure.	Total of Ordinary and Special Expenditure.	Percentage of Final Account to National Income.
	Yen.	*Yen.*	*Yen.*	*Yen.*	
1871	22,100	886,856	—	886,856	—
1881	81,490	2,851,577	256,939	3,108,516	—
1891	83,556	5,412,491	4,089,201	9,501,692	1·137
1895	85,317	4,913,244	8,607,025	13,520,269	1·585
1898	219,758	11,191,475	47,338,427	58,529,902	2·663
1901	266,857	19,484,593	24,494,375	43,978,968	1·608
1903	—	21,349,054	7,076,568	28,425,622	—
1905	—	13,321,856	11,497,560	24,819,416	—
1907	—	33,414,695	49,067,524	82,482,219	—
1908	—	34,810,737	46,150,855	80,961,592	—

ADDENDUM

The changes made in the Navy by the Russian War and its results have been enormous—perhaps more marked in this department than in any other—as will be seen by the following tables:

	Number.	Displacement.	Horse-power.	Crews.	Torpedo-boats.
Ships—1903	76	258,251	518,040	19,414	76
„ —1907	126	506,093	1,045,383	25,148	77

	Admirals and corresponding Officers.	Higher Officers.	Officers.	Cadets.	Petty Non-commissioned Officers.	Better-class Men.	Men.	Total.
Men—1903	55	664	1,626	204	786	6,608	23,731	33,674
„ —1907	69	803	2,270	236	1,067	8,356	33,662	46,463

Thus, against 250,000 tons before the War, we have now over 500,000 tons, and against 33,000 officers and men we have now 46,000.

In the extension of naval stations, arsenals, &c., remarkable progress has also been made.

IX

THE DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE LEGAL INSTITUTIONS

PROFESSOR MASAAKIRA TOMII, D.C.L. (JAPAN), MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS

The opening of Japan.

HALF a century has elapsed since Japan was brought into contact with the outside world by concluding a provisional treaty with America. The Shōgunal Government was then in its dotage, and had at last to yield to the pressure of those who for some time had been agitating in favour of the surrender of the administrative power into Imperial hands. This surrender took place in 1867, and was soon followed by the total abolition of the feudal system. The unification of the power of administration, thus consummated, marked the beginning of the present era of Méiji. In accordance with the august wish of the Emperor, his Ministers have adopted the civilization of the West and actively engaged in the introduction of new systems into the various institutions of the country. In this work they have achieved remarkable success. Their earnest endeavours have been crowned by the promulgation of various important edicts, such as the Constitution, the Civil and the Commercial Code, all which are now in full operation. They have also brought about the complete readjustment of groups of institutions relating to legislature, administration, and justice. These are the products of the past four decades, and the success with which Western legislation has been adopted and assimilated in Japanese soil is due to the fact that the country, with its own independent civilization dating from a remote period, had been well prepared to receive it. In order, therefore, to grasp the full significance

The Restoration.

of legislative development since the opening of the present *régime*, it is essential to understand something of pre-Restoration legal institutions and their history.

National features of Japan.

Before approaching the annals of older legislation in this country we must refer briefly to the peculiar features that distinguish the national system of Japan. Since the first Emperor, Jimmu, ascended the throne, in 660 B.C., over two thousand five hundred years have passed, and, notwithstanding the vicissitudes which have necessarily occurred in that long interval, the special national features have been preserved intact. Foremost among these are the facts that the Empire of Japan has been and still is ruled by one unbroken line of the same Imperial Family, and that from the remote past the Imperial House has had no family name—circumstances without parallel in the domain of human history. It is true that in Japan instances are not wanting in which *de facto* the ruling power passed for a time into the hands of subjects, but in each case the duties of administration were discharged by them solely under orders from the Sovereign. The appointment and dismissal of civil and military officials, and other important affairs of State, were submitted to the Emperor for final decision, and the distinction between ruler and ruled has never been confounded even for a single day. As a matter of fact, successive sovereigns treated their subjects with parental tenderness—a point to which innumerable historical evidence testifies. This accounts for the marvellous fidelity with which the people on their part regard the Imperial Family, and consider it their first and bounden duty to sacrifice everything for the sake of the Throne. This idea has been the dominant sentiment, and has been carried into practice by high and low alike for centuries past. The inauguration of a constitutional system of government simultaneously with the operation of the Constitution in 1890 did not signify any alteration of the hereditary monarchical government that had prevailed up to that time; on the contrary, this innovation was nothing but a manifestation of the enlightened wisdom of His Majesty the Emperor, who, in view of the tendency of the times, gave effect to the national policy which had been decided at the time of the Restoration, by enacting rules to regulate the application of the sovereign

power. In such circumstances this radical innovation in the system of Japan's government, though unprecedented in her history so far as the extent of its effects was concerned, was consummated amid peace and universal contentment, unmarked by any disturbances or agitations. Such being the origin of this fundamental legislative change, its effects could not but be beneficial.

The development of the legal institutions of Japan since the foundation of the empire may conveniently be arranged into three main periods.

First Period: the Period of Original Legislation

The patriarchal age.

As to legal institutions in force in the primeval age, known as the 'Age of Gods,' which preceded the foundation of the empire, although some allusions found in ancient books furnish occasional glimpses of them, such annals are devoid of authoritative information, and, on that score, are best omitted here. The thirteen centuries dating from the coronation of the Emperor Jimmu down to the reign of Kōtōku, the thirty-sixth Emperor (645 A.D.), is the period when legal institutions indigenous to our race prevailed. During that period matters relating to the cults of the national ancestors were considered the most important in the affairs of State, and the Government posts, both civil and military, were occupied hereditarily by different classes of the people according to their birth. Patriarchs had then unlimited power over their subordinates: in fact, these patriarchs, with the Emperor at their head, constituted the Government, and affairs of State were conducted by them. This period is known in later days as the age of the patriarchal polity.

Age of unwritten laws.

Civilization during these centuries appears to have been in a state of considerable development. Insufficiency of documents surviving from such a remote period precludes accuracy of detail, but it is clear that agriculture was in an advanced condition, private ownership of land being already in force. Land taxation and other systems relating to matters agrarian, financial, and military showed also a fair degree of advancement. The opening of intercourse with Korea and

China and the introduction of Confucianism in 285 A.D. brought in their train the importation of industrial arts from those countries. This had its influence gradually upon the condition of the national life and undoubtedly furthered the progress of unwritten law. Later, in the reign of Kimméi, Buddhism was introduced to Japan (552 A.D.), and this creed wrought a complete change in the modes of thought of the upper classes. Thus the time matured for a radical reorganization of various national institutions. It was not, however, until the reign of the thirty-third Sovereign, the Empress Suiko, that written codes were first enacted, hence it is clear that the twelve centuries succeeding the foundation of the empire were the age of unwritten law.

Monopoly of Government offices.

Speaking briefly, the legislation of the first period was extremely simple, well adapted, doubtless, to the comparatively undeveloped requirements of the age. But the system of hereditary tenure of Government offices naturally involved the evil—among others—of closing the paths for the exercise of talent and hampering the efficient operation of State machinery. Military posts especially were monopolized by influential castes, whose aggrandizement was then facilitated at the expense of depriving the State of the services of those of inferior grade. The balance of power was thus disturbed, and unity of government became impossible. At the same time, the amalgamation of lands continued, and this appears to have led to a widening of the gap between rich and poor.

Meanwhile the intelligence of the people developed rapidly, and their relations with neighbouring countries beyond the sea grew more close. These and other matters made it necessary to effect some change in the existing state of legislation. The tendency of the times was not to be checked, and thus the second period was ushered in.

SECOND PERIOD: THE PERIOD OF THE ADOPTION OF CHINESE LEGISLATION

Period of Dynastic Legislature.

This period covers more than twelve centuries, extending from the latter part of the sixth century to the Restoration of Méiji. Its characteristic feature consists in the adoption

of the written law of China. The period may be divided into two smaller ones. Of these the first was the Period of Dynastic Legislature.

The five centuries and a half extending from the reign of the Empress Suiko to the inauguration of the Kamakura Shōgunate were characterized by the centralization of Government, the adoption of Chinese legal institutions, and the active enactment of written laws. After her accession in 593 A.D., the illustrious Prince Umayado, also known as Shōtoku Taishi, was appointed Regent, and under his intelligent and earnest protection faith in Buddhism spread rapidly, all kinds of trades, arts, and industries were encouraged, and facilities were given for the advancement of material and intellectual civilization. In 604 A.D. the well-known Constitution comprising seventeen articles was promulgated—a Constitution framed out of materials drawn from the doctrines of Confucianism and Buddhism and also from the legislation then in force in China under the Sui dynasty. This memorable event ushered in the age of written law. At that time China was already in an advanced state of civilization, and the upper classes in our country vied with one another in studying Chinese institutions with a view to bettering the conditions of Japanese society. After the introduction of Confucianism and Buddhism, the legislation of the Sui and Tang dynasties of China was also imported, and the former unwritten law gradually gave place to legal enactments bearing on public and private affairs. This renovation in legislation began in the reign of Kōtōku, the thirty-sixth Emperor. Innumerable laws were promulgated, beginning with the statutes of the Taika era (in the reign of the Emperor Kōtōku) and ending with the '*Kakushiki*' codes of the Engi era in the reign of Daigo, the sixtieth Sovereign. The titles, their chronology, and other particulars of these legislative acts are here omitted, but it may be useful to note that the 'Taihō Code,' compiled during the reign of Mommu, the forty-second Emperor, was in a most complete form, and remained long in efficiency as the canon for regulating the social mechanism of the nation.

Prince Shōtoku.

Adoption of the Chinese system of legislation.

One thing worthy of observation is that the important points in the revised laws of that era are very similar to those

Religions separated from administration.

of the administrative organization of the present day, notwithstanding the fact that a period of no less than fourteen centuries intervenes. In other words, the duties of cults and those of politics were made distinctly separate. The mechanism of State consisted of a *Dajōkan* with eight departments subordinated to it. In local administration a peculiar kind of feudal system based on family authority, which had been in force prior to that time, was done away with, and new administrative divisions were established in its stead. Local governors were made replaceable after fixed terms of service, and hereditary tenure of office was abolished in favour of appointment by competitive examination. Further, the system of conscription was adopted, by which one-third of the able-bodied youths, on reaching their twentieth year, became liable for military service. To remedy the evils attending land-grabbing by powerful families, private ownership of land was prohibited and the nationalization of all land was enforced. People were allotted more or less land according to their rank, and upon death their land was redelivered to the State. There was further a provision forbidding transfer of land in perpetuity. New departures were also made in matters of finance, education, temples and shrines, and justice, and in no other time in Old Japan was legislation more elaborate and more complete than in that era.

Age of official organization.

In a general way the period of five hundred and forty years commencing with the political reorganization of Taika in the reign of the Emperor Kōtōku and the establishment of the *Bakufu* or Shōgunate (Military Regency) by Yoritomo at Kamakura in the reign of Gotoba, the eighty-second Emperor, may be described as the age of official organization. Whereas in the preceding period the family was taken as the basis, in this period official positions were taken as the standard, and the talented and able were laid under contribution to form an efficient Government. The abolition of the caste system was the spirit informing the movements of this period.

Results of imitation of Chinese legislation.

As a result of the enactment of numberless laws elaborated after Chinese models, the science of law became highly developed. Hot discussions arose among scholars as to the

interpretation of the new laws, and the people in general were at a loss which authority to accept. The laws then adopted had the defect of excessive formalism, and were in many respects out of touch with the condition of the country. These disadvantages detracting from their value, they gradually fell into disuse. The nationalization of land was maintained with difficulty in the face of a general desire for private ownership, a desire not unnatural in view of the fact that the cultivation of land had been extensively in operation from ancient times. Further, the high esteem in which birth and blood had been held for ages rendered it a very difficult task to pave the way for appointment to Government offices by abolishing the caste system. In such circumstances, the Government posts of highest importance were, erelong, again monopolized by persons of influence, whose private estates were conspicuous in various parts of the empire, while, at the same time, the system of conscription did not work satisfactorily. In cases of emergency, therefore, it was necessary to have recourse to these influential families for assistance. In this way the central Government approached the depths of incompetence, and the administrative power finally passed into the hands of military families. The establishment of the *Bakufu*,[1] or Military Government, marked the inauguration of the feudal system.

Characteristics of the period of military legislation.

Constant feuds now occurred between these families, the most powerful of which, the Genji, or Minamoto, conquered all the others and made themselves masters of the country. This family inaugurated the *Bakufu*, and gave provincial positions to the generals under them or to such influential families as had surrendered. Under its strict supervision these lords held absolute sway within their own domains, and thus the power of administration passed into the hands of the *Bakufu*, although, by a fiction, this power was considered to have been entrusted to it, while the conferring of ranks and the appointment and dismissal of generals, as well as the decision of certain important affairs of State, was still supposed to require the sanction of the Emperor. This system lasted for about six hundred and seventy

Seat of sovereignty in the time of military government.

[1] So termed from the *baku* or *maku* (curtain) which surrounded a military officer's quarters.

years, that is, from the beginning of the Kamakura Shōgunate to the fall of the Yédo Shōgunate. There were some changes, more or less important, during that long epoch, but the system remained unaltered in its essential features. Still the legislation of China continued to be used, and it is an undeniable fact that these imported laws continued to be of great use even up to recent times.

Improvements in legislation.

In the enactment of laws, however, there was this difference as compared with the preceding period, namely, mere form was subordinated to the demands of actual conditions, a result secured by taking into consideration the customs and habits of the nation. When the Hōjō chief succeeded to the Shōgunate established by Minamoto-no-Yoritomo at Kamakura, he contributed materially to the advancement of legislation in Japan by promulgating the *Jōéi Shikimoku*, which was held up as a criterion for framing judicial decisions. The principles adopted were straightforwardness and simplicity, the cardinal virtues of the military class. These qualities manifested themselves in various legislations, which, while lacking, it is true, any claim to symmetry of appearance, had the practical advantage of being well suited to the time and place, on account of their simplicity, directness, and freedom from red-tapeism. The Government proved popular, and peace reigned for a period of a century and a half. It was the spirit of the *samurai* in those Kamakura days that gave an impetus to the perfection of the *Bushidō*, a code of morals peculiar to Japan. *Bushidō* was beneficially affected by coming into contact with the Sung school of Confucianism and the Zen sect of Buddhism, both of which were then introduced from China. Its influence has come down to this day, and is still holding its own in the minds of the people.

Legislation under the Hōjō Government.

Towards the latter days of the Hōjō Regency the Mongol invasion took place, one feature of which event was that the Shōgunate lost its prestige in the eyes of the *samurai* on account of having exhausted its treasury, and thus political power was restored to the Imperial Court for a time. But the change did not secure peace to the country, whilst the *samurai's* constitutional aversion to formalism led, not long afterwards, that is in 1336, to the re-establishment of the Shōgunate in

the person of the Ashikaga family at Kyōto. This Government remained in power for fifteen generations, and engaged actively in the enactment of new laws, including, as a conspicuous instance, the '*Kembu Shikimoku*,' which dealt with the main points in the conduct of State affairs. By degrees, however, it abandoned itself to luxury and pomp and lost control of its influential subordinates, the result being collapse, and once more the age of rivalry among powerful generals recommenced. Feudal lords, such as Takéda and Imagawa, promulgated whatever laws they deemed necessary in their respective possessions, and subsequently Oda and Toyotomi, successively, rose to power for a brief time, introducing drastic alterations in various branches of legislation, although by no written laws, nor until the Tokugawa came to hold the reins of power, was any substantial foundation laid of permanent legislative work.

Legislation under the Muromachi Shōgunate.

After Iyéyasu Tokugawa had succeeded in suppressing the disturbances which had continued for many years, and in establishing the Shōgunate at Yédo in 1603, efforts were made to perfect the system of law with a view to consolidating the new Government. The laws then framed were more or less based on models left by the Kamakura and Muromachi Shōgunates, and also on ideas derived from China, but originality was, nevertheless, a prevailing feature. The laws relating to the Court, to the numerous feudal lords, and to the people in general are prepared with admirable thoroughness, and present the most developed form of feudal government, aiming at simplicity and practical utility and eschewing useless graces of form. In this respect the legislation of the Tokugawa Shōgunate is without a rival in the preceding history of Japan. The subordination of the feudal lords to the Shōgunate was also placed upon a strong basis, which accounts for the unity of administration that the Tokugawa Shōgunate retained for fifteen generations, notwithstanding the fact that the feudal lords, more than 270 in number, acted as so many independent rulers and conducted the affairs of their own little dominions in their own despotic way.

Law under the Tokugawa *régime*.

It would be impossible to give a full account of the various laws carried into operation during the Tokugawa period, but

Eminent statutes enacted during the Tokugawa period.

this much may be noted here: The laws regarding Court nobles, *samurai*, and priests, framed at the time of the second Shōgun, the 'Law of Eighty-one Articles' and the 'Law of One Hundred and Three Articles' respectively, enacted at the time of the eighth Shōgun, occupy the most important places on the list, and finally assumed the shape of written statutes. The latter was long regarded as the criterion of justice, and no arbitrary alterations were permitted. These written laws, however, took the form of general provisions, the duty of filling up details being left to the discretion of the various clans, which consulted local customs and requirements in their carrying out. Moreover, the enactments dealt chiefly with penalties and administration, matters relating to private law being still left, for the most part, outside the pale of written law.

Principle of codification.

Anti-foreign system.

Some of the most noteworthy points of the Tokugawa system were the restriction of foreign intercourse by adoption of the 'closed-door' policy against the outside Powers and the prohibition of Christianity. These measures were adopted for the purpose of strengthening the foundation of the Government.

Home administration.

In home administration, caste system was created, by which the people were divided into comprehensive groups, including *bushi* (warriors), *héimin* (commoners), &c. The *bushi* was trained in the spirit of *Bushidō* and had to support himself by means of a hereditary allowance, not by trade. The *héimin* and lower classes were not eligible for civil and military appointments, their occupations being confined to industry. Land-transfers were forbidden with a view to prevent the evil of large ownership. Competition was restrained by establishing a number of monopolies in business undertakings. With these and other social measures, such as imposition of duties for the mutual relief of relatives and neighbours, efforts were made to keep the people content in their respective stations. It was owing chiefly to this judicial system that the Tokugawa Shōgunate was enabled to maintain a long and peaceful rule of over two hundred and sixty years (1603–1867).

Decline and fall of the Shōgunate.

But the continuous peace led to the evil of general inactivity, and thus resulted in perfunctory working of the administrative organs. This became accentuated towards the middle of the nineteenth century, when the outside world witnessed a

remarkable advance in the means of communication, through the progress of science. It is not surprising that this island country in the Far East was not to be allowed to remain in isolation, or that urgent requests were made to open it to international commerce. With regard to these approaches conflicting opinions prevailed in the Shōgunate, and attempts were made to tide over the difficulty by concluding a provisional treaty with the foreign representatives. But outbursts of popular opinion made the situation very precarious, and, moreover, the Shōgunate was suffering from internal trouble in connection with the succession question; and the authority of the *Bakufu* becoming impaired in consequence, the opportunity was seized by patriots who had long lamented the decline in the Imperial power. These enthusiasts, adopting *Taigi méibun* ('justice and legitimacy') as their guiding principle, started a vigorous agitation against the Shōgunate under the pretext of 'expulsion of the barbarians.' The outcome was the restoration of the Imperial power in 1867. Thus the military rule, which had held sway for about seven centuries since the establishment of the Shōgunate at Kamakura, collapsed completely, and the restoration of Imperial administration paved the way for the opening up of the country.

THIRD PERIOD: THE PERIOD OF THE ADOPTION OF WESTERN LAWS

Great work of the Restoration.

Some forty odd years only have elapsed since the fall of the Tokugawa Shōgunate and the restoration of the Emperor to actual power, but the innovations effected during this short interval in various institutions are so numerous as to defy detailed statement. The Méiji renaissance is comparable in importance to that of the Taika period in the reign of the Emperor Kōtōku, to which the former bears much resemblance in that it confirmed the unification of the Imperial power and the introduction of systems of central and local administration. On the accession to the Throne of the present Emperor in the first year of Méiji (1868), His Majesty pledged himself by an oath, comprising five articles (see *ante*, p. 141). This oath, which is far-reaching in its significance and application, laid down the

national policy of opening the country and adopting progressive measures. In 1871 the system of clans was abolished in favour of the *gunken* ('prefecture and county'), thereby completely eradicating the feudal *régime*. This satisfactory result was obtained mainly through the spirit of devotion and loyalty entertained by the feudal lords and their retainers to the Throne. The great task of the Restoration was accomplished amidst general peace and contentment—a noteworthy fact seeing that the change involved large sacrifice of interests on the part of many powerful men.

Legislation and administration after the Restoration.

From this time onwards the Government set about the work of improving affairs in every department of State—military, financial, educational, and judicial—taking Europe and America as models. The system of castes and monopolies was swept out of existence. Let us cite but a few remarkable instances of this series of innovations. The budgets were made public in 1873. In 1875 the Senate and the Court of Cassation were established, thus drawing a definite line between the legislative and the judicial functions of the State. In 1878, prefectural, town, and village assemblies were inaugurated for the purpose of self-government. In 1880 the Board of Audit was opened to deal with the auditing of State accounts. In 1881 an Imperial rescript promising to convoke the first session of the Imperial Diet ten years afterwards was promulgated. In 1889 the Constitution, the Imperial House Law, the Law of the Houses of the Imperial Diet, the Law of Election, and the Law of Finance were made public. (See Appendix A.) In 1890 the Constitution was put into operation for the first time. This marked an epoch in the history of our political organization, as thereafter all laws and budgets, before they became operative, had to obtain the consent of the Imperial Diet, which consisted of the House of Peers and the House of Representatives. At the same time, the Law of Administrative Litigation came into force. In the local administration, laws concerning prefectures, districts, cities, towns, and villages, &c., were put into force, the foundations of local self-government being thus consolidated.

We should preface any description of the more important laws promulgated since the Restoration by stating that in the

Adoption of principles of Western legislation.

early days of the adoption of Western jurisprudence, the idea of resuscitating Japan's ancient laws was very strong, and, as in the case of the Penal Code, old systems were readopted in not a few instances. Subsequently, however, the new ideas of the West prevailed, and gradually asserted themselves in legislation.

The Penal Code and the Code of Procedure.

The Penal Code, promulgated in 1870, was, in effect, a new edition of the modified Chinese Penal Code adopted in the second period. But in 1873 supplementary laws in three volumes were promulgated. This marked the first adoption of the European legal system in the realm of penal law. Towards the end of the same year, a committee for investigating and compiling a Penal Code and a Code of Criminal Instruction was organized in the Department of Justice, together with a section for the compilation of a Civil Code. Subsequently the collaboration of M. Boissonade, a French legal expert, was secured for the completion of the Penal Code, and it was promulgated, after submission to the Senate, in July 1880, coming into force in January 1882. A new Penal Code and Code of Criminal Instruction for the Army and Navy were also carried into effect about this time. This was the first series of laws completed after the Restoration. The Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Instruction were framed after French models. The latter (*Chizai-hō*) was replaced by a new Code of Criminal Procedure, named *Kéiji Soshō-hō*, which went into operation in 1890, and the revised Penal Code was put in force in 1908. Changes in social conditions since the original preparation of these Codes, and the experience of twenty years of their operation, rendered it necessary that amendments should be introduced.

Amendments.

These mainly relate, in the case of the Penal Code, to provisions for meeting the altered conditions of international relations (for instance, provisions relating to crimes committed outside the country, or crimes against foreign dignitaries and representatives), to the expansion of the limits of punishment so as to suit the various natures of crimes, and especially to the adoption of the system of remission in the execution of punishments, so as to avoid the evil of recidivism prevalent in modern Europe. In the case of the Code of Criminal Procedure, the

chief points of improvement relate to the system of preliminary examination and public trial. The functional limit of the preliminary examination has been narrowed down so that it is confined to researches preparatory to public trial, while the system of oral evidence and discussion is adopted in public trials in order to increase the effect of direct inquiry.

The Civil Code.

Laws relating to civil cases were unknown in Old Japan. Even in the days of the Tokugawa Shōgunate, intercourse between men in different parts of the empire was conducted on a limited scale owing to the effects of feudalism. Besides, the firmness with which the caste system and the family institution held their own, was not productive of complicated legal relations among the people, and affairs growing out of their mutual intercourse were managed chiefly by moral sense and local customs. Under these circumstances, it is but natural that when the Imperial power was restored and the country opened to foreign intercourse, efforts should have been made to enact, as an essential undertaking, a code relating to civil cases, with the aim of subjecting the people to a uniform and intelligible written law, and at the same time of abolishing extra-territoriality, which had impaired the national prestige for years by preventing the Government from exercising jurisdiction over the alien community.

Codification after the Restoration.

In 1870 a bureau was created in the *Dajōkan* (Council of State) for the investigation of various institutions, and the translation of the French Codes was undertaken. These translations afforded valuable materials to the legislator and the judicial official, and were generally regarded as models. Especially in civil cases they indirectly served as landmarks in determining legal precedents, and in short they exerted an important influence in developing the nation's legal ideas. In 1875 the Government appointed a committee for the compilation of a Civil Code, entrusting to it the duty of undertaking the necessary investigations. In 1879 M. Boissonade was requested to prepare a draft of the Code. Subsequently the *personnel* of the committee was repeatedly changed from considerations connected with the question of treaty revision, but the work itself was never allowed to fall into abeyance. The Code, as drawn up by these compilers, received

consideration, article by article, at the hands of the Investigation Committee, and in April 1890 one important part, namely, that dealing with property, was made public. In October of the same year the portion relating to persons, drawn up solely by the Japanese, was promulgated. These parts of the Code were notified to come into force in January 1893.

Revision of the first Code.

The Code met with much adverse criticism, on the ground that it was unsuited to the popular customs of the country in its several bearings, and that it lacked, in not a few points, logical clearness, which would have been secured, it was suggested, if recent legal precedents in Germany and other Western nations had been consulted. The Diet, in its session of 1892, decided to postpone the enforcement of the Code for four years in order to give time for amendment. In March of the following year a fresh committee was organized from among the members of the Houses of the Diet, professors of the Imperial University, representatives of the Bench and the Bar, and men from the business world. To this committee was entrusted the task of considering and revising the Code. In the work of amendment the German system of textual arrangement was adopted, and the texts were classified into five books, namely, general provisions, real rights, obligations, family, and succession. The first three books were approved by the Diet and promulgated in the beginning of 1896. The remaining two books were promulgated in June 1898, in company with a general law concerning the application of laws (which contains provisions chiefly as to international private law), a law concerning the operation of the Civil Code, and other accessory laws. The Code in its entirety was to come into effect in July of the same year. This course was adopted in view of the operation of the revised treaties with Western nations in the following year (1899). The work of compiling the Code had a close connection with the progress of treaty revision, and by the completion of the revision the long-expected and much-desired withdrawal of the system of consular jurisdiction and the opening up of the interior to foreigners came to be realized.

Present Civil Code.

An analysis of the Civil Code now in force shows that it is founded, in no small extent, on the similar Code in France, but, on the whole, the Japanese Code has followed many models,

not those of any single country. The committee used their best endeavours to improve the points objected to by taking into consideration the traditional customs of the country and the legal systems and theories of the West. The new Code is specially indebted to the draft of the German Civil Code then published, which supplied important materials to the committee. In the books on family and succession, the customs of the country, as might have been expected, were taken much into account in numerous cases.

The Commercial Code.

In the days of the Tokugawa *régime* merchants formed a class for themselves, the people being divided into the four castes of *samurai* (military class), farmers, artisans, and merchants, but as a matter of fact, no special law in a complete form was provided for the control of business transactions. It cannot be doubted that the development of trade had been greatly hindered by the restricted intercourse between different portions of the empire as a result of the feudal system, by diversity of commercial usages, by the low esteem in which trade was held by the people in general, although in some towns, such, for instance, as Ōsaka and Nagasaki, commercial prosperity attained to an exceptional degree. After the Restoration a scheme was drawn up for the unification of legislation on matters commercial. In 1881 the Cabinet, then known as the *Dajōkan*, organized a committee for the compilation of a Commercial Code, and the work of drafting the Code was entrusted to Dr. von Roesler, a German expert. After completion by the committee, the Code was submitted to the Committee for Investigating Laws and to the Senate, with whose revisions it was published in April 1890. This Code also evoked much unfavourable comment in legal circles. It was condemned on the ground that some of the provisions were not adapted to the traditional customs of the country, and also because it ran counter in several points to the Civil Code completed by M. Boissonade. The operation of the Code was postponed, for the purpose of making amendments side by side with those of the Civil Code. However, the portion concerning companies, bills, notes, and bankruptcy was put into force provisionally, as a matter of actual necessity. The revision of the entire contents of the Commercial Code was

then undertaken by the Investigation Committee, whose work having been completed, the revised Code was promulgated in March 1899, and carried into operation in June of the same year. This Code was chiefly based on the German model, but care was taken to make it harmonize with the business usages of the country and accord with the provisions of other laws, including the Civil Code.

The Law of Civil Procedure.

Regarding Civil Procedure, some references appeared in the old law of the '*Taihō Ritsuryō*,' promulgated in 702 A.D., and also in the 'Hundred Articles' of Iyéyasu Tokugawa. Usage, therefore, was not lacking, but no special law existed. In 1873 the Government promulgated formulae for the preparation of documents relating to suits or pleadings. Further, with a view to framing a more perfect law, the Senate was ordered to make inquiries into the subject in 1876, and in 1884 a Compilation Committee was formed in the Department of Justice. The work, successfully completed in due course, was promulgated in March 1890, being carried into effect in January of the succeeding year. This is the Law of Civil Procedure now in active operation. The fundamental provisions of the law are borrowed from German enactments. Some modifications in the clauses of the law subsequently proved necessary as a result of the advent of the Civil and Commercial Codes, and the work of revision, taken up by the Committee for Investigating Laws, is now nearly concluded, so that the law is expected to see the light in a few years' time.

Law of Judicial Organization.

Besides those already described, there is a group of laws of secondary importance. One is the Law of Judicial Organization, promulgated in 1890. The systems consulted in the preparation of this law were those of France and Germany. The judicial system is divided into four grades, namely, Court of Cassation, Courts of Appeal, Local Courts, and District Courts. The upper three grades are organized on the collegiate principle. All judicial officials are appointed for life service in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.

Law of Advocates.

Side by side with this is the Law of Advocates, by which it is provided that an advocate, like an executive official, is appointed by means of examinations. To enter the Bench further practical examination is required. Other laws accessory

Accessory laws.

to the Civil and Commercial Codes are the Law of Registration of Immovables, the Law of Deposit, the Law of Auction, the Law of Personal Status, the Law of Procedure in Actions relating to personal status, the Law of Procedure in non-contentious matters, and others. The Law of Bankruptcy, now temporarily represented by the surviving part of the old Commercial Code, is to be framed as a special law common to civil and commercial cases as in Germany, and the realization of this plan is expected in the near future.

Great achievements in legislation.

As stated in the foregoing pages, the work of legislation subsequent to the Restoration is now nearing completion, and we may justly consider that a point of high development has been attained in the realm of written law. This work, together with the establishment of a constitutional mode of government and the carrying out of treaty revision, constitute the three most important undertakings accomplished since the dawn of the Méiji era. That this comparative perfection of the legal system has been successfully achieved is attributable to the advance of education in general, and of legal science in particular. Early in the beginning of the present era, the Government directed its efforts towards the promotion of educational interests. The study of law as a branch of general education, being much encouraged, was earnestly taken up by the rising generation. A law school, called *Méihō Ryō*, was opened in the Department of Justice for giving instruction in French law, while the Tōkyō University, under the direct control of the Education Department, devoted much attention to the training of students in English and American laws. Moreover, students were dispatched abroad at Government expense for purposes of studying law. Thus the two decades immediately subsequent to the Restoration were characterized by prevalence of the study of French, English, and American laws, and the influence of these laws was most strongly in evidence at the Department of Justice. But times changed. The past twenty years have witnessed the rise and ascendancy of German law, and a tendency has grown up to take it as the model in studying jurisprudence and legislative work, whether in the domain of public or of private law. At present Japan boasts two Imperial Universities and a fair

Legal education.

number of private ones, which impart knowledge of legal subjects. Recent developments have been remarkable, and the stage of imitation has already been left behind. The actual conditions of the country now form an important consideration in framing a law; while the latter is carefully considered from theoretical and practical points of view, the models of Occidental countries are being consulted, so that the product shall be best fitted to meet practical requirements. It will thus be seen that the legislative activities of the country have outgrown the stage of mere imitation and adoption, and have entered upon a career of free and independent development.

Conclusion.

By way of summing up, it may be mentioned that Japanese legislation owed its birth to the original unwritten law which prevailed among the ancient race, and that the period of written law dawned 1264 years after the accession of the Emperor Jimmu to the Throne, that is in 604 A.D., when Chinese law was adopted as the basis of the rudimentary Constitution then promulgated. Although changes of the times brought about certain alterations of this unwritten law, yet it was preserved without any material innovation until some forty years ago, nor was it until after the Restoration that the legal systems of civilized Western countries were introduced and laid under contribution for perfecting the entire framework of written law. It is not too much to say that this marks an epoch in the annals of Japan's legislative evolution.

Adoption of foreign legal systems.

We are prepared to admit that the Japanese nation has been ready at all times to take from the outside world whatever the latter had to offer of good in legal systems, and that no hesitation was shown in appropriating and assimilating these acquisitions. Such a progressive spirit is not confined to legal matters: it extends to other departments of civilized life—literature, art, manufactures, and other matters. One of the salient illustrations of this fact is the introduction of Confucianism and Buddhism from neighbouring countries, and it is interesting to note that, while these religious systems were perfectly transplanted and assimilated, they were at the same time purged of the evils which had grown up about them in the lands of their original birth. Another point worthy

of special attention is the significant feature in Japanese history that changes of institutions, however far-reaching and important they might be, were effected smoothly and peacefully without any disfigurement of tragic or revolutionary scenes. The explanation of this mental habit is not far to seek. By its geographical position, an isolated group of islands in a corner of the extreme East, Japan was naturally secluded from continental countries, and her people were never subjected to foreign conquest. These circumstances gradually educated a mild disposition, rendering her naturally incapable of resorting to cruel or brutal acts. Moreover, the land possesses a fertile soil and a moderate climate, with the attendant advantages of abundant food and immunity from any bitter struggle for existence. Thus favoured by nature, it is not wonderful that the Japanese remained content and happy in their secluded condition. Very probably these conditions jointly contributed towards the gradual building up of a national character pure and undefiled, and not obstinately addicted to any one groove of thought. This would explain the impartiality of mind with which statesmen in power skimmed the cream from the legal systems of other countries and appropriated it to the advancement of civilization in their own land. Such a liberal and eclectic spirit manifested itself most strikingly in the work of legislative reform undertaken and carried into completion after the Restoration.

The people's sentiment and the geographical features.

X

JAPANESE PERSONAL LEGISLATION

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INTRODUCTION

THERE are two methods of studying a nation's laws: the one consisting in a description of its laws in general, the relation between them and the State, and their source; the other in discussing the character of individual laws and the course of their development. The former may be termed the exterior and the latter the interior history. In the present essay we shall attempt to deal with the second method only, namely, the individual character of our laws and their gradual development, for we feel that, whilst an exterior history of laws, which shows the skeleton of legal institutions, may in its nature admit of good arrangement and harmony, one which only exposes the individual tissue of laws naturally becomes intricate, orderless, and dry.

Two methods of studying laws.

Not only for this reason, but since it is impossible to detail the character and development of our laws in such a limited space, we shall here leave out the Constitution, administrative laws, and other public laws, and rest contented with confining ourselves to the study of our private law.

Four periods.

For convenience' sake we divide the history into four periods: namely, (1) the period of aboriginal laws, in which common law alone had force, beginning with the coronation of the Emperor Jimmu (660 B.C.), and ending in the reign of the Emperor Mommu (700 A.D.); (2) the period of imitation of Chinese laws, in which the 'Statutes of Taihō' were in operation,

beginning in the reign of the Emperor Mommu (701 A.D.) and ending in the reign of the Emperor Go-Horikawa (1231); (3) the period of laws of the *buké* or military clans, which may be subdivided into two periods, viz. that of the Kamakura Shōgunate in which the 'Statute of Jōéi' was in force, beginning in the reign of the Emperor Go-Horikawa (1232) and ending in the reign of the Emperor Go-Midzunoo (1614), and that of the Tokugawa Shōgunate, in which the 'Statutes of Tokugawa' were in operation, beginning in the reign of the Emperor Go-Midzunoo (1615) and ending with the present Civil Code's coming into operation under the present Emperor (1898); and (4) the period of Méiji or the period in which the present laws have been in force.

'House.' In addition to the foregoing introduction, we deem it necessary to give, before entering upon the main part of our essay, a brief explanation of the sense of the term 'house' in our laws, as in this country the patriarchal system has been in vogue from time immemorial, and the house has always occupied an important place among legal factors. The house, as understood in Japan, is a body of persons related by blood. It is supreme over its members, and has a personality, and is therefore, of course, capable of possessing rights and obligations. The members composing a house are called the 'family.' They have no right to own property independently, and any property that comes into the possession of an individual at once passes into that of the house; therefore, when any member of a family has done damage to another house or person, it is the house that is responsible for it. The property that belongs to a body of relatives by blood is termed 'house property,' and the representative of the house is called the 'head of the house.' Even when the head of a house dies or changes, the house continues to exist unless the body becomes extinct. Every house deifies the spirit of its forefather, which is called the 'God of the Clan.'[1] Viewed under this aspect, it may be said that the house is a sanctified place

[1] The idea of the 'God of the Clan' has a great resemblance to that of the Roman Jupiter. The headship of a house is nearly the same in power as *patria potestas*, and the power of a husband over his wife also resembles the *manus*. In short, our patriarchal system has in many respects a family likeness to that of Rome.

under the protection of its clan-god. Such was the idea of the house prevalent among our fathers till the close of the third period, namely, of the Tokugawa Shōgunate. In our own day, since the introduction of the individualist system of Europe, and its intermixture with the patriarchal system, the idea of the house has undergone a great change: it has lost its personality and become the mere sphere of the rights of the family-head. Readers of any history of our legal institutions must first become acquainted with this change in our idea of the house, hence this early reference to it.

The First Period, or the Period of Aboriginal Laws

In the early days of the empire, government was doubtless conducted according to laws, but we have no knowledge what they were, since no records nor any authentic traditions have been handed down to us. The writer of the preface to the '*Kogo Shūi*' (a dictionary of things obsolete and archaic) remarks: 'It is said that in days of yore when there were as yet no letters, people of every class and every age used to transmit all information from mouth to mouth; by which means all the acts and sayings of generations past were kept from being forgotten.' This goes to prove that in those days there were no written statutes and everything was done in accordance with usage alone. Again, it is quite obvious that judicial cases at that epoch were decided by common sense, according to circumstances, until there were evolved precedents to make a common law, or *lex non scripta*. It was in 284 A.D. that Chinese characters were first introduced into the country, and there exist a few chronological works written after their importation, but the record they contain concerning the legal institutions of the time is so scanty that we can make but a brief note of it.

1. *Usage concerning real rights and obligations.*—In those days, land and other corporeal things were the chief subjects of possessory rights. The family had possession of a large tract of land, over which it exercised absolute power. There was a class of people of the lowest rank named *yakko*, who were regarded as a sort of property and might be the subject

of sale or gift, but as to how they were bought and sold, little is known. Although in the '*Kensōki*' (an ancient chronicle) we find the passage: 'Rice is worth a silver *mon* per *koku*,' there is now no clear proof that the empire had any currency at that time. However, considering that the 'History of Money' compiled by the Department of Finance goes so far as to give a description of the coin current in those times, there was probably a certain amount of money used as a medium of exchange which had been brought over from some foreign country.

2. *Usage concerning personal matters.*—In those days everything was naturally plain and simple, for human hearts were pure and untainted; but at the same time our people, yet uncivilized, had no established rule of morality. It naturally followed that relations between man and man were characterized by vulgarity and coarseness as seen in the following points:

(*a*) *Marriage.*—Marriage is now understood by the Japanese as the relation of joint life between a man and a woman, which will last till the death of one party or the other. But in early days the idea of monogamy was yet undeveloped, and one man might be the husband of two or more women. Marriage between blood relations was also allowed. There was a gradation in the status of the wives, which doubtless prevented home troubles. For instance, the wife whose lineage was of the highest rank was called *mukaimé*[1] or legitimate wife, and enjoyed greater privileges than any of her colleagues; and her son, who was called *mukai-bara*, or lawful heir, held precedence in right of succession to sons by other wives. The wives were distinguished from each other by means of the nouns *konami* and *uwanari*, which signify the first-married and the later-married respectively. As regards polyandry, there is no evidence of its existence. This is, undoubtedly, due to the fact that from time immemorial the weaker sex has always been looked upon as an inferior being, and that the Chinese maxim, 'Woman should never give her

[1] The '*Nihongi*' (one of our oldest histories) tells us that by *mukaimé* is meant a true or legitimate wife. *Mukai* here evidently means corresponding to or co-ordinate with the husband.

troth to two men,' has so deeply impressed itself upon the people's mind that it has always been considered out of the question for a woman to marry more than one man.

A woman was required to obtain the permission of her father or eldest brother when she wanted to marry, and when she had gained this, she sent a present to her betrothed as a token of troth-plighting, which gave rise to the *yuinō*, or espousal present of modern times. Though the usage greatly varied, this present in most cases consisted of a *koto*, hence the name of *adzumagoto*,[1] or 'my consort's harp.' In case the union proved an unhappy one, the husband 'handed over the *koto* to his spouse' or returned her the instrument as a mark of divorce, probably in allusion to the well-known Chinese phrase, 'the *kin* (a gentleman's harp) does not harmonize with the *hitsu* (a lady's harp),' which signifies lack of concord in man and wife.

In what cases divorce was justified in the eye of the law we are not certain, but readers of our ancient chronicles will find the passage, 'he abandoned his wife,' wherever a divorce is referred to. To 'abandon' in this sense means to quit or forsake at will without obtaining the consent or agreement of the other party, and it may safely be inferred that the husband was quite free to rid himself of his wife at his pleasure.

When a man married, he did not take his bride home, but himself repaired to her house. This custom made it necessary for a betrothed woman to have a new house prepared before her marriage, which gave rise to the modern honorific for a married lady, *go-shinzō*.[2] The custom of a man's marrying more than one woman and visiting them at their own houses led to the growth of a new form of marriage, that is, marriage between blood relations. This was a natural result, because, as one man's wives lived in different houses in different places and had no opportunity of seeing each other and getting acquainted, there was always the possibility of sons and daughters not knowing one another, meeting, falling in love, and eventually uniting in marriage without knowing the close

[1] The *adzumagoto* with one string is quite a different instrument from the *koto* of to-day with thirteen strings, the latter being of Chinese origin, introduced into this country in the reign of the fifty-fourth Emperor, Nimmyō, 834 A.D.

[2] *Go-shinzō* in its literal sense means a newly built house.

relationship already existing between them. It may be that the curious usage of looking upon conjugal unions between uncle and niece, or even between brother and sister, as nothing extraordinary is attributable to this custom. For some time onward there was even a tendency to encourage this kind of marriage amongst the higher classes, for the purpose of keeping up a good lineage, but after the introduction of Buddhism (552 A.D.), which denounced it as brutal, the practice gradually declined, till in the second period, with the advance of popular knowledge, it ceased to exist.

(*b*) *Adoption.*—Those who had no son might adopt another's as their own. Adoption in those days was the same as that of Europe, in that it stood upon the principle of supplying an heir, for the preservation of the house. That being valued above anything else, its discontinuance was looked upon as the greatest misfortune, and this naturally induced our forefathers to resort to such a system as a means of maintaining their line when they had no lawful heir.

(*c*) *Succession.*—As a general rule, the eldest son was entitled to succession, and in that title the male seems to have had precedence over the female. There were, however, not a few instances in which a father's excessive affection for his younger son induced him to disinherit the elder, for man is naturally inclined to feel a stronger affection for the younger son or daughter than for the elder. As a result, brothers frequently appealed to arms for the inheritance after the parent's death. Concerning the precedence of the *mukai-bara*, or son by the legitimate wife, to other sons and daughters, it has already been referred to.

SECOND PERIOD: THAT OF THE IMITATION OF CHINESE LAWS

Towards the close of the first period, Chinese religion, literature, manners, and customs began to be imported widely, and the chief result was that, in the reign of the forty-second Emperor, Mommu (701 A.D.), there were drawn up the '*Taihō Ritsu*' and the '*Taihō Ryō*,' well known as the first written laws of our empire. The former was a penal law, and the latter one of

'*Taihō Ritsu*' and '*Taihō Ryō*.'

Government and social institutions. The Penal Code having its source exclusively in the Yung-hui Code of the Tang dynasty of China, it is often argued that our ancestors imitated the latter's laws just as the European Powers of the Middle Ages moulded their laws on legal institutions of Rome. To my mind, however, it is wrong to ascribe the formulation of the '*Taihō Ritsu*' solely to this cause. During the first period, the great power possessed by noble families carried to an extreme the evils resultant from their ownership of large tracts of land and their hereditary occupation of Government offices, and this circumstance doubtless co-operated with the daily increase of our diplomatic relations with China and Korea to induce the Government to make good laws. Thus, the '*Taihō Ryō*' prohibits the private ownership of land and establishes the nationalization of landed property; abolishes the hereditary holding of official positions and regulates the appointment of able men; determines every description of national institution and the individual rights of the people. In a word, its compilation was an attempt to destroy the oligarchy and establish in its place an absolute monarchy. It was, indeed, a most noteworthy reformation. The '*Taihō Ryō*' originally comprised ten books, of thirty chapters, two of which, however, were lost during the subsequent wars. The civil law is contained in a few chapters under the heads of 'Houses and Land,' 'Succession,' and 'Miscellaneous,' the remainder being a public law consisting of regulations concerning Government offices, administration, military affairs, &c. In those times the classification of laws was not so minute as in our day, and it is no wonder that both public and private laws were confusedly compressed into one code.

Regulations of the '*Taihō Ryō*'

1. *Concerning real rights.*—Land cannot be possessed by individuals, its ownership belonging entirely to the State. People may lease and cultivate it, but cannot sell or transfer it, except dwelling lots and gardens, which may be sold or transferred with official permission. Next to land in importance is a property in slaves, male and female, and cattle and horses, which admit of private ownership and disposition. As means

of acquisition of ownership, preoccupation and the finding of lost or hidden articles are recognized.

2. *Concerning obligations.*—There are two kinds of contracts of sale: one involving certain requirements and the other none. For instance, the sale of a dwelling lot or garden ground can only be contracted after obtaining official sanction, and the sale of slaves, male and female, by fixing a surety and giving a bond to the buyer, besides obtaining official sanction, whilst in a sale of cattle and horses a surety alone is required and not official sanction.

(*a*) *Suikyo or mutuum* (loan for consumption).—A loan by which one party receives something from another, and agrees to return something of the same quality and quantity with interest after a specified period of time, is called *suikyo*. One is free to make any contract of *mutuum* except that he cannot receive any interest when the term does not reach sixty days. He may pay or receive interest of seventy per cent. per annum, and in case he cannot pay the interest at the expiration of the term, he is bound to discharge his debt in labour.

(*b*) *Trusts.*—A trust can in no wise be consumed, and must be returned at any time the owner demands it back. However, in the case where the trust is stolen, or destroyed, or damaged by fire or water, the trustee is not responsible for the loss or damage.

3. *Concerning personal matters.*—The regulations relating to personal matters in the '*Taihō Ryō*' form the minutest and best-known part of the code, and they may be said to have clearly determined the principles concerning the spheres of relationship, marriage, adoption, succession, &c.

(*a*) *Relations.*—The '*Taihō Ryō*' recognizes relations to the fifth degree. The recognition is quite different to that of the Roman law or of the ecclesiastical law of Europe. It adopts the method of the Chinese law, and recognizes no distinction between relations by blood and relations by affinity, but assigns their respective positions according to the degree of relation in the whole chain of relationship. Thus, the father, mother, husband, son and daughter, both natural and adopted, are of the first degree; the grand-parents, *chakubo* (the wife of the father of a natural son who has been recognized by the

father), step-mother, uncle, aunt, brother, sister, parents of the husband, wife, concubine, nephew, niece, grand-children, daughter-in-law, and concubine of the father, of the second degree, and so on.

(*b*) *Marriage.*—To marry, a man must be at least fifteen years old and a woman thirteen. When a woman wants to marry, she has to obtain the consent of her ascendant, or of her 'guardian in marriage' in default of an ascendant, whom she may choose as she wishes. A contract of marriage takes effect when an espousal present has been sent and accepted, such present to consist of a piece of cloth at least large enough to be made into a garment, and not of food and drink. A woman who dissolves a marriage contract after accepting the espousal present is guilty and subject to a penalty of fifty lashes. Some scholars consider that this espousal present was originally the price paid for a woman, and proves the existence of coemption in this country. But this is not probable, considering that from days of yore our people have been distinguished by their warm-heartedness and peculiar indifference to lucre, and such a mean idea as that of contracting a serious personal matter like marriage for money cannot in any wise be imagined to have entered their mind. Moreover, there is no proof that a price was ever paid to marry a woman. We rather believe that the espousal present was given merely in token of the completion of a marriage contract, and the custom was only an altered form of the usage of presenting a harp to the betrothed which existed in the previous period. In China coemption has been general, and the espousal present in the Tang Code may perhaps be considered the price of the woman; yet the conclusion that the two customs must have been of the same nature because the '*Taihō Ryō*' was partly an imitation of the Chinese law is too hasty, and probably erroneous, for it finds no confirmation in a comparison of Chinese national characteristics and our own.

(*c*) *Property relation between husband and wife.*—The husband is bound to manage his wife's property so long as their matrimonial relation exists, and return it to her if he divorces her. From this clause some jurists consider that there is no difference

between the property relation of husband and wife in the '*Taihō Ryō*' and their management of property in common (*Verwaltungsgemeinschaft*) as in the German Civil Code; but in our opinion this is obviously a mistaken view, because, according to our ancient law, the wife's property becomes her husband's possession on her death, whether or not she has any children, and it is proper to interpret the provision in the '*Taihō Ryō*' as signifying that the wife's property shall be combined with her husband's and go into his possession when they unite in marriage, and is to be given back to the wife only if their matrimonial relation ceases to exist.

(*d*) *Divorce.*—Divorce cannot be obtained without cause. There are two kinds of divorce—divorce by mutual consent and divorce by law. Again, the former may be divided into divorce by choice on the part of the husband, and divorce by choice on the part of the wife.

(1) *Divorce by choice, or voluntary divorce.*—Although the husband and wife may demand divorce when there exists one of the causes recognized by the '*Taihō Ryō*,' such demand wholly depends upon his or her intention; hence the reason for a divorce of this sort is called the cause of divorce by choice. The law recognizes the following seven different causes of divorce of the wife by the husband:

1. *If the wife proves a barren woman.*—A wife who has brought forth no male child is called a barren woman and regarded as divorceable, even if she has given birth to a female one, most probably because in this country it was as a rule a male child and not a female that should succeed to the head of the house. By 'barren' here is meant that the woman has brought forth no child when she reaches the age of fifty.
2. *If the wife proves salacious.*
3. *If the wife is not dutiful to her father-in-law or mother-in-law.*—This is because our old idea of the family institution required a wife to serve her husband's parents with as much care and faithfulness as she served her husband himself.
4. *If the wife is found to be loquacious.*

5. *If the wife is guilty of theft.*—Theft means the act of stealing or pilfering another's property; taking the husband's property without his knowledge is not regarded as theft. The intention to steal in the wife is deemed as wrongful as committed theft.
6. *If the wife proves jealous.*
7. *If the wife is ill of a foul disease.*—By a 'foul disease' is meant leprosy or the like. Mental disorder is not a foul disease in this sense, and therefore it is not considered as justifying divorce.

The divorce of the wife by the husband is lawful where there exists any one of the seven conditions stated above. They do not justify divorce, however—sensuality and foul disease being excepted—when any one of the following three conditions exists:

1. *If the wife has performed her final duty to her parents-in-law, that is their funeral ceremony.*—In other words, if she has served them with unchanging care and sincerity from her wedding till their death.
2. *If the husband was poor and humble when the wife was married to him, and has subsequently accumulated wealth or risen in rank or office.*—In such case it is deemed no matter of question whether the husband has risen in the world by his own exertions or by his wife's influence or help.
3. *If the wife had a family whence she came, but now none to return to.*—In other words, if she has neither parents nor 'guardian in marriage' to receive her in the event of her being divorced.

A husband who divorces his wife in spite of the existence of one or more of the above-mentioned three counteracting causes is guilty, is not only condemned to receive eighty strokes of the whip, but is obliged to restore the wife to the same status as before.

The causes for divorce of a husband by a wife are as follow:

1. *If the husband has left his native province for a distant land, and been absent from home for five years (if*

he has a child by the wife), or for three years (if he has no child by the wife).

2. *If the husband has left home without letting his destination be known and has been absent for three years (if he has a child by the wife), or for two years (if he has no child by the wife).*

Where either of these two conditions exists, the wife may divorce her husband.

(2) *Causes of divorce by law or 'extinction of the conjugal relation.'*—There are three different causes of divorce by law:

1. *If the husband has struck his wife's grand-parent, parent, or killed his wife's maternal grand-parent, uncle, aunt, brother, or sister.*
2. *If murder has been committed between grand-parent, parent, maternal grand-parent, uncle, aunt, brother, or sister of the husband, and any one of those of the wife.*
3. *If the wife has struck or reviled her husband's grand-parent or parent, hurt her husband's maternal grand-parent, uncle, aunt, brother, or sister, or intends to murder her husband.*

A state in which one of these conditions exists is called *gizétsu* (extinction of conjugal relations), because the moral relation between husband and wife comes to an end and law enforces their divorce. A husband and wife who keep up their matrimonial relation in spite of the existence of one of the above-mentioned three causes are guilty, and are each condemned to a hundred lashes.

Requisites of divorce.—To effect a divorce, the husband must needs give the wife a letter of divorce in his own handwriting. In case of the husband's inability to write, he has to deliver the wife such a picture drawn with his own hand as may convey his idea. In both cases he must return to his wife what property she brought with her on their marriage.

(*e*) *Adoption.*—One who has no natural child may adopt a child of his relative and of no other. By a 'child' here is meant a male one, as has been said before, for which reason the following conditions of adoption naturally become necessary:

(1) *That the adopter should have no natural son.*
(2) *That the adopted should be a relation of the adopter above the fourth degree, and be of the same order or class as a son of the adopter should be.*
(3) *That the adopted should be more than fifteen years younger than the adopter.*
(4) *That the adopted should not be without caste.*

(*f*) *Succession.*—There are two kinds of succession—to a house and to property. In the former case the eldest son is invariably entitled to the heirship. This is clearly seen in the '*Ryō-no-Gigé*,' or 'Commentaries on the *Taihō Ryō*.' As regards the property of the house, however, the eldest son is not always entitled to the whole of it, and it seems to have been in the feudal ages that the system of his acquiring all the property left by his deceased father came into existence. According to the '*Taihō Ryō*,' when the deceased has determined the manner of dividing his property by will, it must, of course, be disposed of agreeably to his wishes; but in the absence of a will, the property must be distributed as the law requires, which provides that the *chakubo*, step-mother and legitimate son of the deceased, shall each have twenty per cent., the *shoshi* (a natural son who has been recognized by the father), ten per cent., and the daughter and concubine each five per cent.

The Third Period: Jurisdiction of Military Clans

I.—*The Period of the Kamakura Shōgunate*

In the later days of the second period, political institutions became insecure, for war and disorder ruled in every part of the empire, and the Court was too weak to restore peace with its own strength and had to turn for help to powerful military clans. The result was that military families were at the sword's point with one another, and the whole country was engaged in a struggle for political power. Thus matters stood for years until Minamoto-no-Yoritomo succeeded at last in crushing the rival clans, bringing the war and disorder to a close, and establishing a Shōgunate at Kamakura. This

was the beginning of feudalism in our empire, and from that day onward the Imperial Government was merely nominal for several centuries, the practical ruling power entirely passing into the hands of the Shōgun. In the era of Jōéi (1232), Tokifusa Hōjō and Yasutoki Hōjō, Ministers to the Shōgun, and several other high officials drew up a new code after making researches among the usages relating to judicature in military classes which had been in vogue since the establishment of the Shōgunate, at the same time collating the '*Ritsu*' and '*Ryō*' of the Taihō era. This code is entitled the '*Jōéi Shikimoku,*' and is composed of fifty-one articles. With its compilation began the period of the Kamakura Shōgunate.

'*Jōéi Shikimoku.*'

The compilation of the '*Jōéi Shikimoku,*' let it be remembered, was not an attempt to rescind the '*Taihō Ritsu*' and '*Ryō*' or to introduce any radical change, but only to modify the principles of the ancient code so as to make them suitable to the times. The two codes, therefore, did not interfere with each other, both operating at the same time in different spheres. To speak more explicitly, the Taihō Code was in operation among the *kugé*, or Court nobles, over whom the Imperial Court had direct control; whilst the Jōéi Code was in practice among the *buké*, or military families, which all stood under the direct control of the Kamakura Shōgunate. This was just what the compilers of the '*Jōéi Shikimoku*' had intended, and they clearly provided for it in Article VI, which says: 'Regarding the administration of justice for provincial governors and county superintendents, Kwantō (Kamakura) must not interfere with the Court (Kyōto).' However, because some parts of the '*Taihō Ryō,*' being an imitation of the Chinese code, were found unfitted to our nationality (the best example of which were the regulations concerning the leasing of land), and because that code, which is based upon minute juristic principles, and is of ornate literary style, is consequently lacking in clearness and simplicity, it had naturally been unpopular among the military classes, which preferred brevity, plainness, and sincerity in everything; and, on the other hand, the Jōéi Code, which is characterized by simplicity and practicability, gradually came to be received with favour, not only by military people, but also by the Court nobility, the Taihō

Code at the same time decreasing in force by degrees all through the country.

The '*Jōéi Shikimoku*' is a mixture of public and private law like the '*Taihō Ryō*,' and after its compilation much was added to it from time to time. The additions are called the 'New Appendices,' and consist of 362 articles. The chief difference between the Jōéi Code and the older one in point of private law is as follows:

1. *Regulations concerning real rights.*—In the time when the '*Taihō Ryō*' was in operation, land was, as a fundamental principle, nationalized or owned by the State alone, but the '*Shikimoku*' introduced a reform and recognized the private ownership of land—a restoration of pre-Taihō usage—most probably because the State possession of land was found unsuited to the national character and sentiment. Upon the disposition of landed property the following restrictions are placed:

(*a*) Farming land and garden ground may be not only owned, but also sold or transferred at will by *gokénin*[1] and *bongé*.[2]

(*b*) *Shiryō* ('private possession') or land handed down from an ancestor or bought of others, may be sold or transferred, provided that the buyer or transferee is not a commoner.

(*c*) *Onchi* ('favour-land') or land bestowed through favour of the Shōgun, may be pledged but cannot be sold or transferred. Violation of this regulation involves a penalty to both seller and buyer.

2. *Regulations concerning obligations.*—Outcasts and slaves, both male and female, who have no juridical personality may be sold or transferred, but not common people. In early times the sale of human beings had been strictly prohibited, but when war after war broke out and law lost its force, many people began to sell their wives and children to pay their debts, and law-suits concerning this matter grew so frequent that the authorities found it necessary to act upon it and to break down the barbarous custom by means of law.

[1] The *gokénin* of the time of the Kamakura Shōgunate was a kind of free-holder, to whom rank and privilege were granted by the *buké* or *daimyō's* patent or certificate.

[2] *Bongé* are common people.

A transgressor is guilty and is condemned to branding on the face.

The process of sale is made studiously simple and easy. Two parties have only to make an agreement to effect a sale. Even in a sale of land, they are not required to obtain official acknowledgment as in the previous period, the seller having only to give the buyer the title-deed and the certificate of inheritance handed down from the first owner of the land.

There are two different ways of securing an obligation, one of which is termed *mi-jichi* (pledging) and the other *iré-jichi* (mortgaging). The former consists in the debtor giving a pledge to the creditor, who may use it in place of receiving interest for the time he keeps it as such pledge. Male and female slaves are generally pledged in this way. The latter consists in the debtor giving the creditor a pledge-bond only and not the security itself, and paying him interest at a rate previously fixed. This is nothing more than the Japanese mortgage of the present day. In the case when the debtor fails to fulfil the obligation, the subject of mortgage comes into the possession of the creditor.

3. *Regulations concerning personal matters.*

(*a*) *Marriage.*—Both men and women may contract marriage at any age: they have only to make an agreement and get the consent of their respective parents. Marriages between Court nobles and the military require the sanction of the Shōgun or the Shikkén (Minister to the Shōgun), since in the feudal age intercourse between these two castes was practically prohibited.

(*b*) *Divorce.*—Considering the absence of any provision whatever relating to causes of divorce either in the '*Shikimoku*' or in the Appendices, there is no room for doubt that the Kamakura Shōgunate kept in operation the regulations on that subject in the '*Taihō Ryō*.' Regarding the effect of divorce, the '*Shikimoku*' contains comparatively minute regulations. A wife who is divorced on account of a grave offence cannot hold the estate received from her husband even if she has a certificate of donation given by him. In the case when a husband divorces his wife and marries another woman, if the former has done much for him and nothing blameworthy,

he cannot take back from her the estate he gave her. When a widow makes a second marriage, she loses as a matter of course her title to the estate given to her by her former husband, which at once passes into the hands of his son. Again, such an estate when taken back may be disposed of according to circumstances if there is no son left by the deceased. A boy born of a divorced wife who was pregnant by him at the time of her separation belongs to the father and must be brought up by him. As to a girl born of a divorced wife, there is no special provision, but seeing that a boy born under such circumstances is particularly specified as belonging to the father alone, we may fairly interpret the text as implying that such a girl shall belong to the mother.

(*c*) *Adoption.*—One who has no natural son may adopt a child of another as heir, just as in the time of the '*Taihō Ryō*,' and in a family that follows a special art as an hereditary profession, even though the head of the house has a natural son, may make his adopted one heir if the former is found incapable of succeeding to the family profession.

(*d*) *Property relation between husband and wife.*—While the '*Taihō Ryō*,' as has been said before, follows the principle of joint possession of property between husband and wife, the '*Shikimoku*' establishes the system of their separate possession of property, and what is most noteworthy is that while the 'Regulations of Houses' in the '*Taihō Ryō*' (which provide that 'what property a woman owns while she lives with her husband shall not in any case be taken back') manifestly interdict her father taking back her portion which he gave her, the '*Shikimoku*' introduces a change in this point and provides that such property may be claimed on the part of the wife's father. In those days, when civil war raged for years, it was not an infrequent occurrence that a husband sided with the enemy of his wife's father, and if, in such case, the wife could have kept her dowry as before, she would have been behaving undutifully to her father, since the latter would have had no right to take it back from her; and, on the other hand, if the parents should cease to give any dowry to their daughter for fear that such a circumstance might arise, there would be no demonstration of parental affection. To prevent a dilemma

of this sort, the compilers of the '*Shikimoku*' made the above innovation. Although the '*Shikimoku*' recognizes as a principle the separate possession of property by husband and wife, in case the husband is guilty of treason, murder, or any other grave offence, the wife's property may be confiscated with that of her husband.

(*e*) *Succession.*—As in the '*Taihō Ryō*,' the eldest son alone is entitled to succession, the only alteration being that a father, who desired to take back and give to his younger son an estate already given to the eldest, might do so at any time on procuring an official note of approval.

A few more words as to the '*Jōéi Shikimoku.*' It was never promulgated or made known to the public at large, and it was nothing more than a set of instructional regulations prescribing roughly the rules which the judicial authorities should observe in deciding cases. On the contrary, the '*Taihō Ryō*' was formally published, and the Government sent a *Myōhō Hakasé*, or Court Jurist, to every province to make its contents known to all the people. Not only in this respect, but also in point of form, the '*Shikimoku*' is far inferior to the '*Taihō Ryō*,' of which the text is much better arranged and has more literary merit. What the compilers of the former had in view, however, was not excellence of form but practicability, so that they purposely made the text brief and concise and every clause as practical as possible, providing as a fundamental principle that judicial affairs should always be treated by consulting justice and convenience. This spirit is clearly evinced in the 'Public Oath' attached to the code, which says: 'In Court the judge should never suffer his private sentiments to affect his decision. He should speak out whatever he considers just and whatever he knows, without fearing what his colleagues or powerful officials may think of him.' This is what put the Hōjō's code into good practical operation and made the Ashikaga Shōgunate, which supplanted that of the Hōjō, also preserve it and follow most of the examples set by the latter in the administration of justice. After the downfall of the Kamakura Shōgunate, frequent additions were made, and the whole bears the name of the '*Kembu Shikimoku.*' Subsequently to the ruin of the Ashikaga family, the Tokugawa

Shōgunate also took the '*Jōéi Shikimoku*' as a model for its laws, and it is not too much to say that the code on the whole forms the foundation of all the feudal laws in our history.

II.—*Period of the Tokugawa Shōgunate*

Towards the close of the third period, the power of the Ashikaga Shōgunate was gradually on the wane, and puissant warriors, conquering and settling themselves in various parts of the empire, were watching for an opportunity to gain ascendancy in the central Government. At last one of them, named Iyéyasu Tokugawa, quelled all his rivals and founded a new Shōgunate at Yédo (now Tōkyō). This Shōgun, with rare genius and broad understanding of State affairs both military and civil, was far-sighted enough to detect that when peace was once restored throughout the country, law would be the most efficient weapon for the control of the people. With this object in view, he caused three codes, now well known, to be compiled in the first year of Genna (1615). One of them, which was entitled the '*Buké Hatto*' ('Law for Military Men'), was intended to be binding on all military men from *daimyō* to *samurai* of every class; another, which was entitled the '*Kugé Hatto*' ('Law for Court Nobility'), was binding only on the Emperor and his courtiers at Kyōto; and the third, which was entitled the '*Sōké Hatto*' ('Law for Ecclesiastics'), on all bonzes or Buddhist priests, including those of the Five Cathedrals and Ten Temples. In those days these three classes, *buké*, *kugé*, and *sōké*, were the three greatest powers in society, although there was another class named *shomin*, which was much larger than the above-mentioned three, and included farmers, artisans, and merchants. People of this class, however, were not recognized as having anything to do with public affairs, and consequently had no law expressly made for them. The Shōgunate also, strictly adhering to the old precept, that 'a ruler had better make the people rely upon his rule and never let them know what it consists of'—a great secret of military government—always kept from their knowledge not only its own State policy, but also all laws and regulations concerning public order. This is referred to in the

'*Buké Hatto.*'

'One-Hundred-Articles Law.'

Tokugawa's Criminal Code, or the so-called 'One-Hundred-Articles Law of Tokugawa,'[1] compiled much later on, the closing sentence of which is worded as follows: 'This shall be read by no other men than the authorities.'

This seems to be because the author considered that to let common people know the laws and penalties would mean advising them to commit crime with impunity. Such regulations as were absolutely necessary for common people to know, however, were recorded in the *Gonin-gumi's* Statute-Books, to which all had free access, or were published by means of announcement boards or Government circulars. In remote villages, as often as a new edict was promulgated, the magistrates, by order of the feudal chiefs, governors, or such-like, either called together all the inhabitants and read them the text most carefully, or made pedagogues write it out and give it to each of their pupils as a copy-book. When a new edict required immediate publication, the magistrate had to send men to visit every one of the villagers and acquaint him with its contents. This latter usage has a near resemblance to the ancient Roman method of publishing new laws. No government, it may be stated, has been more ingenious than the Tokugawa Shōgunate in the art of controlling and keeping down the people.

In regard to the above-named three codes, it must be said that they contain few regulations regarding the relation between private rights and obligations, and go no further than determining the relation of the three classes to the Shōgunate, and giving some rules of morality to be observed by them. On the contrary, what is known by the name of 'Iyéyasu's *Hyakkajō*'[2] ('One-Hundred-Articles Law') contains regulations relating to private rights in its several different parts. Still it is not a law in the true sense of the word, but only the house-law of the Tokugawa family, which the great general drew up in the course of years and intended for his descendants only.[3]

'*Hyakkajō*.'

[1] The 'One-Hundred-Articles Law' was completed in 1790 by the Shōgun's Minister, Sadanobu Matsudaira.

[2] This must not be confounded with Tokugawa's 'One-Hundred-Articles Law' above referred to.

[3] It is this compilation which the last Shōgun referred to, as regulating his mode of conduct. See Chap. II, p. 63.

Accordingly, instead of being published, it was always carefully kept in the archives, and never read by any other persons than the Shōguns and their Premiers. However, it contains a few articles concerning the Tokugawa's fundamental principle for the administration of justice. For instance, in his commandment about the conservation of old forms and usages as a principle, the author says: 'All shall be conducted according to old customs and everything new is prohibited. What has been in vogue for half a century shall not be altered even if it be found wrong.' This plainly argues that the fundamental principle of the Tokugawa's legal institutions is to follow old laws and established usages, and we shall briefly state only what distinguishes the legal institutions of this period from those of the previous one.

1. *Usages and regulations relating to real rights and obligations.*—People were allowed to own land and subsequently to pledge and mortgage it. Permanent sale of land, however, was prohibited, and the seller could buy it back whenever he wished. The object of this was to prevent the growth of great landowners. This system, nevertheless, became gradually relaxed, until in some parts of the empire permanent sale of land came into existence as a custom under the name of forfeiture of mortgaged land.

Loans were very simply contracted. Among *shomin*, or common people, a bond was made, a time was specified for repayment, and in some cases a surety was also fixed; but where *samurai* were concerned, a contract was usually made verbally, very rarely in black and white. In those days when the so-called *bushidō*, peculiar to this country, ruled the *samurai*, and integrity and contentment with plain living were their characteristics, they regarded money as no better than dirt, while they respected their lord's will so highly that they would not hesitate to sacrifice their life in its execution, or for the sake of faith and chivalry, and they neither could nor would follow any money-making occupation. They were, therefore, distinguished by uprightness and poverty, so that the greater part of them were obliged to run into debt. Yet they would not make any written contracts, only swearing by their word that the debt should be paid at such and such a time.

In short, the proverbial saying, 'The *samurai* has but one word,' indicates the resolve of the true *bushi* to fulfil any promise or contract once made by word of mouth, and thus the German maxim, '*Ein Mann, ein Wort*' (One man, one word) found faithful practisers in an island thousands of miles distant. In the case when a *samurai* was obliged to make a contract in black and white, it was usual with him to word it after the form used by *bushi* about the era of Tenshō (1580), which ran as follows:

'If the undersigned should fail to pay the aforesaid sum of money, he will be no man.'

In course of time, this spirit of *bushidō* extended to the common people, who, about the era of Genji (1860), usually wrote in their bonds: 'In the event of my non-payment of the said amount of money, I declare, you may openly laugh at me before the eyes of other people.' All this is a clear proof that people were generally simple-hearted and honest, and never broke their promise, leaving questions of obligation to the sanction of morality.

2. *Usages and regulations relating to personal matters.*

(*a*) *Marriage.*—To enter into a marriage, the two parties had before all to get a go-between or middle-man, through whom the man made a formal proposal; at the same time he presented to the woman some article or articles. This present was called *yuinō*, or more popularly the sign of proposal. On this point the custom of the period under review differed widely from that of the first period, in which the woman had to give the man a token of betrothal. A marriage without a middle-man was contemptuously called a 'wild union,' and subjected to public censure. *Samurai* and men of the higher ranks could not contract a marriage without official sanction—a *bushi* of above ten thousand *koku* had to obtain the Shōgun's permission, and others the approval of the chief officers or officials. As for marriage between commoners, a written notice must be presented to the magistrate, by whom it was formally registered, but a marriage in which the husband and wife had a middle-man between them and proved themselves united *de facto* was considered legally valid. Again, a marriage was usually effected after the parties concerned had obtained the consent of

their respective parents, but provided the marriage was of legal validity in all other respects, this was not absolutely required.

(*b*) *Property relation between husband and wife.*—Considering that the husband was quite free to manage and dispose of the property of his wife as he pleased, they were evidently in joint possession of property. On divorce, what was in the direct possession of the wife must be returned to her, but in cases where the wife was divorced on account of adultery or any other criminal offence, such property had not to be given back.

(*c*) *Divorce.*—In the time of the Tokugawa Shōgunate the principle of the '*Taihō Ryō*,' that divorce requires a certain cause, was not enforced, and according to the '*Kéiséi Ikō*,' a husband might divorce his wife at any time provided he returned her what she brought with her when married. In fact, in those days there were not a few instances in which a wife was divorced simply on the pretext, or for the reason, that she 'did not suit the family.' Thus we see a husband might rid himself of his wife entirely at his will, but, on the other hand, a wife could also demand divorce from her spouse provided there existed one of the following two conditions:

(1) *If the husband had committed any grave offence.*
(2) *If the husband had absented himself without letting his destination be known and had sent home no information about himself for ten months.*—In such case, the father of the husband might agree to the divorce on the husband's behalf and give the wife a certificate of divorce. This is a usage peculiar to our family institution.

The existence of either of the following conditions was recognized as extinguishing the matrimonial relation between husband and wife, and releasing the latter from the possibility of an enforced continuation of the tie:

(1) *If the wife had left her husband's house, and entered a nunnery, where she had remained a nun for above three years.*

(2) *If the wife had left her husband's house, and returned to her father's, and yet no suit had been brought against her for the preceding three or four years.*

To get a divorce, the husband or wife had to give the other party a certificate of divorce, without which an actual disunion would not be recognized as such in the eye of the law, and would involve a penalty in the case of the husband marrying another woman, or the wife being married for the second time. A certificate of divorce was, as a rule, written in three lines and a half; hence it has usually been called 'a three-lines-and-a-half.' A man who changed his mind and interfered with the second marriage of his former wife, to whom he had given a certificate of divorce, was considered guilty, and condemned to proscription and tattooing, besides banishment.

(*d*) *Succession.*—In this period, succession was always to the eldest son, which system was termed *sōryō-hō* (primogeniture or succession by the eldest). On his succession the eldest son became the head of the house, succeeding to all the rights and obligations of his predecessor, whilst his brothers had to live by his support and could neither start a new house nor have any property of their own. On this point the institution of the period widely differs from that of the second period. When the head of a house reached the age of seventeen he must determine his heir in advance and procure official approval. In case of his death before fixing his heir, one of his nearest relatives was elected for his successor, and the choice was in most cases made by the parents or grand-parents of the deceased. A will, in which the head of the house declared his eldest son to be disinherited without assigning any reason, and designated his younger son as his successor, had no legal force in most cases, and where, owing to circumstances, it was considered valid, seventy per cent. of the money left behind was given to the eldest son, the remaining thirty per cent. going to the specified heir; all the other property in houses, furniture, land, &c., passed, of course, into the hands of the former.

The head of a house might resign or retire at any time when and after he was fifty.

(*e*) *Adoption.*—Originally only a relative by blood and of the same family name might be adopted. In any case an adoption must be settled before the adopter was fifty years old, and, if he was a *samurai*, with official acknowledgment. Such being the case, many houses in those days became extinct simply from want of an heir. However, an innovation was made in this usage about the middle of the Tokugawa age, when, if the head of a house was fifty years of age or more, he might make an adoption even at his last moment, provided he was dying of a sudden illness, and anyone might be adopted instead of a relative by blood only. From this time forward few houses were condemned to extinction.

Such are the main points of the private law of the Tokugawa Shōgunate. Last of all, it should be noticed that since every *han*, or feudal clan, was allowed autonomy by the Government, it was free to make laws and regulations of its own according to the usages and circumstances of the locality, provided they did not run counter to the main principles of the Shōgunate, so that among the different *han* a slight variation was found in usages and regulations.

The Fourth Period, or the Era of Méiji

With the downfall of the Tokugawa Shōgunate, military government came to an end, the old monarchy was restored, and there began the new enlightened era of Méiji. But in the early days of this epoch everything was a new departure; nothing took the regular course. In the first year of Méiji (1868) the present Emperor proclaimed the well-known 'Imperial Oath in Five Articles,' in which he said: 'All base customs that have hitherto existed shall be abolished, and justice and equity as they are universally recognized shall be followed.' And all the bad usages of the past were indeed uprooted. But there were not yet any new ones firmly established, nor were any new laws compiled to be substituted for the old. This circumstance obliged the Government to follow the old usages for the time being. Thus, in the 'Judicial Affairs Regulations' issued in the eighth year of Méiji (1875), it is provided that 'a civil case, for which there

'Judicial Affairs Regulations.'

is no written statute, shall be decided according to usage, and in default of usage by reason and justice.' From that time onwards, as our contact with the civilization of the West became closer, French, English, and German laws were more and more closely studied, and the result was that our judicial officers and lawyers, in spite of their affecting to follow our own customs and written statutes, in most cases formed their views upon whatever foreign jurisprudence they had studied. Thus precedents varied at different courts, so that suitors were often at a loss what course to take. This is, however, inevitable in a society which is in a transition stage, and these were the circumstances which made the nation aware of the necessity of preparing a civil code. There was another cause which pressed us to its compilation. The treaties of commerce of the day were found disadvantageous to our national rights and interests, and to revise them it was an absolute necessity to prepare and put in practice a good code beforehand if foreign residents in the empire were to be subjected to our jurisdiction. For these reasons the authorities assiduously took in hand the compilation of laws, and, after revising the drafts several times, completed the present Civil Code, which was put into operation on July 16, the thirty-first year of Méiji (1898).

The Civil Code.

(1) *The Civil Law.*—The Civil Code now in operation follows in the main the lines of European and American laws, but is partly based upon original usages and institutions. Its form is modelled after the modern Roman system, the whole being divided into five books—namely, (1) General Provisions; (2) Real Rights; (3) *Obligatio*; (4) Family; and (5) Succession. This is why the period of Méiji is sometimes called the period of reproduction of Western law. The following is a brief epitome of the Code in question:

(*a*) The Book of General Provisions divides persons, the subjects of private rights, into two classes, viz. natural persons and juridical persons, and formulates the fundamental principles regarding things which are the subjects of private rights; juristic acts, the causes of the growth and extinction of private rights caused by expression of intention; prescription,

which is the cause of acquisition and loss of private rights based on the provisions of the law, &c.

(*b*) In the Book of Real Rights, the authors term the right that directly governs a thing a 'real right,' and recognize nine classes of real rights, named ownership, possession, superficies, emphyteusis, servitude, possessory lien, preferential right, pledge, and mortgage, respectively. The first four kinds are the principal real rights, while the remaining four are subordinate. Again, the latter five may be securities for *obligatio*.

(*c*) The Book of *Obligatio* terms the right of demanding certain acts of a specified person *obligatio*, gives general provisions regarding the classes and the transfer and extinction of *obligatio*, and provides for contract, which is the source of obligation, business management (*negotiorum gestio*), unjust enrichment (*condictiones*), and wrongful acts (*delicta*).

(*d*) In the Books of Families and of Succession our old usages and laws are largely retained, and the whole forms a happy combination of the individualist institutions of modern Europe and the old family system peculiar to this country. Thus, in the Book of Families, the Chinese calculation of degrees is abolished, and relations by blood up to the sixth degree, husband, wife, and relatives by affinity up to the third degree inclusive, are called a family according to the Roman computation. An adopted son is recognized as being in the same relation as a natural one to the other members of the family. A house is regarded as the mere sphere of its headship with no personality, and, with a view to putting an end to the objectionable custom of early retirement from worldly affairs, it is provided that the headship of a house shall not be resigned before sixty years of age. Moreover, the Book of Families recognizes marriage as an act requiring formality, and regulates that a matrimonial union takes effect upon a notification to the registrar; recognizes mutual consent of the parties concerned and judicial decision as causes of divorce; establishes a legal arrangement concerning the property of husband and wife; provides that a husband or the female head of a house has a right to manage his wife's or her husband's property or to take the profits of it according to its established use, unless there is special arrangement made, and regards the wife as

representative of her husband in the every-day domestic affairs of the house.

(*e*) In the Book of Succession, succession to a house and heirship to property are recognized, the one being the succession to all the rights and duties of the deceased ancestor, and the other the succession to his rights and obligations pertaining to the property of the family. In the case of property left behind with no heir to receive it, it goes to the State Treasury.

Before quitting the present subject, let us add with pride that our Civil Code makes no distinction between Japanese and foreign subjects in their enjoyment of private rights.

The Commercial Law.

(2) *The Commercial Law.*—Before its codification, commercial law had no important place in our statutes and was regarded as a part of the civil law. The drafting of the law as an independent code was first taken up by the German jurist, Dr. von Roesler, but perhaps owing to the fact that the author was not a specialist in commercial law, and was lacking in the true knowledge of merchants and commercial affairs, his first draft when completed became the subject of depreciatory criticism in the sense that it followed the lines of foreign laws too much, running counter in many respects to native usages and institutions. Such being the case, only that part of the code treating of companies, bills, and bankruptcy, the operation of which seemed of urgent necessity, was put into practice on the 1st of July in the twenty-sixth year of Méiji (1893), and it was not until the 16th of June in the thirty-second year of Méiji (1899) that the whole of the Code came into force after complete revision. It is the present Commercial Law of the empire.

The Commercial Law is divided into five books. The first book, or the Book of General Provisions, contains, besides fundamental rules relating to commercial law in general, the provision that what is not specified in the Code shall be treated according to commercial usage. In the second book, or the Book of Companies, these are classified and recognized as a sort of juridical person; in the third book, Commercial Acts, the classes of commercial acts are enumerated and illustrated; in the fourth book, or the Book of Bills, three

kinds of bills, viz. drafts, promissory notes, and cheques, are recognized; and in the fifth book, or Book of Maritime Commerce, provisions concerning vessels, mariners, and the like are given. As for the Law of Bankruptcy, which was originally part of our Commercial Code, the Government prepared it as a special law entirely independent of the Commercial, for the reason that that branch of law should in its nature be compiled so as to be applicable equally to both commercial and civil affairs, and also for the purpose of making its revision easy. According to the Law of Bankruptcy now in force, proceedings in bankruptcy begin with an adjudication of bankruptcy; one under such adjudication loses the right of disposing of his own property, and when declared a bankrupt loses further a variety of rights appertaining to his status.

Conclusion

To conclude: In the history of Japanese legal institutions the second period in all respects greatly resembles the fourth, while the first is similar to the third; and when the former two periods are compared with the latter two, a striking contrast presents itself. To speak more plainly, the second period, or the period of imitation of Chinese institutions, and the fourth period, or the era of Méiji, have both a non-military system of government and well-made, written statutes; in the former period an imitation of Chinese law and in the latter a copy from European codes. On the contrary, the first period, or the period of aboriginal institutions, and the third period, or the period of *buké* laws, had a military system of government,[1] and were of a piece in the fact that both were practically governed by common law, though the latter had some written statutes, while the former had none. Again, when we look back upon the practical effect of the law in the past, we find that the '*Taihō Ritsu*' and '*Ryō*' in the second period gradually

[1] 'The first period, though nominally monarchical, is often called the oligarchic period, because in those days the so-called powerful clans each took a clan-name of its own, and the head of each clan was *de facto* its autocrat with all political and judicial authority, so that the jurisdiction of the Imperial Government could do nothing with him. Viewed from this fact, it is not too much to say that the first period was a period of military government comparable with the third.

lost their effect not long after their promulgation, till they came to be criticized as an embodiment of useless elaborations and unpractical formalities; whilst simple unwritten laws produced their desired effect and were eulogized as practical and wisely made. All this is, in our opinion, because the efficacy of a law depends not on the literary merit of the text but on its practical use, which in turn entirely depends upon the ability and competency of the authorities. The Taihō Code is no doubt a masterpiece as a product of so early an age, and yet it failed to bear fruit because it was too much for the judicial authorities of the time to understand thoroughly and make good use of, so as to keep in line with the advance of civilization. Furthermore, since about the eras Hōgén and Héiji (the middle of the twelfth century), wars broke out in rapid succession, so that people were too busy with military affairs to learn literature or study law-codes; and because there was then little intercourse with foreign nations and consequently no impetus from foreign sources, code-books were left worm-eaten in the dark corners of libraries, and people were comparatively few who made any effort to study them. This is undoubtedly one of the causes of the Taihō Code being buried in obscurity as a worthless antique in the age of military government. Just like the second period, our own has adopted foreign legal institutions; but, unlike the former, the latter has had executive authorities competent to make practical effective use of the codes. We are, however, bound to confess that, after only twenty years' experience in the execution of the present codes, we have already found them incongruous in many respects with our nationality and our customs; and the day must be drawing nigh in which we must work out a code purely of our own by dint of careful revision and by following the lessons given by many sister nations in the world.

XI

THE POLICE OF JAPAN

BARON KANÉTAKÉ ŌURA

New police system of Japan.

IN the beginning of the Méiji era the Japanese Government commenced an investigation of the police systems of various countries in Europe and an inspection of their actual working. By the acquisition of this knowledge it was enabled to establish a new police system suited to the national and traditional state of affairs in our country; this has since undergone modifications as occasion necessitated, and has now attained a condition of comparative perfection.

Though it may still be inferior, as regards its material equipment, to those of Europe and America, yet from the standpoint of morality, important and essential in such a force, we have much to be proud of, and in the future we shall hope to maintain this principle and carry it still further, paying special attention to improvement in technical points.

Police in the pre-Restoration period.

Kéisatsu ('police') is the new nomenclature adopted since the Restoration, but a system of constabulary was in force even in ancient times, having certain military and judicial functions to perform in addition to its ordinary business of preserving the public peace. After having gone through many vicissitudes, it received under the Tokugawa Government the name of the *Torishimari*. Its system and regulations seem to have been well adapted to the organization and condition of society in feudal times, and were quite efficient for the preservation of peace and order.

Soon after the Restoration the country was thrown into a whirlpool of disturbance, the newly established Government

Police in the early period of the Méiji era.

being unable to preserve order. Risings occurred in many places, and bloodshed and pillage kept the people in a state of constant apprehension and alarm. Nothing was more urgent at that time than a strong constabulary, and the Government, at once recognizing this, created a force in the first year of Méiji (1868) called the *Shichu Torishimari*, or 'town constables,' in the city of Yédo (Tōkyō), and those who had discharged the duties of police under the old Government were appointed to the same work under the new. But this force was soon disbanded, and soldiers from the various fiefs were summoned to the office of city police. In the next year (1869) soldiers chosen from the clans were organized into a brigade of *Fuhéi*, or 'city guards,' under the control of the Governor of the prefecture of Tōkyō. Again, in 1871, another change took place: three thousand *Rasotsu*[1] (policemen) were enlisted for the protection of the citizens, the city guards being disbanded at the same time. Thus a body of police was systematically formed for the first time in our country.

Police Bureau.

In 1872 the *Kéihōryō* (Police Bureau) was established in the Department of Justice to superintend all the police affairs of the empire, but in 1874 this bureau was transferred to the Home Department, and since then the police has been an important administrative section of that Department, being separated from other executive offices just as in Europe and America.

Metropolitan Police Office.

In Tōkyō the duties of the police were exceedingly numerous and complicated, and far more important than in the minor cities and towns. Therefore, in 1874, after examining the police systems of the capital cities of foreign countries, the *Kéishichō*, or 'Metropolitan Police Office,' was established, with a *Daikéishi* (Chief Inspector) at its head, and the transaction of all business connected with the police, fire brigades, and prisons in the city was placed under his control.

Local police system.

At this time, in every prefecture, Tōkyō excepted, police affairs were superintended by the local governor. Under him there were a number of *Kéibu*, or 'police sergeants,' who had command of constables and transacted the business of their office under the orders of the governor. Regulations for these

[1] The name of *Rasotsu* was changed to that of *Junsa* in 1875.

local police were drawn up for the most part on models furnished by the Metropolitan Police Office.

Abolition and re-establishment of the Metropolitan Police Office.

In 1877 the Metropolitan Police Office was made a bureau of the Home Department under the name of the *Kéishikyoku* (Board of Police), and the Chief Inspector was appointed as its head, his function being to superintend the police business of the whole country, and especially to take direct control of that of the capital. In 1881 the *Kéishicho* was re-established, with the *Kéishi Sōkan*, or 'Chief of Police,' at its head, and the administration of the municipal police affairs of Tōkyō was separated from the above-mentioned bureau, the latter's name being also changed to *Kéihōkyoku*. In the same year the office of *Kéibuchō*, or 'High Constable,' was created in every prefectural government (Tōkyō Prefecture excepted), the duty of this officer being to superintend policemen and to control local police affairs under the direction of the governor. The same year saw the establishment of a body of gendarmes (*Kempéi*), at first in Tōkyō only, but, by degrees, at the head-quarters of army divisions and in other specially important places.

Gendarmes.

Punitive functions.

Such is a brief history of the growth of the police system in our country since the beginning of Méiji. The reader will see that it has undergone various transformations and made considerable progress. In the first years of Méiji, as a consequence of the civil war, there was not lacking a rough element which, dissatisfied with the new Government, watched for an opportunity to rise against it. Moreover, many ruffians at large constituted a danger to the people. The main object of the police at that time was to arrest these malcontents and bravadoes. Consequently the principal function of the constabulary necessarily remained of a punitive character. They could not discharge their proper administrative duties; so that the people in general came to look upon them with terror instead of regarding them as reliable guardians of life and property. But in 1875 the Government, for the first time, promulgated Administrative Police Regulations by which the object and sphere of action of the police were clearly defined. Since that time the Government has done its best to give effect to these regulations by preventing crime in preference to

Administrative Police Regulations.

punishing it, preserving general order and peace, and attending to sanitary matters. The proper functions of the police have thus come into full exercise, and the force now appearing in quite a different aspect, the people acknowledge its efficiency and necessity and willingly place themselves under its protection.

Police Executive Law.

The year 1900 saw the promulgation of the Executive Law, which, among other things, clearly defined the capacities of the police, so that the system made another stride forward.

Organization, jurisdiction, and expenditure.

As the organization of our police system is both harmonious and compact, its machinery and working are simpler in character and better defined than those of Western countries.

General police affairs.

The *Naimushō* (Department of Home Affairs) has the general control of all the police business of the empire and superintends the local police offices.

The *Kéihōkyoku* (Police Bureau) in the Home Department directly transacts business relating to police affairs. There are, it is true, some police affairs administered by other departments, but the greater part of the administration is under the jurisdiction of the Home Department.

Local police affairs.

In every prefecture, except Tōkyō, the governor superintends the police affairs of the locality, and the office where business is transacted is called the *Kéisatsubu*, or 'Local Police Office,' with a Chief Constable as its head. Under him there are a *Kéishi* (police inspector), *Kéibu* (police sergeants), and *Junsa* (constables). In every county or district there is a police station and several branch offices, with many outstations and sub-offices.

Metropolitan police affairs.

The police affairs in Tōkyō are necessarily so numerous and complicated that they cannot be left to the supervision of the Governor of the Tōkyō Prefecture. Hence the *Kéishichō* (Metropolitan Police Office) has been established to control matters in the Metropolis, with the Chief of Police at its head, as is the case in almost every European capital. The Metropolitan Office is organized on a larger scale as regards its sphere of action and constituent parts than any local police office, and it has a specially organized fire brigade.

The Minister of Home Affairs, by virtue of his prerogative or special trust, may issue departmental ordinances dealing

with the police, and may inflict a maximum fine of twenty-five *yen* or pronounce sentence of imprisonment for not more than twenty-five days. If he considers any orders or proceedings of the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Office or of the local governors to be inconsistent with the established laws, injurious to public welfare, or in excess of their authority, he may suspend or nullify such orders or proceedings.

Functions of different officials.

The Chief of Police, being under the superintendence and orders of the Ministers of State, supervises the affairs of the police and of the fire brigade in the capital, and with regard to the higher police business he receives orders from the Premier and the Home Minister, while as to the general police affairs, he has competence to issue ordinances operative throughout the whole or a part of his jurisdiction. With respect to his own duties, he superintends the chief officials of all islands, counties, cities, towns, and villages belonging to the prefecture of Tōkyō.

The governor of a prefecture, by the orders and under the superintendence of the Minister of Home Affairs, is invested with the same power as regards the police of his locality as the Chief of Police is entrusted in the matter of issuing ordinances.

Besides the issue of ordinances, the Chief of Police and the local governors have power to impose fines below ten *yen*, or punishment by detention, and they may suspend or nullify orders or proceedings of the district head-men under their superintendence, if they consider such orders or proceedings inconsistent with the established laws or injurious to the public.

The *Kéibuchō*, or 'Chief Constable,' manages police business in obedience to the orders of the local governor.

The *Kéishi*, or 'police inspector,' is appointed as head of each bureau of the Metropolitan Police Office, or of a local police office, or to be chief of a police station, transacting assigned duties in obedience to the orders of his superiors.

Kéibu, or 'police sergeants,' are attached to the several sections of the Metropolitan Police Office, local offices, police stations, or branch offices. They discharge their allotted business under the control of their superiors, and direct and

superintend the policemen under them. They may also be appointed in charge of police stations or branch offices.

Gendarmerie.

In addition to the ordinary police system, there is that already referred to called the *Kempéi*, or 'gendarmerie,' which chiefly performs the duty of military police under the control of the War Minister. It also performs certain administrative and judicial functions, but only under the direction of the Home and Justice Ministers respectively. The gendarmerie does its police work in accordance with certain laws and regulations, but it has no authority to issue police orders.

Army as auxiliary to police.

When policemen and gendarmes are insufficient to preserve public peace, recourse is had to the army, which is made an auxiliary instrument of the police. According to the regulations of the local government, when a governor finds himself in a condition so difficult as to require the aid of troops for suppressing malcontents or maintaining public peace and order, he must communicate with the commander of the division or brigade in his locality, reporting the situation and asking for military assistance. In an extraordinary case when a state of siege is proclaimed, the police in the district affected are placed under the control of the said commander, and the police administration of the district, being closely related to military affairs, is entrusted to him.

Police expenditure.

As to the expenditure of the police organization, the salaries and travelling expenses of all the officials above common policemen are defrayed out of the National Treasury. The expenditure in connection with common policemen, buildings, and the expenses of maintaining the offices are principally defrayed from local treasuries, but some assistance is given by the National Treasury.

Statistical table.

The following is a statistical table of the police establishments in the empire (on June 1, 1904):

The Metropolitan Police Office	1
Local Police Offices	46
Police Stations	654
Branch Stations	662
Police Boxes	1,992
Out-stations	12,166

The Chief of Police	1
Chief Constables	46
Inspectors	117
Police Sergeants	1,855
Policemen	31,454

The ratio of police officials to the population is about one official to each 1357 units.

Regulations relating to the police.

By consulting the laws of Western countries, our laws and ordinances relating to the police have been constantly modified and revised to suit the changes of society and the progress of civilization. As these laws and ordinances are exceedingly numerous and multiform, it is almost impossible to describe all of them, and only the most important can be treated here. There are, moreover, numerous other orders issued by the Chief of Police and local governors to suit the conditions of particular localities.

I.—Fundamental Laws relating to the Police System

(a) *The Constitution of the Empire of Japan (proclaimed* 1889)

Fundamental laws relating to the police system.

Art. 9. The Emperor issues, or causes to be issued, the ordinances necessary for the carrying out of the laws, or for the maintenance of the public peace and order, and for the promotion of the welfare of the subjects.

(b) *Regulations relating to the Administrative Police (drawn up* 1875)

Administration.

These regulations defined for the first time in Japan the sphere and aim of police authority, and indicated the functions of police administration. We mention here some important articles of these regulations:

Art. 1. The object of the administrative police is to anticipate evils threatening the people and so to preserve the latter's safety.

Art. 2. The local governor (except in the prefecture of Tōkyō) superintends the police affairs of the locality, appoints

police sergeants to their respective duties, and dispatches them, whenever necessary, to different places, to overlook policemen in the discharge of their duties.

Art. 3. The business of the police is divided into the four following parts:

(1) Protecting the people from wrong-doers.
(2) Acting as sanitary inspectors.
(3) Checking lewdness and profligacy.
(4) Detecting and providing against persons who contemplate acts contrary to the established laws of the land.

Art. 5. The police shall aim at preserving public welfare, and in no case shall one pry into the petty incidents of family affairs, nor abuse his position and power to gain profit for himself.

(c) *The Executive Law* (1900)

Executive Law.

By this law the authority of the administrative office is clearly defined, and the manner and methods of compulsion in general administrative functions are for the first time determined. It also defines the sphere of police actions regarding liberty of person, sanctity of domicile, change of residence, and rights of property. We give here the body of the law:

Art. 1. The administrative office may order the necessary detention of drunkards, insane people, those who intend suicide, and others who are considered to need the restraint of the law, and may deprive them of their weapons and any other dangerous instruments, and keep them under custody for a time. Against those who have acted with violence, quarrelled, or threatened the public peace, the same action may be taken. The detention should not extend beyond sunset of the day following arrest, and the time of holding weapons or instruments should not exceed thirty days.

Art. 2. The said authorities shall not enter any house without the consent of its occupants between sunset and sunrise, except when the life, body, or property of some person inside is considered to be in imminent danger, or when gambling or unlicensed prostitution is suspected of being committed therein. But this rule does not apply to hotels, restaurants, and other places which people resort to at night.

Art. 3. In case the police authorities arrest an unlicensed prostitute, they may cause her to undergo a sanitary examination, and in case they consider it necessary, may cause her to enter a hospital at her own expense or at the expense of the person who has acted as her accessory; and if both parties are found unable to meet the said expense, it may be paid out of the police funds. The restriction of residence and other restraints on the people whose occupations require surveillance in the interest of public morality are determined by order of the authorities.

Art. 4. In case of natural calamities or serious accidents, or in special cases indicated by Imperial ordinances, the said authorities, to avert danger and in the interests of public sanitation, may use and dispose of land and commodities, or grant the use of them under certain conditions.

Art. 5. To enforce proceedings, whether positive or negative, which are directed by laws or ordinances, or to carry out restrictions resulting from these laws or ordinances, the said authorities may act as follows:

(1) They may require a responsible person to perform necessary acts, or may cause a third person to perform them for him, and may make him defray the expense thereof.

(2) They may impose a fine not exceeding twenty-five *yen* in case of a third person being unable to perform a necessary act in place of the responsible party, or in case of enforcing the prohibition of any act which is contrary to ordered restrictions. These proceedings, however, are not lawful if the authorities fail to caution the transgressors of their illegal acts by way of preliminary, unless the case is urgent, when the offence may be dealt with according to Rule No. 1.

When the authorities consider that Rule No. 1 cannot be put into practice in punishing people for illegal actions, whether positive or negative, and in the absence of urgent circumstances, direct compulsion may not be resorted to.

Art. 6. The expenses referred to in Arts. 3 and 5, and the fine

in Art. 5, may be collected according to the regulations of the tax-collecting law. The administrative office has precedence in the receipt of such money next after the national taxes.

The expenses referred to in No. 1, the temporary payment of a fine pending its payment by the responsible person, the ownership of the money, and other necessary items are fixed by Imperial ordinance.

Art. 7. When such things as may not be privately owned unless the Government acknowledges or permits their possession are put under the custody of the administrative office and the right of possession cannot be recognized, they accrue to the National Treasury. As regards things which have been under temporary custody and have not been claimed for a full year, the same rule holds good.

II.—Regulations concerning the Higher Police

(a) *Police Regulations for the Preservation of Peace*

The most important provisions are as follow:

Regulations concerning the Higher Police.

(1) Exercise of control over public meetings, associations, and parties consisting of large numbers of men for the purpose of making a demonstration.

(2) Exercise of control in connection with the posting or distribution of writings and paintings in public thoroughfares or in places open to traffic.

(3) Exercise of authority in connection with the labour question, involving the personal interests of employers and employees.

(4) Exercise of control over the conveyance of firearms, explosives, and cases and other things containing dangerous weapons.

(b) *Order of Premonition*

This provides that the Chief of Police or a local governor shall be empowered to restrain any persons (i.e. to cause them to do or not to do a certain thing), with a view to the preservation of public peace and order, in case he deems that they come within the purview of the paragraphs specified below:

(1) Persons who, being without any fixed occupation, are generally known to be disposed to vehement argument or turbulent conduct.

(2) Those who have obstructed or attempt to obstruct meetings organized by other persons.

(3) Those who, interfering in the affairs of other persons, whether public or private, have obstructed or attempt to obstruct other men's freedom of action.

(4) Those who have employed the persons mentioned in paragraphs (1) to (3), with the object of causing obstructions as described in paragraphs (2) and (3).

III.—Regulations with regard to the Administrative Police

Regulations with regard to the Administrative Police.

(*a*) For the control of arms and ammunition.
(*b*) For the control of electrical enterprises.
(*c*) In regard to lost articles.
(*d*) Game Regulations.
(*e*) For the protection of emigrants.
(*f*) For the control of dealers in second-hand articles.
(*g*) For the control of pawnbrokers.
(*h*) In regard to houses of correction.
(*i*) In regard to fire brigades.
(*j*) For the relief of sufferers from marine disasters.
(*k*) For dealing with travellers who have fallen sick or are found dead.
(*l*) For the control of lotteries of the nature of *Tomikuji*.
(*m*) For the prohibition of smoking by youths under age.

IV.—Regulations respecting the Sanitary Police

Regulations respecting the Sanitary Police.

(*a*) For the protection of lunatics.
(*b*) For the prevention of epidemics.
(*c*) Harbour Quarantine Regulations.
(*d*) Railway Epidemic Inspection Regulations.
(*e*) Shipping Quarantine Regulations.
(*f*) For the control of foods and beverages and other such articles.
(*g*) For the control of dairies.

(*h*) For the control of dealers in ice.

(*i*) For the control of dealers in refreshing beverages.

(*j*) For the control of trade in artificial saccharine.

(*k*) For the control of injurious dyes or paints.

(*l*) Concerning utensils used for holding foods or beverages.

(*m*) For the prevention of contagious diseases among animals.

(*n*) In regard to precautions against excreta of diseased cattle.

(*o*) For precautionary measures concerning pest germs.

(*p*) In regard to precautions against excreta of the diseased lungs.

(*q*) Opium Regulations.

(*r*) Patent Medicine Regulations.

(*s*) In regard to dealers in *materia medica* and the method of handling the same.

(*t*) In regard to Japanese pharmacy.

(*u*) For the removal of refuse and night soil.

V.—Regulations with regard to the Judicial Police

Regulations with regard to the Judicial Police.

(*a*) Law of criminal procedure.

(*b*) In regard to the duties to be discharged by the Judicial Police.

Police education.

Spiritual and physical culture.

As already stated, the police affairs of our country were originally in the hands of persons of the *samurai* class. Hence it was that the fundamental principles of police education were taught to consist of two practical virtues, namely, absolute fidelity, and skill in military accomplishments. As police officials who, in the discharge of their duties, are brought into direct contact with the people, have to exercise strict impartiality in their dealings with the latter, it was found necessary to inspire them with the spirit of the *samurai* and educate them chiefly with a view to their moral character.

Thus, simultaneously with the inculcation of the moral principles or *Samuraism* for the education of personal character, the arts of fencing and *jūjutsu* were greatly encouraged among the police for the development of their physical powers,

the result being that after the Restoration the greatest experts in these arts were to be found among police officials. It is particularly to be noted that, in 1877, when the South-Western Rebellion broke out under the leadership of the late General Saigō, a police brigade, organized from the officers and men of the Metropolitan Police Office, was sent to the front. The brigade thus organized came to be known as the 'Drawn-Sword Corps,' and having displayed no small valour in the campaign, won for the police in general a reputation which is still green in the memory of the people.

Training of policemen.

In 1881 an Imperial edict was issued to the effect that the constitutional form of government would be adopted in 1890, and it became necessary to improve the system of police education in such a way as to make it compare with the systems of Western nations by providing all the forms of instruction or training which were deemed indispensable for a constitutional country. With this in view, a police training school was established for the first time in Tōkyō in 1885, the students admitted being chiefly selected from among the police officials of the various prefectures throughout the empire. These were instructed in all branches of knowledge essential to policemen, a part of the instruction being entrusted to Mr. Wilhelm Hoehn, a Prussian police captain, and to another gentleman engaged for that purpose. Prior to this, in 1876, measures were taken by the Metropolitan Police Office to secure the services of a French lawyer, Dr. Gambetgrose, as adviser to the police, and also to lecture on the French Criminal Code to the members of the training school. The school was closed in 1889 after existing five years, during which period a large number of students received a suitable education.

The year 1899, the date fixed for the revised treaties with the various countries of Europe and America to come into force, was now approaching when foreigners would be allowed to enjoy the privilege of residence in the interior, and the duty of protecting their lives and properties would be undertaken by our police. As a preliminary arrangement to meet this contingency—a change which involved the necessity of dealing with aliens whose customs and manners were at variance with our own—a police and prison school was established in the same year, admitting

policemen from the various prefectures, who were selected as possessing qualifications rendering them fit for police sergeants or inspectors in the future. These were taught such branches of knowledge as were absolutely indispensable, their instructors being, beside the Japanese staff, two Prussian police lieutenants, Karl Krueger and Edward von Keudell. After three years the term for which these two experts had been engaged came to an end and their services were dispensed with, but the school was continued six years altogether, until, in 1904, the number of students trained there had reached over a thousand, and the graduates had been distributed throughout the empire to fill various posts of trust.

Besides the above institutions, there has been established in each prefecture a separate school where applicants for the posts in the police who pass the necessary examination are taught the essential duties incumbent upon them as official guardians of the people. Again, just before and after the revised treaties came into operation, the teaching of English to policemen was commenced, and those who had completed a prescribed course were dispatched to police stations in important localities to serve as police interpreters.

With regard to the education of the Sanitary Police, measures were taken first to send officials to the Sanitary Institute organized by the Japanese Sanitary Association, in order that when they graduated they might be qualified to teach policemen in their prefectures.

As for instruction in criminal duties, a training-school was opened within the precincts of the Metropolitan Police Office, so that students specially sent up from prefectures might be admitted for the necessary instruction. This system of instruction has been continued up to the present day.

Japan's efforts in connection with the police were so eminently successful that in 1900, just after the Boxer trouble, students were received from China to be trained as police instructors under the superintendence of the Metropolitan Police Office. This has been continued up to the present day, and scores of Chinese have completed the prescribed course of study, not a few of them being now employed in important positions in their own country. Many Japanese, too, have been

engaged as police instructors in China, and are actively employed educating the police officials of that empire. The more important of such advisers were once head inspectors of police stations in Japan. Another institution which has indirectly afforded, and still continues to afford, no small benefit in the education of police, is the Police Association, which was organized in 1900. It comprises all the police officials of the empire, its aim being to encourage the police in their studies, both civil and military, to foster morality, to secure progress in our police organization, and to firmly establish friendly relations between the various members of the Association. In pursuance of these aims a monthly magazine under the name of *Kéisatsu Kyōkai Zasshi*, or *Journal of the Police Association*, is published, the membership of the Association having reached over 30,000 in number.

Police Association.

XII

PRISONS AND PRISONERS

SHIGÉJIRŌ OGAWA, D.C.L. (JAPAN), AND KŌSUKÉ TOMÉOKA

Punishment of crimes in ancient days.

IN ancient times, when intellectual development was still in its lower stages in Japan and society was not yet complicated in its organization, the punishment of crimes was exceedingly simple. There was no penalty, in the legal sense of the word, imposed upon a nobleman who committed a crime, but, according to its nature, he had either to be put to death by way of retaliation, to purify himself by chanting prayers before a shrine, to atone for his crime with part or all of his possessions, or to be deprived of the use of his family name and become a servant to some other nobleman. Similar impositions were inflicted for offences committed by a person belonging to the class of retainers, or *samurai*, whom his lord had to judge. Legal punishment was enforced only on commoners and the lowest classes. The distinction between these three classes, from the penal point of view, appears to have been retained until just prior to the opening of our country to foreign intercourse.

The earliest recorded instance of a person of high rank being punished for an offence occurs in 400 A.D., on the accession of the Emperor Richū, when Azumi Hamako, participator in a conspiracy fomented against the Sovereign by Prince Naka, was held under arrest, but, by the special grace of the Emperor, escaped capital punishment and was set at liberty after having merely had a mark tattooed on his skin, while his accomplices were sentenced to hard labour for a certain period of time. A little later (in 435 A.D.), in the reign of Inkyō, his daughter Karu-no-Ōiratsumé was transported for an offence, the first

recounted instance of exile. The twenty-first Emperor, Yūryaku, punished crimes with more severity than any of his predecessors, and extended the death penalty to many offences which had previously been regarded only as minor crimes.

It follows that where there were criminals to be punished there must have been a prison in which to confine them, yet history is silent concerning one until we come to 483 A.D., in the reign of the twenty-second Emperor, Séinéi, who is recorded to have inspected the prisoners in person—a record which suggests that there existed some place of confinement at that time.

'Hot-water ordeal.'

As to the method of distinguishing right from wrong, the *kugadachi*, something resembling a hot-water ordeal, was resorted to. In the reign of the fifteenth Emperor, Ōjin, two brothers were tried by this method at Shiki-no-Kawakami, as they could not agree which should succeed to their father's estate. This is one of the most conspicuous examples of trial by the *kugadachi*, which appears to have been employed mainly in civil cases. More lately, trials by this method occurred from time to time under the names of *yugishō* (ordeal by boiling water) and *higishō* (ordeal by fire).

There were two officers of criminal affairs, called *Tomobé* and *Mononobé*. The former, which was also called *Yéfu*, was entrusted with the apprehension of offenders, while the latter's function was the infliction of punishment upon them.

The Constitution by Prince Shōtoku.

When in later times social conditions grew more complicated, the necessity of enacting laws became urgent. In the reign of the Empress Suiko a Constitution compiled by the Crown Prince Shōtoku was promulgated (604 A.D.). Forty-two years later (646 A.D.), in the reign of Kōtōku, Prince Naka-no-Ōyé (afterwards the Emperor Tenchi) succeeded in effecting a fundamental change in the political system of the empire. The government, which had previously been patriarchal in its form, now came to be conducted in conformity with law; eight departments and various other offices were organized, and regulations were established as to the head-gear and dress to be worn by persons of different grades. The necessity of making a systematic whole of such laws and ordinances resulted in the compilation of a code called '*Ōmi Ryō*,' consisting of twenty-two volumes, which was made by Kamatari in obedience

The '*Ōmi* Code.'

to the order of the Emperor Tenchi (671 A.D.). These reforms, however, were carried into practice only in the central Government. Both the Emperors Temmu and Mommu introduced amendments into the Tenchi Code; and in the first year of Taihō (701 A.D.), in Mommu's reign, Prince Oshikabé and Fujiwara-no-Fuhito compiled six volumes of laws and eleven of ordinances. This new code, which was called the '*Taihō Ritsuryō*,' was further improved, sixteen years later, by the same Fuhito, being now expanded into ten volumes of laws and as many of ordinances.

The 'Taihō Code.'

Old judicial administration.

According to the 'Taihō Code,' the Department of Justice (*Gyōbushō*) was to manage judiciary affairs and those relating to prisons. The Department had under it a bureau called 'prison office,' which had to do with imprisonment, and in which there were forty armed gaolers (*mononobé*) and twenty sub-gaolers (*mononobétéi*). When informed of offences of theft, murder, or gambling, the *Yéfu*, or *Yémon* (a central office for military men on guard at the gates of the Imperial Palace), would dispatch soldiers to the place to arrest the offender and then deliver him up to the *Gyōbushō*: for this purpose there was a lock-up (*kokkinjo*) attached to the *Yéfu*. The modes of punishing criminals were five in number: (1) Capital punishment (by strangulation or by beheading); (2) transportation (to a small, a great, or greater distance); (3) imprisonment with labour (for from one to three years); (4) flogging with a stick (the number of blows being from sixty to a hundred); (5) flogging with a whip (the number of blows being from ten to fifty). In the case of persons who would not confess, examination by torture was usually resorted to.

Ancient modes of imprisonment.

As to modes of imprisonment, anyone who committed a crime against a particular individual or individuals was not imprisoned, but was merely placed in charge of one of his or her relatives until he or she appeared in a court of law to confront his or her accuser or accusers; whereas a criminal who had sinned against the public at large was confined in a particular manner called *sankin*. Every person sentenced to be punished by flogging or more severely, and who was dismissed from office in consequence of the offence, was thrown into a stockaded prison, that is, incarcerated in the literal sense of the word.

Such a method was called locking-up (*kokkin*). There was another mode of imprisonment called *kōkin*, or binding the arms while in prison. This was employed in the case of every offender sentenced to hard labour or other severer punishments; and there was still another mode for felons condemned to death, on whose necks a kind of cangue was put, whilst they were at the same time placed in the stocks. A man or woman condemned to exile was not fettered at all. Male prisoners were separated from females, and no furniture except straw mats was allowed to either sex in prison, the use of paper, pens, and knives being also strictly prohibited. When any of the prisoners was seized by sickness, he or she was examined by a prison physician, who prescribed medicine according to the state of the patient, the cangue and fetters being removed from the patient's neck and feet for the time being. A female prisoner about to be delivered of a child was given in charge of a relative and permitted to stay with the latter till thirty days had elapsed after parturition, when she was summoned back to prison and confined as at first; but in case she was a felon sentenced to death, she had to meet her doom twenty days after child-birth.

Adaptation of the Tang legal system.

It appears probable that our ancient laws and ordinances were established with reference to the legal system of the Tang era in China. The cangue, for instance, had never been heard of in early times, nor was it employed in later ages; it was evidently adopted from the Chinese. The period during which some of the Emperors successively resided at Nara (the eighth century) saw the same methods applied to noble prisoners also. In the era of Tempyō (729–48 A.D.) Prince Shioyaku and his four concubines were sentenced to transportation, after having been confined for some time in a gaol at Nara; while a Court noble, named Ono-no-Azumabito, was punished by flogging. Several princes and Court nobles who were accused of grave offences in a great and well-known criminal case in 757 A.D. were tortured to death in the course of their examination; their accomplice, Otonawa, the third son of the *Udaijin* (Minister of the Right) Fujiwara-no-Toyonari, was put in prison with his arms bound, and was afterwards handed over to officials sent from the Emperor. Such treatment of noble

prisoners, however, gradually fell into disuse after the capital was removed to Kyōto in the ninth century.

In the course of time, when the military classes throughout the country became more powerful, the number of outcasts and bandits increased very largely, and to meet these exigencies improvements in the existing system of arresting criminals became imperative. Accordingly, towards the close of the reign of Saga (about 820 A.D.), a Police Department (*Kébiishichō*) was established in Kyōto, its functions being to preside over all officials of the *Yéfu* whose duty was to arrest criminals, all public procurators, judges, and Government officials who lodged information against any offender. Later, magistrates (*kado-no-osa*) were dispatched to various places in the country around Kyōto, in order that incendiarism and murder might be prevented, and for the arrest of bandits. Each magistrate had judges under his command, who were called *Tsuihoshoku*, and appointment to this office soon became an object of aspiration among military men, and all matters concerning the punishment and imprisonment of criminals consequently fell into the same hands as those which administered justice to military men according to martial law. Naturally there followed a tendency to inflict punishment mainly on offenders who belonged to the lower classes of the people, persons in any official capacity being seldom subjected to the disgrace of arrest.

Kébi-ishichō.

The military class continued to acquire greater power, until in 1186 Minamoto-no-Yoritomo assumed the title of *Sōtsuihoshi* (Chief Superintendent of Police). Having laid the foundation of the Shōgun's Government at Kamakura, he established a code of laws for the special purpose of controlling the military men; but it is a remarkable fact that the nobility attached to the Emperor and the people under their jurisdiction remained in the same condition as before, so far as concerned the laws and ordinances they had to observe.

The Kamakura Shōgunate.

In the first year of Jōéi (1232), Yasutoki Hōjō, Regent of the Kamakura Shōgunate, established the '*Séibai Shikimoku*' (Laws for the Administration) Code, which is popularly called the '*Jōéi Shikimoku.*' This code, which consisted of fifty-one articles, was founded upon the various

The '*Jōéi Shiki-moku.*'

practices of the *Shugo*, officials sent by the Shōgunate to the respective provinces to oversee the conduct of the governors and at the same time to assist the latter in putting down rebels, as well as of the *Monchūsho*, the Department of Justice in the Shōgun's Government, was compiled with careful reference to the '*Yōrō Ritsuréi*' and to other laws and ordinances operative in earlier times. It was frequently modified and supplemented according to the exigencies of the times, but it may be said to have formed the foundation of our law in the feudal age, for it not only remained unchanged in spirit through all the times during which the three illustrious families of Ashikaga, Oda, and Toyotomi held the administrative control in succession, but its essential parts were adopted by the Tokugawa Shōgunate as well.

Legal system of the Kamakura Shōgunate.

There were at that time two high courts of law in the empire. All provinces lying to the east of the Hakoné mountains were under the jurisdiction of the one held at Kamakura, while those to the west were under that of the court at Rokuhara in Kyōto. Each of these tribunals gave orders concerning criminal cases to the governors of the various provinces, districts, and small domains under its own jurisdiction, but as to civil suits, it left them to be decided by provincial judges at their own discretion. The kinds of punishment then inflicted on criminals were as follows: (1) Major punishment, which consisted in (*a*) confinement (for which flogging with a whip or a stick might be substituted), (*b*) banishment (for which imprisonment with labour might be substituted), (*c*) transportation, and (*d*) capital punishment. (2) Minor punishment, which consisted in, first (for the military classes), (*a*) *méshikomé* (apprehension and confinement), (*b*) *chokkan* (degradation by the Emperor), (*c*) *kaikan* (dismissal from office), (*d*) *joseki* (erasure of the criminal's name from the registry), (*e*) *méshikinji* (apprehension and confinement in gaol), (*f*) *katai* (reprimand for negligence), (*g*) *kaiéki-shoshoku* (deprivation of office), (*h*) *éifuka-shōnin* (dismissal from office for ever) (*i*) *shoryō-méshihanashi* (deprivation of a fief); and, secondly (for the common people), (*a*) *karyō* (imposal of a fine), (*b*) *kessho* (confiscation of estate), (*c*) *natsukain* (branding), and (*d*) *hantéibin* (shaving the head on one side).

The '*Kembu Shikimoku* Code.'

In later times, when the Hōjō Regency began to lose the confidence of the people, the Emperor Godaigo availed himself of the opportunity to wrest the administrative power from the hands of the Shōgun and restore it to his own Imperial Family. With this end in view, he managed to gain over many military men and priests to his side, and after several years of fighting he succeeded in accomplishing his object. Court nobles, priests, and military men were now entrusted with the management of Government affairs, although such a *régime* could hardly give satisfaction to any class of the people. It came to an end when Takauji Ashikaga, rising in power, re-established the Shōgun's Government and grasped the administrative power. He enacted a code of laws based upon the '*Jōéi Shikimoku*,' and called '*Kembu Shikimoku*,' the ruling principle being that reward and punishment should be more equitably dispensed. The Court nobles and other malcontents, however, opposed him in all his attempts, and war ensued and continued for scores of years, resulting in the growth of many feudal families in various parts of the country. For thirteen generations of the Ashikaga Shōgunate this conflict continued, going from bad to worse, until matters culminated in an age troubled by general and constant war, and called the 'disturbed era of Ōnin.' But just at this time two heroes, Oda and Toyotomi, appeared in succession, and having subjugated the whole empire, restored peace. But the spirit of bloodshed fostered in a country given up for so long to fighting and slaughter could not be easily dealt with, and consequently the Penal Code then in force was exceedingly strict and cruel.

The '*Kugé Hatto*' and '*Buké Hatto*,' two codes of the Tokugawa period.

When Tokugawa Iyéyasu had completed the work commenced by Oda and Toyotomi and secured his sway as Shōgun over the whole country, he proceeded to enact, in consultation with Akizané Nijō, Regent Minister of the Emperor, the '*Kugé Hatto*,' consisting of seventeen articles (a code of laws for the nobility attached to the Court), and, at the same time, to compile the '*Buké Hatto*' (a code of laws for the military classes)—an improvement on the two earlier codes of '*Jōéi Shikimoku*' and '*Kembu Shikimoku*' (1615). These new codes served as a constitution defining the respective rights and duties of officials both in the Imperial and the Shōgun's

Government. In 1636, when the *régime* of the Tokugawa Shōgunate was finally consolidated under the third Shōgun, Iyémitsu, the *Hyōjōsho* (Supreme Court) and the *Bugyōsho* (magistrate's office, possessing judicial functions) were established, to administer justice to all. The eighth Shōgun, Yoshimuné, always anxious to see justice properly administered, promoted Tadasuké Ōoka from obscurity to the rank of the *Bugyō* of Yédo, and he soon showed himself worthy of his lord's gracious notice. Being well aware that people were frequently snared by their own ignorance into committing crimes, Yoshimuné took the greatest pains to make them acquainted with the laws and regulations then in practice. He enjoined the governors of provinces and districts to admonish all under their jurisdiction against ignoring the laws; he distributed among the *Nanushi* (head-men of villages) copies of pamphlets containing seventy articles of law, with orders that the contents should be read once a month by every head-man to the villagers assembled for the purpose. The *Hyōjōsho* above referred to had general control over all matters relating to the administration of justice, and its members, who were called *Hyōjōshū*, consisted of the *Rōjū* (Ministers of State), the *Jisha-Bugyō* (Commissioners of Temples and Shrines), the *Ōmétsuké* (officials whose duty it was to inspect and report upon the conduct of feudal chiefs), the *Kanjō-Bugyō* (Commissioners of Finance), and the *Machi-Bugyō* (magistrate of a city, possessing judicial functions). The affairs of this court were managed in three offices, namely, the *Kanjō-Bugyōsho*, the *Jisha-Bugyōsho*, and the *Machi-Bugyōsho*: the first to examine and decide upon criminal cases concerning the *Hatamoto* (the immediate vassals of the Shōgun) and some other high classes of people; the second, upon those concerning high priests and keepers of Shintō shrines; and the last—of which there were two in the city of Yédo, one in the northern and the other in the southern part—upon all crimes committed by persons who belonged to the middle and lower classes. Matters relating to prisons were entrusted also to the *Machi-bugyō*, who from time to time sent *Yoriki* (constables), *Dōshin* (constables lower in grade than *Yoriki*), *Métsukéyaku* (public censors), *Kachi-Métsuké* (officials subordinate to *Métsuké*), or

The *Hyōjōsho* and *Bugyōsho*.

Kobito-Métsuké (inferior officials ranking next to *Kachi-Métsuké*) to inspect the prisoners and inquire concerning them.

Local prisons.

Besides these judicial authorities in the city of Yédo, there were in the various parts of the empire not less than three hundred prisons which were established by the feudal lords in imitation of the central institution of the Shōgun's Government, to say nothing of a *Shoshidai* (a Minister of the Shōgun, who resided in Kyōto as governor of the capital), a *Jōdai* (an official who had charge of a castle) in Ōsaka, and *Bugyō* or *Daikan* (governors) in Nagasaki and Nara, all of whom were to manage affairs relating to justice and imprisonment.

The first Yédo prison.

Iyéyasu Tokugawa caused a prison to be built in 1613 for the first time outside the Tokiwa-Bashi Gate, near the moat round the Yédo Castle. A little later, in 1677, it was removed to Kodemmachō, where it was divided into five parts, namely, the *agézashiki*, for prisoners who belonged to any class higher in rank than that of *Omémiyé* (persons who enjoyed the privilege of being received in audience of the Shōgun), as well as to that of the *Omémiyé*; the *agariya*, for the military and priestly classes; the *tairō* and the *hyakushōrō*, for the common people; and the *jorō* for female prisoners. The superintendence of the prison was handed down from generation to generation in the family of Tatéwaki Ishidé, who had seventy-eight *dōshin* and forty-six gaolers under him. In 1722, when Yoshimuné was at the head of the Tokugawa Government, two prison hospitals were established, one of which stood at Senzoku-Mura in Asakusa, and was placed under the care of a 'pariah' called Zenshichi Kuruma. This office was also limited to a certain family, and the title was handed down from father to son. In 1790, in the time of the Shōgun Iyéharu, Sadanobu Matsudaira, a well-known and excellent Minister, collected vagrants and kept them at hard labour in the *Ninsoku-Yoséba* (a house of correction for coolies), established on a piece of ground reclaimed for the purpose. Ishikawajima, where the prison stood until 1895, was the site of this reformatory, and indeed the present prison at Sugamo is nothing but a transformed *Ninsoku-Yoséba*.

Modes of punishment.

The modes of punishment were two—major and minor. The major were as follow:

1. *Shikari* (a reprimand and release).

2. *Oshikomé* (confinement in the offender's own house for a period of time, varying from ten to one hundred days).

3. *Tataki* (fifty or a hundred blows with a stick, inflicted only on offenders who belonged to the class of commoners).

4. *Tsuihō*, which was subdivided into *tokorobarai* (banishment from a certain place); *Yédo-barai* (banishment from the city of Yédo); *Yédo-jūrishihōbarai* (prohibition to be seen in any place within ten *ri* of the city of Yédo); *kéi-tsuihō* (if the offender belonged to the military class, banishment from any place within ten *ri* of the cities of Yédo, Kyōto, Ōsaka, the Tōkaidō, Nikkō, and the Nikkōkaidō, as well as from his dwelling and the place where he committed the crime; if he was a commoner, simply from any place within ten *ri* of the city of Yédo, no matter how grave his offence might be—in either case the offender being deprived of his real property); *chū-tsuihō* (banishment from places larger in number and extent than in the case of *kéi-tsuihō*); and *jū-tsuihō* (not only banishment from places still more numerous and extensive, but deprivation of both personal and real property).

5. *Entō*, called *ryūkéi* in ancient times (transportation from Yédo to the seven islands off the coast of Izu, or from Kyōto, Ōsaka, and Chūgoku to Oki, Iki, Amakusa, and the various islands off the coast of Satsuma; or in the case of vagabondage or suspected persons, transportation to the island of Sado, or to Tsukuda-Jima in Yédo, to be kept at hard labour).

6. *Shikéi*, which was subdivided into *zanzai* (punishment by beheading); *gokumon* (punishment by exposing the criminal's head, after execution, near the gate of the prison, inflicted mainly on robbers); *kakéi* (punishment by burning at the stake); *takkéi* (punishment by crucifixion and spearing); and *nokogiribiki* (punishment by sawing off the head).

Also the following additional punishments:

1. *Sarashi* (leading the criminal about the city for a day before execution and then exposing him during three days to the sight of the public).

2. *Irézumi* (tattooing on the forehead or hands of a robber).

3. *Kessho* (confiscation either of the personal or real estate of the criminal, according to the gravity of his crime).

4. *Hinin-téshita* (registering as a *hinin* or 'pariah').

The minor punishments were as follow:

1. *Hissoku* (prohibiting the offender to leave or enter his house in the daytime, the gate and doors being fastened).

2. *Héimon* (keeping the gate and doors of the criminal's house fastened for fifty or a hundred days, the house itself being enclosed with a picket fence made of bamboo so as to prevent the egress of any of the inmates).

3. *Chikkyo*, subdivided into *chikkyo* (same as *héimon*, but with this difference, that in this case the offender was to be strictly confined to his own room); *inkyo* (causing the offender to retire from his public offices and the direction of his household affairs in favour of his successor); and *naga-chikkyo* (confining the offender in his own room for life).

4. *Kaiéki* (punishment by deprivation of status as well as pension).

5. *Azuké* and *naga-azuké* (confinement in some other person's house for an indefinite period of time, or for life).

6. *Seppuku*, or *harakiri* (self-inflicted death).

(These six modes of punishment were applicable only to the military class.)

7. *Sarashi* (exposing the offender during three days to the sight of the public and then delivering him over to the temple to which he belonged, to be subjected to the laws of his parish).

8. *Tsuiin* (deprivation of all public offices and expulsion from the temple to which the criminal belonged).

9. *Kamai*, which was subdivided into *Ippa-kamai* (expulsion from a smaller religious denomination) and *Isshu-kamai* (expulsion from one of the larger sects of religion).

(The above three were applicable only to the priestly class.)

10. *Karyō* (imposition of a fine: in case of inability to pay, punishment by *tégusari*).

11. *Héiko* (keeping the doors of the offender's house shut for thirty, fifty, or a hundred days).

12. *Tégusari* (keeping the offender's hands tied with a chain for thirty, fifty, or a hundred days).

(The above three were applicable only to the common people.)

13. *Téihatsu* (shaving the offender's head and then delivering her over to a relative).

14. *Yakko* (striking off the offender's name from the registry and giving her to anyone who would receive her as a servant, or imprisonment in case there was no receiver).

(The above two were applicable only to female offenders.)

Examination by torture.

In case an accused person persisted in refusal to confess a crime, he was examined by torture, of which the form most commonly resorted to was to beat him severely with an instrument shaped something like a broom. Other modes of torture were suspension from the upper part of a pillar or from a beam in the roof by an iron ring fastened to it and flogging with a stick.

Prison rules and customs.

In the time of the Tokugawa Shōgunate of which we are now speaking, the mode of imprisonment was what is called the congregate system, twelve criminals being confined together in each cell. As to the every-day business of prison life, it was attended to by several officials selected from among the prisoners themselves, such as the *nanushi*, *rōgashira*, &c. Criminals who made presents to their fellow-prisoners at the time of entering prison, or who had been familiar with the *rōgashira* (the chief of criminals in the prison) or other officiating prisoner previous to their incarceration, were called *kyakubun* (guests), and were treated accordingly. No lamp or candle was permitted in the cell at night; hence the saying, 'He enters a dark place,' signifying that a person is put into prison. It occurred in consequence that a diseased prisoner whose presence was obnoxious to his fellows was often secretly put to death under cover of darkness. To effect this the victim was held with his face on the lower floor, and suffocated by forcing a towel or piece of cloth into the mouth. Another way of killing was to wrap the victim in a mattress and put him against the wall with his head down the whole night.

Prisoner's ration.

The daily ration of each prisoner consisted of five *gō* (a little less than a quart) of uncleaned rice and thirty *mommé* (about 174 grains troy) of *miso* (a kind of sauce made of wheat,

beans, and salt), besides an allowance in money to the small extent of a hundred *mon* (equal to a farthing) with which to pay for food eaten along with rice, fuel, the expenses of cleaning rice, &c. No ready money was, however, put into the hands of any prisoner. Every year, on the 15th of July, an extra supply of certain articles of food, such as mackerel or vermicelli, was given to the prisoners by the Southern and Northern

Clothing. *Machi-Bugyō* of the city of Yédo. Prisoners whose names were entered in the census register were to have no clothing and bed-clothes supplied from the Government, but they were permitted to receive presents from their relatives with the cognizance of the authorities. As to vagabonds, they were supplied, at Government expense, with a *katabira* (a summer garment made of hemp) in summer and a suit of clothes wadded with cotton in winter. But these were not given till their own

Baths. clothes had been so worn out as to be useless. A hot bath was given to all the prisoners thrice a month in the winter and four times in spring and autumn. During the heat of summer every cell was provided with fans for the benefit of its inmates. Sick criminals were attended to by prison physicians.

Condition of prisons. The inside of a prison was unclean, gloomy, and pestilential, just like those of Europe previous to the time of John Howard. In an age when personal freedom was generally held in low esteem, it was not surprising to find unconvicted prisoners detained for an indefinite length of time, and those who were penniless, and therefore helpless, had scarcely any chance of being set at liberty. Most horrible modes of torture were applied, as a rule, to those who refused to confess their crimes: in short, prisoners in general were regarded as nothing but deadly enemies of society, any attempt to convert them into useful members being undreamed of.

Prison reform. There were not wanting, however, a few enlightened men so far in advance of the time that they clearly perceived the urgent need of introducing fundamental reforms into the prison rules then in practice. Rikén-Nakai, a Confucianist, severely criticized in his '*Jukkéi Bōgi*' (a pamphlet on prison reform) the then prevalent cruel and brutal system of dealing with prisoners, and urged the necessity of introducing a

system, which he called by the name of *nagarō*, and which was essentially similar in all respects to the indeterminate sentence system now obtaining in the United States of America. Again, in 1858 a treatise on the amelioration of prison life was written by a scholar with statesmanlike qualities called Sanai Hashimoto, who had been put in prison charged with a political offence, and had witnessed, to his horror, all the evil practices and corrupt manners of prisoners. The prison, he observed, proved a school where knowledge of the various means of committing a crime was successfully imparted, instead of a house of correction, as it should be, and he urged, as an efficacious remedy against this, the importance of giving steady work to prisoners—a view far in advance of the time. But it must be admitted that the first great change in our prison system and the first light of prison reform in our country were, for the most part, due to the introduction of Western ideas after the Restoration of the Imperial Government in 1867.

First penal code of the Méiji era.

Immediately upon the return of the administrative power of the country, which had been exercised so long by the military class, into the Emperor's hands, His Majesty gave orders to his officials that they should proceed forthwith to compile a complete code of new penal regulations, but as these required most scrupulous circumspection and some length of time to accomplish in any satisfactory manner, they were obliged to be satisfied for the moment with a revision of the criminal laws of the Tokugawa Government.

The '*Shinritsu Kōryō*.'

In 1870, however, there was enacted a new penal code called '*Shinritsu Kōryō*, consisting of six volumes, and founded on the basis of the 'Taihō Code,' the various enactments of modern China, as well as those of the Tokugawa Government, having been used as references. It contained, among others, provisions to the effect that some daily task or work should be assigned to prisoners, with a view to develop industrious habits, and that prison chaplains should be appointed for the betterment of prisoners' moral and spiritual conditions. Not content with these reforms, the Government desired further to effect a fundamental change in the rules for the treatment of prisoners. In accordance with this view, Shigéya Ohara, Assistant Chief of the Prison Office, and two of

his subordinates were dispatched, in 1870, to Hong-Kong, Singapore, and several British towns in India to inspect the state of prison affairs in those places. On their return home in the same year Mr. Ohara was appointed chairman of a committee for drafting new regulations. In the following year, 'Regulations for Prisons, along with the plan of a new prison, were promulgated.

Advanced as the new code was, it could scarcely be carried into practice without considerable modifications, which were effected prior to its operation in June of the year following its promulgation. In this revised code, which was called '*Kaitéi Ritsuryō*,' punishment by exile and by the use of a whip or stick was superseded by imprisonment for life, or for a certain period of time varying from ten days to ten years; while, as for the modes of capital punishment, they were limited to two—decapitation and strangulation. In January 1875 a system of regulations for providing the necessaries of life to prisoners was established, according to which the day's ration, clothing, articles needed for sleeping and bathing were allowed to unconvicted as well as convicted prisoners, whilst rice and other cereals for one ration were fixed by quantity and all else by value. In the next year all prisons throughout the empire, together with convicted criminals and unconvicted prisoners, were placed under the jurisdiction of the Home Office, the direct supervision of those in Tōkyō being entrusted to the Metropolitan Police Board, and that of the provincial ones to the various prefectural offices. In 1877 the Police Bureau and the Metropolitan Police Board of the Home Department were abolished, and, in their stead, a new police office belonging to the same Department was established under the name of *Kéishikyoku*, which was entrusted with the management of affairs relating to all prisons, both urban and provincial. Regulations for bail on security were also fixed for the first time. Two prisons called *shūchikan* were set up, one at Kosugé in Tōkyō and the other at Miyagi, in 1879, where ordinary long-term prisoners and political offenders of more than five years' term were to be confined. Later, in 1881, another *shūchikan* was established at Kabato in the province of Ishikari in Hokkaidō, which was followed by the establishment of three

Revised code.

Regulations for bail.

Shūchikan prisons.

more, one at Sorachi in the same province, one at Miiké in Fukuoka, and the other at Kushiro in Hokkaidō.

Expenditure of prisons.

After the great reform of 1873 the system of prison rules constantly improved, till it received a serious blow in 1877, when the Government was compelled, owing to financial embarrassment incurred in consequence of the expensive war in the south-west, to charge the prison expenses upon local taxes, instead of out of the National Treasury, as had hitherto been the case.

New criminal code.

In 1880 a new criminal code was enacted, being an adaptation of those existing in the various civilized countries of Europe and America, especially that of France, and this has continued in operation up to the present time. In connection with this penal code, general regulations for prisons and concerning money to be paid to prisoners for their work, as well as the supply of their necessaries of life, were promulgated. According to these, prisons were divided into six kinds, namely, the *ryūchijō*, *kansō*, *chōchijō*, *kōryūjō*, *chōékijō*, and *shūchikan*: the first, attached to the court house or the police station, was the place where the accused were detained for a time, and where those who had committed some offence against police regulations were sometimes confined as well; the second was the place where unconvicted prisoners were confined; the third was intended to be a house of correction, all criminals under age as well as unpromising youths being put there at their elders' request; the fourth was a lock-up to confine offenders against police regulations; and the fifth was a convict establishment where all criminals sentenced to imprisonment were held in custody. Not only convicts sentenced to the same mode of punishment were to be confined by themselves in a separate cell, but also (1) those under sixteen years of age, (2) those over that age and less than twenty, who had committed crime twice or more, and (3) those who had committed crime for the first time—all these were to be separated respectively from those over sixteen years old, from those who had committed crime for the first time, and from those who had committed a crime more than once.

Every unconvicted prisoner was to be called, not by his name, but by a number which was given him and written

on a piece of white cloth sewed to the outer part of his coat round the neck. A piece of black cloth with two small eye-holes was to be put on his face every time he was summoned out of his prison cell, that he might not be recognized by his accomplice or accomplices. A female criminal, who had a child or children under three years of age, was permitted to take it or them with her to prison, if she desired to do so.

Treatment of unconvicted prisoners.

As to the *chōchijō*, only evil-minded youths more than eight years old and less than twenty were to be confined there; and no application of any person to have his children confined there was granted without a certificate from the head-man of the place where he dwelt: the term of confinement was fixed at six months, and none could be kept under restraint there for more than four terms, however incorrigible he might prove to be.

Confinement of evil-minded youths.

Prisoners who behaved in conformity with the prison regulations were to be placed over their fellow-prisoners under the official names of *denkokusha* and *yūkōsha*, the period of service in each case being fixed at six months. It was the former's duty to transmit to their fellow-prisoners the commands of the authorities, while the latter were to occupy themselves as teachers in the workshop. As for those who had no one to receive them on their release, they were permitted, in certain circumstances, to remain in prison, occupying a separate cell and earning their own livelihood by their work.

Denkokusha and *yūkōsha*.

All prisoners were to be employed on work daily, though its nature differed according to the terms of sentence; but those between the age of twelve and sixteen, those over sixty, and those debilitated by sickness or of naturally weak constitution might be exempted from the rule. When labouring outside the prison, they were to be linked together in pairs with an iron chain, their faces being covered with large straw hats, without regard to the condition of the weather. To direct the work in every branch of industry carried on in the prison, technical teachers, called by the official names of *jugyōshu*, *kōgyōshu*, &c., were to be selected from among the prisoners. No special work, but that in which proficiency might easily be acquired, was to be given to prisoners whose term of sentence was less than one year. As to the money earned by a prisoner, it was to be put under the care of the

Prison labour.

authorities until the time of his liberation, but he was permitted, in the meantime, to spend it either in buying books and certain articles of food, or in making remittances to his relatives. Correspondence and interviews were to be allowed to every prisoner with certain restrictions. By permission of the authorities he could receive presents from a relative or a friend, except such injurious things as *saké*, tobacco, &c.; but if he was a condemned criminal, he was not allowed to receive anything but books and paper.

Spiritual and intellectual education.

On Sundays and other days of exemption from criminal service, sermons were to be preached by prison chaplains to all the convicts and the youths in the *chōchijō*. In addition to this moral and spiritual education, the youths were also to be given a number of hours' lessons every day in reading, writing, arithmetic, drawing, &c. To each of the prisoners who scrupulously conformed with the regulations of the prison and whose prudent behaviour showed them to be undergoing a moral change a prize medal was to be awarded, which entitled its bearer once every two months to write to his friends and relatives and to see them in the prison. A money prize of twenty-five *sen* was to be bestowed on those who informed secretly against a fellow-prisoner in case he was about to escape from gaol, or who caught him in the act, as well as on those who might save another's life or otherwise exert themselves praiseworthily during fire or flood. But, on the other hand, several modes of discipline were provided for those who would not observe the regulations, such as *zesshin* (prohibition to write letters), *héikin* (confinement in a closed room), *genshoku* (diminishment of the quantity of daily ration), *anshitsu* (confinement in a darkened room), &c.

Improvement of prison regulations.

In 1889 other considerable improvements were made in the prison regulations, and these remain in operation at the present time. The most important are as follow :—

1. All the affairs relating to a prison are managed in perfect uniformity, the general rules being enacted by Imperial edict and the detailed regulations established by an instruction of the Home Department.

2. According to the new system, the kinds of prison are

as follow: (*a*) The *shūchikan*, appropriated to prisoners whose crimes correspond to those punishable by imprisonment with labour, transportation, or imprisonment for life, according to the old laws; (*b*) the *karyūkan*, a ward where prisoners are confined pending transfer to the *shūchikan*; (*c*) the *chihō-kangoku*, where criminals are imprisoned who have been sentenced to detention and imprisonment with or without hard labour, and female prisoners sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour; (*d*) the *ryūchijō*, attached to the police station, which may on occasions be used as a prison where persons sentenced to *kōryū* (or detention) and those who cannot afford to pay the fine imposed on them are kept in durance; and lastly, (*e*) the *chōchijō*, a house of correction established for prisoners morally irresponsible, as young people and mutes. Now that unconvicted persons are regarded as inoffensive, law-abiding subjects of the empire, they are called 'defendants' in criminal cases, are at liberty to have meals at their own expense, and are not subject to the same discipline for misconduct as convicts are. In short, personal freedom is made much of under this improved system, so long as it does not interfere with the object of confinement.

3. All prisoners are to be confined separately, not only according to difference of sex, but also of age, nature of their offence, and number of previous convictions. A similar separation is made in the *chōchijō* also, where those under sixteen, those over sixteen and under twenty, and those over twenty live by themselves apart. In like manner there are three separate workshops in the prison: one for prisoners from whom labour is exacted, one for those who have no forced labour but are allowed to do work at their own request, and the third for those under age.

4. Prisoners who are not forced to labour, that is, those sentenced to *kōryū* or detention, to minor imprisonment, to *kingoku* (confinement for a longer time than imprisonment), and to *ryūkéi* (transportation), are allowed to keep their beard and moustaches, so that the alteration in appearance entailed by their punishment may be somewhat alleviated.

5. The sum of money to be paid to each prisoner for his work is increased to twenty per cent. for those condemned for

major crimes, and to forty per cent. for those sentenced to minor punishments.

6. Rations are much improved in quality and quantity, restrictions on reading books, receiving presents from a friend or a relative, correspondence, and interviews have become less severe, and those prisoners wearing a medal for good conduct are accorded certain special favours by the authorities.

Besides these, a few more changes scarcely less important have been effected. There are now no provisions for confining unpromising youths in a prison for correction at the request of their elders, all such matters being wisely left to private institutions. The offices of *denkokusha* and *yūkōsha*, before referred to, have also been abolished, for their holders were found to conduct themselves like the *rō-nanushi* of ancient times (the chief of criminals in a prison), and were disposed to abuse their position by lording over their fellow-prisoners. Moreover, it has come to be considered unreasonable to retain prisoners in gaol after the expiration of the term of sentence, though they have neither friends nor relations to receive them on their release.

Of all the changes in the offices which controlled affairs relating to prisons at different times the most remarkable are the re-establishment of the *Kangokukyoku* (the Prison Bureau) in the Home Department in 1897, and the transfer of the same to the Department of Justice in 1900.

Prison expenses now defrayed from National Treasury.

The prison expenses had hitherto been defrayed out of local taxes, and, owing to a consequent lack of uniformity, affairs relating to prisons often failed to be properly administered. Moreover, as it happened not infrequently that a sum of money, too large to be paid out of local taxes, was needed for building a new prison, the Government felt the urgent necessity of transferring the prison expenses to the charges of the National Treasury. Accordingly, a bill to that effect was introduced in the Imperial Diet, but unfortunately the measure was rejected at first, but it finally passed in the fourteenth session, 1899, and was quickly promulgated as a law. It has been in force since then, and has contributed not a little to the uniform

administration of prison affairs, and therefore to celerity and propriety in dealing with them.

The experience of more than ten years in the work of prison reform has led the Government officials to see the necessity of making some arrangements for preventing the perpetration of crimes. There is room for a number of measures conducive to that purpose, such as reforming the social system, ameliorating popular manners, rendering aid to the poor, supporting orphans and other helpless children, converting wicked youths, bettering the police system, protecting ex-convicts, &c., but the most important of all is undoubtedly that of correcting depravity in young persons. Accordingly, the authorities have for some time been devoting special attention to this point. In 1900 they enacted the regulations concerning the conversion of ill-conditioned youths, and many public-spirited persons have come forward to co-operate in the work.

Conversion of depraved youths.

Work of protecting ex-convicts.

Scarcely less important is the work of protecting ex-convicts, who may otherwise return to their old evil ways. This reform has not yet developed to any large extent in our country. But it is a remarkable fact that associations engaged in it exist at present to the number of thirty-seven, and not one of them has been established by the Government, all having been set up by private persons.

Changes in prison regulations.

In 1903 some changes were made in the existing prison regulations, and all affairs relating to prisons were brought under the control of the Minister of Justice, that they might be more uniformly managed. The present numbers of central and branch prison offices in our country stand respectively at 58 and 70, and the prisoners confined in prisons throughout the empire average about 60,000 yearly, while those newly sentenced annually amount to about 170,000.[1] To arrest these criminals, to try them, and to hold them in

[1] The figures for convicts in 1903 and 1906 were:

	Convicts.	Criminal defendants.
1903	54,946	7,522
1906	48,738	4,211

Police cases were:

	Detention.	Fines.
1903	80,388	533,329
1906	64,528	468,847

prison, more than 33,000 police officials, 12,600 judges, and 11,000 gaolers are constantly employed, the expenses necessary for the administration of justice, those for the maintenance of prisons, and those for police management, being yearly defrayed out of the National Treasury to the amounts of over 3,400,000 *yen*, 6,000,000 *yen*, and 10,000,000 *yen* respectively.

Prisons for young convicts.

It is one of the most noteworthy facts in the history of our prison system that, in 1903, four prisons for the young were established at Kawagoé, Kumagai, Karatsu, and Nanao, where every effort has been made to correct and convert criminals under age, by making them work at farming and various handicrafts as well as by giving them a sound education.

More recently, in 1906, the new building of the Odawara branch prison belonging to the Yokohama Prison Office has been completed. This prison is a house of correction appropriated to the confinement of young prisoners, where they are treated according to the most up-to-date principles, and is far superior in all respects to those at Kawagoé and elsewhere. The authorities had been contemplating for some time the establishment of such a model prison, but had not been able to carry out their purpose owing to various circumstances, till, in 1904, a prison was at last built at Yoshiko, not far from the town of Odawara, mainly through the efforts of Mr. Shirosuké Arima, Chief of the Yokohama Prison Office. Only boy prisoners over twelve and less than sixteen, from Prefectures Tōkyō, Saitama, Chiba, Gumma, Shizuoka, and Kanagawa, are to be confined there, to the ultimate number of two hundred, the present limit, however, being fifty. As to the building, it is fit rather for a school-house than for a prison.

Summary.

Our prison system, though it originated more than a thousand years ago, made no considerable progress during a great part of that long period. It underwent some changes when the Tokugawa family came into the office of Shōgun, but its fundamental principles remained essentially the same as they had been. That there was no outcry for prison reform, as there was in Western countries, may probably be attributed to the fact that the modes of punishment were comparatively mild in our country.

At the time of the Restoration, when every evil practice in the country began to be cleared away, the prison rules then in operation were reformed, personal rights and liberties were asserted to an extent before unknown, and the prospect suddenly became bright and promising so far as matters relating to the administration of justice were concerned. Thus came about the tour of inspection through the British settlements, and later, the mission to Europe. But, for some time afterwards, little of importance happened in the way of prison reform, until in 1890 Herr Seebach was invited here from a famous model Moabit-Prison in Germany, and a gaolers' training school was established in Tōkyō and placed under his care. Since then the public have turned their attention more and more closely to the work of bettering the police and prison system; and of all the workers in the field, there stands at the head Prince Yamagata, who, when Minister of Home Affairs, contributed much to the reform, with the cordial assistance of his able subordinate, Viscount Kéigo Kiyoura, then Chief of the Police Bureau of the Home Department.

In conclusion, there is one thing we must not forget for a moment, namely, the important part played by Christianity in these reforms. Before the introduction of enlightened German ideas concerning prisons in our country, it was an American missionary, Dr. Bayley by name, who first taught us how to manage prison affairs in a proper manner. Entrusted by Ōkubo, Chief of the Home Office, with the task of inspecting all prison affairs as administered in our country and then making reports to the Government of what he had seen, he faithfully and promptly acquitted himself of this duty, with the result that his reports and views were printed and copies distributed among all the gaolers throughout the empire. If we are not mistaken, the subsequent beneficial changes in our prison system have all sprung from these reports.

Dr. Bayley.

Another noticeable thing is that, in the year 1899, a school was established in Tōkyō by the Government for the purpose of instructing policemen and gaolers in the higher principles indispensable to the proper discharge of their duties. This, along with the training school before mentioned, has without

doubt contributed not a little to make our prison system what it is at present.

It is our firm belief that crime in our country will decrease to a considerable extent in the years to come, for, in addition to what has been stated above, a law of reprieve was promulgated in 1905, and two other excellent laws about leaving offences of a trifling nature unpunished, and postponing a criminal action at the discretion of the judge, were published at the same time and are now in force. Keeping pace with the development of our national resources, various societies and associations for rendering aid to the poor and for many other charitable purposes are coming into existence, which are sure to prove a successful barrier against the growth of crime. In view of all these things, we cannot but flatter ourselves that we have a bright and promising prospect, so far as prison reform is concerned.

XIII

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN JAPAN

PROFESSOR S. SHIMIZU, D.C.L. (JAPAN)

JAPAN has had from ancient times a system of communal government peculiar to herself. This in olden days was founded upon blood relationship, every member of society belonging to one of a certain number of *uji*, or families in the widest sense of the word, each of which was composed of *ko*, or families in the more restricted sense of the word, made up in their turn of *kazoku*, or families in the most restricted sense of the word. The *uji* exercised government over all local affairs, those only relating to the whole country being excepted; and every *uji* had a *kami*, or chief, who acted as the representative of the Emperor. The *kami* not only decided law-suits brought by one of his *ko* against another, but also appointed or dismissed officials at pleasure and organized a force for the defence of the *uji*. The *ko*, or lesser *uji*, contained a number of *kazoku*, the members amounting at least to one and often to many hundreds, and in time it took the place of the *uji* proper, as the unit of society. This evolution appears to have been brought about by the conjoint influence of the growth of population, the gradual increase of intercourse, and the rapid advance of civilization effected upon the introduction of religion from abroad. The last-named—that is, Buddhism—undoubtedly did most towards destroying the organization of the society then in existence, for it made more of the individual than the family, and disregarded the worship of ancestors upon which was founded the blood relationship of the *uji*, the unit of society at that time. When the *uji* had thus ceased to exist and been superseded by the *ko*, it seems probable that the relations

'*Uji*,' or families.

between the central and local governments became less intimate, obstacles in the way of administration growing more and more numerous.

The system of the *gohō*.

Subsequent to this there came into existence a new administrative organization called the *gohō* (literally, five neighbouring families). This system, which originated in the time of Chou, of China, was perpetuated under the Tang dynasty, and was then introduced into our country. The *gohō* was a ward or body politic consisting of five *ko*, in which autonomy was exercised so far as affairs relating to itself were concerned, all the five being held jointly responsible to the central Government. It goes without saying that these *ko* are not to be regarded as equivalent to the present-day *kazoku*, i.e. families in the narrowest sense of the word, for each of them comprised a considerable number of *kazoku*. When the inhabitants of Japan began to make greater progress in civilization, grew in number, and developed further in their social relations, the *ko* in its turn ceased to be the unit of society, and was superseded by the *kazoku*, and the system of the *gohō* changed consequently into that of the *goningumi* (company of five persons or families), which constituted the basis of communal government in the sixteenth century at the time of the Tokugawa Shōgunate.

The *goningumi*.

A code of regulations relating to the *goningumi* was first promulgated in the third year of Kéichō (1598) by the Tokugawa Government as a means of public instruction, and was posted on a notice board called the *kōsatsu*, specially erected for the purpose. The code was undoubtedly called into existence through a desire of the Government to keep *rōnin*, or dismissed *samurai*, under control, as well as to put a stop to the propagation of Christianity. The masters of five neighbouring houses making up a *goningumi* company voted among themselves to elect a *hangashira*, or chief. Under his direction they recorded in a register, called the *goningumi-chō*, all matters of importance relating to the regulations, and this when signed had to be forwarded yearly for inspection by the official under whose direct jurisdiction they were. The following were the principal regulations: Taxes were to be paid without fail; laws and ordinances were to be obeyed with respect; anyone found believing in any prohibited religion—as, for

instance, Christianity—was instantly to be informed against to the Government, as were offenders of every description. Gambling was prohibited, as well as acts of violence against shrines or temples; also trespassing upon mountains, rivers, forests, and lands owned by the Government. Everyone was enjoined to keep a watch over himself so as not to engage in disputes and law-suits; roads, bridges, and devices for utilizing water were to be kept in good condition by the local inhabitants; farmers were to devote themselves specially to their work, and diligence and frugality must be practised by all so as to make provision for their future. If any were found to be unobservant of these regulations, the rest of the *goningumi* to which he belonged were held jointly responsible for his misdemeanour. The *han-gashira*, head-man of a *goningumi*, who was also called *kumi-gashira*, *hittō*, or *gochō*, was in most cases elected by the rest of the company; but there were a few privileged families, the heads of which were regarded as hereditarily qualified for the office, while in some cases the head-man was appointed by the office to whose jurisdiction he belonged. The most important of the *han-gashira's* duties were to act as representative of the company under his control, to acquaint them with the instructions of the central Government, to decide quarrels or disputes between them, to affix his seal, together with the seals of those concerned, to bills of sale or bonds for redeeming pawned or pledged articles, when the thing sold or pawned was immovable property, to oversee the conduct of those under his authority, and to manage all affairs relating to bankruptcy or to the sale of property by auction in case any of the company was declared insolvent. While the *goningumi* was in some provinces under the immediate jurisdiction of the town office, in others there was a head-man placed over it, who in his turn was under the control of the town office. The *goningumi* was a sort of commune having all the internal affairs relating to police, industry, engineering, and taxes, and even civil and moral matters, under its administration.

The *shōen* (the fief or manor).

The communal government regulations at present in force in Japan have been mainly based upon those of Germany. There is a provision, in Germany, that large landowners shall enjoy independent rights and manage administrative affairs

within the limits of their respective estates. This form of self-government, though not found in our present system, existed in Japan in its *shōén* (fiefs or manors).

The *shōén* were originally waste lands which powerful officials and influential families reclaimed for the purpose of adding to their possessions. These reclaimed lands not only enjoyed the privilege of being exempt from taxes, but gradually their owners began to exercise administrative and judicial powers over them. In the same way, almost all the lands belonging to the Shintō shrines were exempted from taxes, and after the propagation of Buddhism, landed estates belonging to Buddhist temples were also granted this privilege. As many devotees donated portions of their domains to these religious institutions, the tracts of land free from taxes increased to an enormous extent, and their owners became in consequence great and influential. Again, not a few owners of small estates found it to their advantage to put their land into the hands of a neighbouring great landowner and to receive it back from him as a fief, as it then became free from taxes. In this way the number of *shōén* increased till they occupied more than half the area of the empire. The owner of a *shōén* was called *ryōké*, his representative *shōji*, and his administrator *jitō*. Proportionately to the aggrandizement of a *ryōké's* territory, his *shōji* and *jitō* grew in power and influence, some of them becoming so powerful that they were often independent of the *kokushi* (Imperial governor of a province) and the *gunji* (chief official of a county). In this way the military classes, from whom the *shōji* and the *jitō* were recruited, gradually assumed the governing authority, and became more and more powerful until they were capable of establishing the Shōgun's Government at Kamakura. The Shōgunate in its turn appointed great landowners as *shugo* (literally, warders) of the respective provinces, entrusted them with the management of affairs relating to police and the administration of justice, and sent at the same time high officials to the various *shōén* as governors, or, as they were called, *jitō*. From a political standpoint, the condition of the *shōén* was now bettered, but the taxes due to their *shugo* and *jitō* greatly increased, for the Shōgunate introduced these changes not so

much for the benefit of the *shōén* themselves as in the interest of high officials, whose meritorious services it hoped to reward at the expense of the people they were to govern in their capacity of *shugo* and *jitō*. The military classes thus having risen to power and having their own retainers and servants, the functions of the small communes, such as the *uji* and *ko*, which had paid no taxes other than those due to their *ryōké*, or lord, were transferred to the *jitō*, who secured the police, judicature, and administrative offices and practically superseded the *ryōké* as lords of the *shōén*. But the spirit of self-government was too deeply rooted to be thus broken, and the result was that great landowners took under their charge their *shōén* and assumed the title of *daimyō* (feudal chief), whilst not a few *shugo* and *jitō*, who lived on their own estates, also became independent of the Shōgun, and declared themselves *daimyō*. It was in this way that a feudal system was brought to perfection. Shintō shrines and Buddhist temples also adopted a like system, for, having vast numbers of people under their protection, they grasped the real governing powers just as great feudal chiefs did, and the territories where they independently exercised their authority resembled *shōén* in every respect. Moreover, they availed themselves of the holiness of the *Kami* and *Buddha* to obtain the privilege that 'even the *shugo* could not enter their sacred domains in a violent manner,' and thus they ruled without disturbance. But these powers were greatly impaired on the extinction of the *shōén* system, and by the time of the Tokugawa Shōgunate, shrines and temples had lost almost all their former greatness and retained only a shadow of the past, possessing only small pieces of land called *shuinchi* and *kokuinchi*, conferred upon them by the Shōgun.

Our towns and villages are now considered as perfectly organized communes, and even before the Restoration they had some communal elements.

The village.

In order to arrive at what these were, it is necessary that we should see how villages came into existence. They originated undoubtedly in their close and inseparable relation with a family, in the wide sense of the term, for, when a family grew large and prosperous, the number of its members could no

longer be called a family but became a village. Or again, the family of a priest belonging to a Shintō shrine might throw out numbers of offshoots and finally become a village. Thus it is that most of the inhabitants of a village bear the same name, or the name of a village is that of its principal family, or the inhabitants of a village are the *ujiko*, or parishioners, of the same tutelary god enshrined there. In the time of the Tokugawa, the head-man of a village was called *nanushi* or *shōya*, the former appellation being used in the north-eastern, and the latter in the south-western districts. *Nanushi* and *shōya* were sometimes elected and at other times hereditary, those who were hereditary being comparatively numerous among the *shōya*, and those elected among the *nanushi*. Their official duties were: to collect taxes; to administer justice; to represent the villages and protect them; to make known the instructions and notifications of the Government to the villagers; to encourage agriculture and promote industrial arts; to superintend necessary engineering works, such as the repair or construction of roads, banks, and similar matters; to investigate whether any believed in the prohibited religion; to put into force the instructions of the *ryōshu* (lord of a territory) or the *daikan* (governor of a small domain under the direct control of the house of Tokugawa). At first sight, the *nanushi* and the *shōya* look something like administrative officials, for they drew their salaries from the Government; but from the fact that they were elected by the villagers, and that at a critical moment they had to represent the latter and to sacrifice themselves, if necessary, for the good of the village, it may be inferred that villages were more or less communal in nature, and that the *nanushi* or the *shōya* was not a pure government official, but the head-man of a communal village who devoted himself to the management of its affairs. Below the *nanushi* or *shōya* there was an honorary official called *kumi-gashira*, who was always elected and whose term of public service varied, according to locality, from one year to several. In some districts there was an official called *toshiyori*, whose duty was to act in the interest of the farmers.

Nanushi and *shōya.*

The *kumi-gashira* and *toshiyori.*

In other places there was an honorary official called *hyaku-shōdai*, elected from among the large agricultural landowners,

The *hyaku-shōdai.*

whose principal duty was to negotiate with the *nanushi* or the *shōya* on behalf of the villagers, in case anything happened prejudicially to their interests. From all this it may be clearly seen that villages in former times contained communal elements, though not exactly those of the communal bodies of to-day.

Large cities and towns.

In olden days the government of large cities such as Yédo, Kyōto, and Ōsaka was not as it is to-day, but it did not altogether lack communal elements. There were a certain number of officials termed *machi-doshiyori* in all the three cities, and they possessed administrative functions, which each discharged within the limits of the ward under his own charge.

The *machi-doshiyori*, the *machi-nanushi*, and the *machi-dai*.

Under the *machi-doshiyori*, who were mostly hereditary and closely resembled Government officials, there were a number of *machi-nanushi* and *kumi-gashira* in Yédo, *machi-dai* in Kyōto, and *sōtoshiyori* in Ōsaka, some of whom were hereditary and others elected. How they entered official service is not exactly known, but it is certain that some of them were appointed to their offices by election. Nor is it less true that they represented the respective wards under their charge and exerted themselves to secure administrative benefits for the people they represented. Their official duties were to circulate the Government instructions among the people; to settle disputes which might arise when houses or landed estates were to be sold or their owners' names were to be altered, and to give advice to the profligate, if there were any, so as to turn them into the path of virtue.

Free towns.

The great centres of commerce and industry, such as Sakai, Hyōgo, &c., very much resembled the free towns in Germany. In them the people not only managed the

The *kai-gōshū*.

administrative and judicial affairs through a popular assembly called the *kaigōshū*, but sometimes organized a standing army of homeless *samurai* (*rōnin*), whom they engaged for service. In this respect they may be said to have been far in advance of the communal bodies of to-day, so far as the right of self-government was concerned. This was probably due to the fact that these rich and prosperous towns, just like the German free towns, could render, whenever they liked, great pecuniary assistance to the Government in their

frequent financial straits, and thereby obtained the grant of exceptional autonomic privileges.

Local Government subsequent to the Restoration

The Restoration.

There is little doubt that at the Restoration, had things been left to take their natural course, a system of communal government peculiar to Japan would have been developed. Unfortunately, however, the Restoration swept away everything old, and the traditions and regulations of communal government handed down from ancient times not only suffered, but disappeared altogether. It was not until later, when the necessity of a communal government was felt anew, that the system now in force came into being. Such a condition of things had its counterpart in Germany, where, as soon as feudalism had fallen, all the powers became concentrated in a central government, and a deeply rooted local government system was overthrown only to be set up again after a time, just as has been the case with us.

Our autonomic bodies existing at present are *ku* or *chō* (towns), *son* (villages), *gun* (subdivisions of a province), *fu* (urban prefectures), and *ken* (prefectures); and a few remarks will be made in the following pages as to the historical changes of the system which have taken place since the Restoration.

Towns and villages.

After that event, towns and villages were divided into *daiku* and *shōku* (large and small districts). A *kuchō* (chief official of each large district) and a *kochō* (chief official of a smaller district) was appointed to each of the divisions. As the *kuchō* and the *kochō* were regarded as Government officials, it may be said that no local government system was in existence then. Though, in addition to the administrative divisions of the *ku*, there were also others called *gun*, *chō*, and *son*, even they were nothing but geographical divisions. But, in 1876, regulations relating to the public borrowing of money and grain by *ku* and towns and villages, and for dealing with common property, planning engineering works, were issued, in which *ku*, *chō* (urban districts or towns), and *son* (villages) were recognized for the first time as capable of possessing

property or raising loans. In case a *ku* wanted to borrow money or grain, or to buy or sell landed estates or buildings owned in common, it was required by the regulations that the *kuchō* and the assistant *kuchō*, as well as two deputies from every *chō* and every village within the limits of the *ku*, should sign the bill or the bond conjointly. If the borrowing or sale was to be done by a *chō*, or a village, it was necessary that the *kuchō*, the assistant *kuchō*, the *kochō*, and more than sixty per cent. of the owners of the immovable property within the *chō* or village, should do the same with the document.

In 1878 a law was promulgated, directing how to organize *gun*, *ku*, *chō*, and villages, and about this time villages were permitted to organize assemblies; but as no legal provisions had been made for some time concerning them, a code of assemblies' regulations was published, and this may be regarded as the basis of the town and village regulations now in operation.

In 1884 it was enacted that the *kochō* (village head) should be chosen by the Government, on the ground that those elected by the people were, in the main, ill qualified for the duties devolving on them. This was, indeed, a severe blow to the local government system, which was still in its infancy.

Town and village regulations.

Fortunately, however, the town and village regulations, published in 1888, altered the title of *kochō* into that of *chōchō* and *sonchō* (the head-man of a town or a village respectively), and made him a publicly elected official. Thus the system of communal government was put, for the first time, on the road to perfection. The town and village regulations and the city regulations had been drafted by a committee, with the Minister of Home Affairs for chairman, and Herr Mosse, a German, as adviser; and when submitted to the Senate for discussion, they elicited various opinions, some bitterly censuring the proposers of the laws for rashly imitating a foreign system. However, both Bills were finally approved, and promptly promulgated. In spite of the fact that not a few local officials maintained that the affairs relating to taxation should be managed by officials not belonging to any of the city, town, or village offices, and that according to the circumstances of cities, towns, and villages their chief officials should on occasions be chosen by the Government, it was finally

Popular election of officials.

decided that the chief officials of cities, towns, and villages should all of them be publicly elected. Though very few opposed the public election of chief officials of towns and villages, it was different in the case of cities. Some of the statesmen in power were of opinion that the chief officials of the latter should not be publicly elected, and thereupon the Senate took up the subject. It was there decided, after some deliberation, that the municipal assembly should nominate three candidates and report the nomination to the Emperor, petitioning His Majesty at the same time to choose one of the three as chief official of the city.

Exemption of large cities.

When these city regulations were about to be put into operation, there arose a strong opinion to the effect that special regulations should be established for Tōkyō, Kyōto, and Ōsaka, which were exceptionally large and prosperous. This opinion was adopted, and the result was that in them the governor and the secretary were respectively to take the place of the *shichō* (mayor or chief municipal official), and the *joyaku* (assistant municipal official). In this arrangement, those who maintained that the chief municipal official should be chosen by the Government may be said to have accomplished their object to a certain extent. The three cities strenuously opposed such an exception to the urban regulations, the ground of their argument being that the governor, one of whose duties was to inspect the *shichō's* doings, should under no circumstances become himself the *shichō* during his governorship, for, were such a thing allowed, two distinct offices would be joined into one, and the municipal administration would be thrown into disorder. They contended that in such large and exceedingly busy cities as Tōkyō, Kyōto, and Ōsaka, one person should be appointed to one office and another to another; that is to say, none should at once be both governor and *shichō*, or both secretary and *joyaku*, otherwise municipal affairs could never be managed properly. From that time onward a Bill for abolishing the special city regulations was passed every year by the Lower House of the Diet, but it always encountered strong opposition on the part of the House of Peers as well as the Government. In 1898, however, both of the opposing parties were at last

prevailed upon to approve the Bill of the representatives, and a question which had long been a bone of contention was solved in a most satisfactory manner, and the city regulations were put into force in the three great cities as well as elsewhere.

Some members of the committee for investigating town and village regulations maintained, quoting examples from European countries, that the chief official of a town and the head-man of a village should be chosen and appointed by the governor from among the members of the town and village assemblies. This contention, which would relegate the choice to the Government, was, however, ineffective against another, namely that the chief of a town or village should be publicly elected, such being the spirit of local autonomy, and it was decided that the chief officials of towns and villages should be publicly elected. But it is even now necessary for them to obtain the governor's official sanction. This is undoubtedly owing to the influence of the first-named contention, though such a feature is not rare in the German system.

The city, town, and village regulations, with very slight modifications, are still in force, though the Government brought in a Bill for revising them, in the twenty-second and twenty-third sessions of the Imperial Diet.

Gun regulations.

Prior to the Restoration, *gun* (subdivisions of a province) always represented administrative sections, and there exists no historical evidence to show that they were communal bodies. For a decade of years following the Restoration they continued to be mere geographical names, but in 1878 an edict indicating how to form *gun*, *ku*, *chō*, and villages was published, and the *gun* were again converted, in consequence, into administrative sections, with a *gunchō* (chief official of a *gun*) over one or several of them. In 1886 an edict was issued to the effect that islands should not be organized into *gun*, but should form separate sections by themselves, with *tōshi* (chief officials of islands) over them. In 1890 the *gun* regulations were established. By them the *gun* was declared to be a communal body superior in grade to the *chō* or the village. In spite of the objection that there should be no grades in communal bodies, and that it would be unreasonable to place one above

another, the regulations were put in practice without modification. On the ground, however, that it would endanger the central administration to grant to the *gun* as complete self-governing powers as those given to the city, the town, and the village, since such a system would involve excessive division of authority, it was provided that the *gunchō*, or administrator of a *gun*, should not be elected publicly, but be selected by the Government from among its officials. When the regulations had been in force for some time, there arose a movement in favour of the public election of the *gunchō*, and a Bill for revising the regulations in that sense often made its appearance in the Diet, but went no further. Again, a provision in the original draft of the regulations, to the effect that the *gun-sanjikai* (*gun* assembly), like the *shi-sanjikai* (city assembly), should serve as an instrument for the management of administrative affairs, was subsequently revised and the *gun* assembly was declared to have no authority beyond deliberation. When requests or complaints were made to a *gun* office, the assembly had to decide whether they were reasonable or not; it had to deal with matters submitted by the *gunkai* for its deliberation, and with minor matters which came within the limits of the power of the *gunkai*, but which had been left undiscussed by the latter; and, lastly, it was, if necessary, to take the place of the *gunkai* and debate and decide questions which concerned the *gun*. The regulations underwent an entire change in 1899, the election of the members of the *gunkai* from among the great landowners being abolished and the double election being converted into a single and direct one. The reasons for this change were that to grant the privilege, as had been the case up to that time, to the great landowners of electing one-third of the members of the *gunkai* from among themselves, was not only unnecessary, but apt to temporarily create counterfeit great landowners, that is nominal landowners, for election purposes; that in the double election, the members of the town and village assemblies having to elect those of the *gun* assembly, the violent competition of opposing parties of electors would naturally be transferred to the town or the village, where political rivalry might rise to such a pitch that it would

endanger the very existence of communal government; and that, according to the system of double election, the electors having always to be members of the town and village assemblies, it would be useless to dissolve the *gun* assembly, though circumstances might necessitate such a step. These arguments had been constantly making themselves heard since the publication of the *gun* regulations, but had always been opposed strenuously by the Government and the Upper House of the Diet. Fortunately, however, both these were ultimately prevailed upon to approve them, and the great question was solved, to the satisfaction of everyone concerned. There was still one point which appeared to await final settlement, namely an article in the revised regulations declaring that the *gun* should be regarded as a corporation. To this there was strong opposition in the House of Peers. If the *gun* was to be regarded as a corporation, it was argued, then its chief official would have to be elected publicly. This would lead to a revival of feudalism and disturb the administrative unity of the State to a serious extent. The *gun* regulations of 1890, however, fully recognized the fact of the *gun* being a corporation, though there was no express provision with regard to it. The article in the revised regulations was nothing but a declaration of a fact that had not been declared before, and the regulations were passed on that account. A little later, in the twenty-second and the twenty-third sessions of the Diet, the Government proposed that the *gun* regulations should be abolished altogether, on the ground that very few useful or advantageous works had been started by the *gun*, and that, therefore, no necessity existed any longer for regarding it as a communal corporation. After some heated discussion, however, the Bill was withdrawn by the Government itself in the twenty-second session, and in the twenty-third it was rejected by the House of Peers.

The urban and rural prefecture regulations.

The urban and rural prefectures, which had been nothing but administrative sections up to 1878, became communal bodies in virtue of the prefectural assembly regulations published in the same year. Being found incomplete, however, they were superseded by the urban and rural prefecture regulations of 1890. The prefectural assembly regulations had

been an imitation of the French system, while the urban and rural prefecture regulations, like the *gun* and the city, town, and village regulations, were established with reference to the system of Germany. In the urban and rural prefecture regulations, as well as in the prefectural assembly regulations, there was a provision to the effect that the governor or prefect, administrator of the prefecture, should not be elected publicly, but chosen by the Government from among its officials. As a prefecture is incomparably larger than a *gun*, no contention for the public election of the governor has made its appearance yet. But as for the double election of the members of a prefectural assembly, it had been constantly opposed by many until 1899, when the prefecture regulations were revised in part, along with the *gun* regulations. In consequence of this revision, the double election was converted into the direct system, and it was made clear at the same time that the urban and rural prefecture was to be regarded as a corporation. These regulations, as well as the *gun* regulations, both of which were partly modified in 1899, are now in actual operation.

Such have been the historical changes in the regulations of the city, the town, the village, the *gun*, and the prefecture in Japan since the time of the Restoration. It is to be particularly noticed in this connection that the *gun* and the prefecture are different in the extent of autonomy in the city, the town, and the village. Though apparently unreasonable, seeing that they are all equally communal bodies, such a distinction seems to be not only the natural result of a difference in extent, but also a matter of necessity under the circumstances of the present time.

XIV

MUNICIPAL PROGRESS IN JAPAN

YUKIO OZAKI, M.P., MAYOR OF TŌKYŌ

Six periods of municipal progress.

IN the history of Japanese municipal progress, there are six periods, each bearing the reflection of a corresponding stage of State and social growth: first, the age of the early formation of cities; secondly, the age when the centre of administrative authority was in the South; thirdly, the age when the centre was in the North; fourthly, the age when no centre could be found; fifthly, the age when the feudal system was perfected; and sixthly, the age when the prefecture and county system was introduced.

I.—THE AGE OF THE FORMATION OF CITIES

Circumstances unfavourable to municipal development.

The frequency of the transfer of the capital was one of the most notable facts in our earliest records, for, during forty-two reigns, from the Emperor Jimmu (660 B.C.) to the Taihō Reform (702 A.D.), history records no less than fifty changes of capital, although, in spite of this, germs of cities were steadily developed.

Ancient capitals.

The Emperor Jimmu founded his capital at Kashiwabara, near Unébi Hill in Iwaré, a district of the Province of Yamato. It was closely connected with the Province of Kii by means of the River Yoshino, and readily approachable from the Province of Kawachi through the district of Kuzukami. During the first eight reigns the Imperial seats, though constantly moved, were always within that district. The Emperor Kaika, for the first time, moved it to Kasuga-no-Miya in Shiki, whilst the Emperor Kéikō transferred his capital to Shiga-no-Miya in the Province of Ōmi, so that he might more

effectively rule over the eastern provinces. The Emperor Ōjin once more returned to the first Imperial seat in Iwaré, and had a detached palace built at Naniwa (now Ōsaka), which remained for a while one of the two secondary Imperial seats, the other being that of Shiga.

Prosperity of sea-ports open to foreign communications.

Japan was not lacking in good sea-ports from her earliest days, for the assiduous introduction of foreign culture and riches seems to have had its origin far back in the prehistoric age. Among others, Na-no-Agata of Tsukushi, now Hakata of Chikuzén, played an important rôle in foreign relations. It was Watatsumi that, together with the region of Yamadzumi (the district of Ada in the modern Province of Satsuma), almost monopolized foreign intercourse, especially with Korea, and with Wu and Yueh in China. It may be noted that what is known in Chinese history as the 'Land of Yamato' was really nothing but the Land of Watatsumi. The foreign residences constructed at Ito-no-Tsu may be deemed the very beginning of the Dazaifu of later days. In the reigns of the Emperors Sujin and Suinin, the port of Tsunuga (now Tsuruga) was inaugurated, and the '*Nihonfu*' (Japanese Head-quarters) were established in Mimana. It was also about that time that the opening of the port of Naniwazu added to the communications of Na-no-Tsu with China, and that one for home and foreign trade called Watarai-no-Ōminato in the Province of Isé also reached a prosperous state.

Naniwazu and Muko-no-Tsu.

On her way home from the Korean expedition, the Empress Jingō touched at Muko-no-Tsu (now Hyōgo), one of the important points on the Inland Sea, and dedicating there a shrine to Suminoé, tutelary god of Na-no-Tsu, made it a port for foreign communications. Early in the fourth century, the sixteenth Emperor Nintoku transferred the Imperial seat to Naniwa, and equipping it with suitable means of communication, including canals, &c., opened to it a long career as the central port of foreign traffic. Vessels laden with tribute from Korean districts always steered for Naniwa, touching at Na-no-Tsu and Muko on their way, and thence had their contents forwarded to the Imperial Court. The annals tell that, in the reign of the Emperor Ōjin, 500 vessels from various provinces moored at Muko were consumed by a fire.

Fairs.

Fairs were held in fixed places at certain intervals, so as to promote home trade, and records are still extant relating to the Tsubaki Fair, the Adokuwa Fair, and others, which were held at Higashiyama, in the Province of Yamato. As for the corresponding state of local economical development, history is too obscure to allow of even surmises.

Ancient political cities.

At the very outset of history there are traces of the existence of local political cities. The earliest prehistoric one of these is found in the traditional Tamagaki-no-Uchi-tsu-Kuni in the Province of Yamato, founded by Ōkuninushi-no-Mikoto. Later on, governors of *Kuni* (provinces) and *Agata* (districts) seem to have had something like political cities in their local territories. One example will suffice: the '*Kojiki*' and the '*Shoki*,' two of our oldest chronicles, agree in speaking of the grandeur of the palace of Toyotamahiko, ruler of Watatsumi-no-Kuni. The Chinese chronicle of the second Han dynasty also refers to the thousand female attendants of the Queen of Yamato, and to the strict guard of the ruler's residence; and in the comparison of leading cities contained in the chronicle of the Wei dynasty, we find a passing notice to the prosperity and civilization of the cities and ports of Kyūshū. Such was the stage of Japanese civilization in the second century of the Christian era.

Domestic administration in ancient days.

Even in the first Emperor's capital, there existed an establishment for various civil and military departments, including a storehouse of things appropriated to religious rites. The tenth Emperor Sujin established a law of taxation, and encouraged civil engineering and shipbuilding. In his reign provisions were made against troublous times, and the Imperial domain was largely extended by the dispatch of four generals in four directions. In the reign of the twelfth Emperor Kéikō, nearly the whole land came under the Imperial sway, the Kumasó and the Yézo, rebellious aborigines in the east and the west, being completely subjugated. The land was divided and subdivided into provinces and districts, and governors and officials were appointed for them. Immediately after the conquest of Korea, a number of promising communities rose in various parts of the country, especially in the Province of Yamato, the seat of so many emperors. In the fifth century

warehouses for the Imperial Household and for the State were constructed, and horticulture, architecture, and arts of every kind made rapid progress.

Call for a permanent capital.

Shikishima-no-Miya at Higashiyama, which once attained to considerable prosperity as the capital of the Emperor Kimmei (reigned 540–571 A.D.), gave way to Oharida in Minamiyama in the reign of the Empress Suiko, whilst the governmental system received much elaboration, and the confluence of the population put an end to the simplicity characteristic of earlier reigns. Asuka-no-Miya, the plate-roofed palace of the Empress Kōkyoku, was constructed by men levied from the provinces lying between Tōtōmi and Aki (643 A.D.). History, in a passage relating the assassination of Soga-no-Iruka, tells us that the heir-apparent had the twelve gates of the palace closed simultaneously. The Empress Saimyō's Okamoto-no-Miya was no longer plate-roofed, but tiled, and surrounded with stone walls—the work of over 100,000 men (656 A.D.). In the reign of the Empress Jitō, the use of tiles was extended to governmental edifices (694 A.D.). In such circumstances, nothing could have been more natural than a call for a permanent capital.

Administrative centralization established.

The delimitation of the Imperial domains, regulation of the census, abolition of private agrarian ownership, State distribution of land, elaboration of taxation, creation of Court and official ranks, discrimination between the various governmental departments and sections, appointment of chiefs of provinces and countries, and rules for official costumes were the most notable among innumerable products of the celebrated Taika Reform. As a direct result of the reformation of the Government and its administrative centralization, a permanent capital became a thing of urgent need, no longer of mere desire, while the increasing elaboration of the Government and Court made a change more difficult. The Emperor Tenchi's transfer of the Imperial seat to Shiga in the Province of Ōmi was far from popular, and people, it is said, set fire to the new city with the purpose of destroying it.

In a work of Kaki-no-Moto-no-Hitomaro, a great contemporary poet, there are lines expressing the antipathy to the new city:

> 'Out of the land of Kashiwabara, near Unébi Hill, where god-born Emperors had reigned for so many generations, over the hills of Nara, he went, I know not why, to the Palace of Ōtsu in the remote and rustic land of Ōmi, there to rule the world.'

Site of the capital, a matter of policy.

Although thus condemned by popular opinion, the orientation of the capital was the result of a necessity to advance the Government's policy towards the eastern part of Japan, and the city of Shiga had already been chosen for the Imperial seat as early as the days of the Emperor Kéikō, who settled there after his eastern expedition, early in the second century.

II.—The Age of Supremacy in Southern Japan

Why the first centre was in the south.

In Japan the first capital, as may easily be conjectured, was placed where national vitality was most active, since otherwise the nation would have been condemned to the inevitable fate of declension and decay. As Japanese civilization first dawned in the south-west and then spread over Southern Japan, that is over the districts surrounding the Inland Sea, southern Japan was for a long time the seat of national vitality, and, even after its zenith had been passed, it continued to be the centre as far down as the end of the Héian epoch (*circa* 1150–80) in virtue of mere inertia. Thus the capital, though frequently transferred and subjected to various economic vicissitudes, still remained in the south.

Formation of the central city.

Out of the 470 years from 710 A.D. (the date of the foundation of the first central city, in the reign of the Empress Gwammyō) down to 1185 (the closing year of the Héian epoch), it may be roughly said that during the first seventy years the Province of Yamato, and during the remaining time the Province of Yamashiro, was the site of the central city. The Province of Yamato, the Imperial seat for a long series of reigns, was naturally the cradle of national vitality and the focus of politics, and Nara, in the northern plain of the Province of Yamato, was the first regular political capital of Japan.

Yámato, the centre of national vitality.

The plan of founding the central political city at Nara was

adopted in the reign of the Emperor Mommu and put into execution in that of the Empress Gwammyō in 710 A.D. City of Nara.

In a Minister's report (724 A.D.) an interesting passage occurs: 'The capital, where the Emperor reigns and the world comes to pay homage, should well represent the Imperial augustness. Edifices, roofed with straw, a remnant of earlier days, require much labour and are of short durability. To avoid such a waste of money, measures should be taken to order every official not lower than the fifth rank, and those equal to the expense, to have their domiciles tiled, and painted either red or white.' Various documentary proofs of a like nature tend to convince us of the grandeur of the city of Nara. Planned after a Chinese model the city was divided into left and right halves by a main thoroughfare and was regularity itself. Such was the first permanent capital, economic as well as political.

As witnesses of that illustrious epoch, there still remain a number of grand architectural remains such as Hōryūji, Yakushiji, Nigatsudō, Sangatsudō, and many sculptures, garments, and furniture treasured in the Shōsōin (Imperial Treasury).

Even amid this ascendancy of Nara, a faint but irresistible longing for the old city of Shiga still survived, for now that three passes had been opened at Suzuka in Isé, Fuwa in Mino, and Arachi in Echizén, and now that the Lake of Biwa was utilized as an important means of communication, the capital being thus closely connected with Tsuruga, the northern seaport, what the nation wanted was naturally another capital at the southern extremity of the Lake. But a suitable site was difficult to find. In 761 A.D. Émi-no-Oshikatsu, Minister of State, established an eastern capital at Hora in the district of Kōga, Ōmi, which, though it soon after shared the tragic fate of its founder, served as a motive for the memorable transfer of the capital to Kyōto. Motive for transferring the capital to Kyōto.

In the end of the Nara epoch, when Yézo aborigines rose against the central Government, the Emperor Kwammu transferred his capital to Nagaoka in Yamashiro, and there took measures for a complete subjugation of the far north. Soon after, however, Fujiwara-no-Tanétsugu, the projector of that transfer, was assassinated, and the natural features of Nagaoka being found too limited for the capital of a still Héian or Kyōto.

growing State, the Emperor, following the secret suggestion of Waké-no-Kiyomaro, his senior counsellor, went in search of a site for a new capital, evading suspicion by a pretext of hunting. In 794 A.D. the transfer of the capital took place.

General plan of Héian-Kyō (Kyōto).

The new capital, offspring of ten years' effort on the part of the ablest experts of that age, covered the two districts of Kadono and Otagi in the Province of Yamato, and was built, as was Nara, after the model of the Chinese metropolis. It measured about four square miles, the whole being surrounded by thick walls with tiled roofs, palisades, moats, and thoroughfares provided with embankments. The twelve-gated Imperial citadel was situated in the centre of the northern portion, where also were the palace, various administrative departments, assembly hall, &c. From the southern palace gate to the southern city gate (Rashō-mon), a long and wide broadway, called Shujaku-ōji, extended in one straight line, separating the city into two parts, of which the eastern was designated '*Sakyō*' (the left city) and the western '*Ukyō*' (the right city). The whole city, from north to south, was traversed by thirty-two streets, and from east to west by thirty-eight. The two parts of the capital were each subdivided into ten *bō*, each *bō* being ruled by a governor and a head-man. The capital had a capacity for 36,352 houses, which capacity, however, was largely reduced by various official establishments, such as an Imperial garden, Imperial storehouses, the right and left prisons, and a police station.

Héian as an economic capital.

Both the left and right districts of the city were fully provided with a complete system of markets. The eastern market, held in the first half of every month, consisted of fifty-one sections, while the western, held in the second half of each month, had thirty-three sections. A list of articles offered for sale in these two markets comprised almost every kind of provisions, cattle, furniture, textiles, luxuries, stationery, arms, and so forth. The effect produced upon the prosperity of the capital by these regulations may easily be conceived.

Prosperity of Héian.

When the work of city-construction came to an end, the left capital was still in an imperfect condition. The new metropolis had a tendency towards the pleasant upland north-eastern suburb, so that, in 1050–1100, it expanded almost as far

as Shirakawa. As for the city's extent at the zenith of its prosperity, an idea may be formed from documentary records which show that, in 828 A.D., thirty-five years after its foundation, there were more than 580 streets in the city; also that 20,000 houses, or one-third of the whole city, were destroyed by the great fire of 1177.

Local cities.

But provincial cities were in a very different state. For instance, the prosperity enjoyed by Naniwa and Hakata throughout the Nara and Héian epochs, that is, as long as foreign communications lasted, rapidly waned in the tenth century when the nation was closed against the outside world, for since that period other parts of the country, except the western, had very little communication with them—communication between the capital and the districts of Tōkai, Tōsan, and Sanin being maintained by land, and Hokuriku being connected with Kyōto by means of the route running to Tsuruga and Ōtsu, and vessels of Sanyō and Nankai being always directed to shape their course towards Yodotsu.

III.—The Age of Supremacy in Northern Japan

Shōgunate Government at Kamakura.

Political supremacy, which had been gradually tending towards the north since the mid-Héian epoch, completely asserted its predominance over the south when, in 1186, the establishment of the Shōgunate at Kamakura opened up the epoch known as the Kamakura era. But with all its political supremacy Kamakura could scarcely rise, even in a century and a half, above a local capital, the probable explanation being the peculiar leniency of the Kamakura Government's hereditary policy, and their attitude towards their vassals, which was that of a leader and not a lord, which consequently could only impose on them an obligatory sojourn of one hundred days in the capital once in every three years.

Position of Kyōto maintained by inertia.

Meanwhile fortune had been against Kyōto, for by the memorable fire of the Jishō era its left half was consumed, and an attempt to transfer the capital to Fukuhara as well as the appearance of a new political centre in the east gave repeated blows to the ancient city. Nevertheless it still continued to be the seat of successive emperors, and a governor

commissioned by the Kamakura Shōgunate resided at Rokuhara in Kyōto, and its position as the centre of the south still remained undisputable.

Local cities.

As for local cities, there was as yet nothing considerable, except one said to have been founded at Hiraizumi by the Fujiwara family in the north. This, however, was only short-lived, the limited dimensions of the fiefs at that time being probably not the least of various reasons why the provinces were without political cities for so long a while.

IV.—The Age of Local Autonomy

Last days of Kyōto.

For two centuries and a half, namely from the time of the South and North dynasties (1336) to that of Oda and Toyotomi (1580), Japan was without a centre of authority, and its municipal progress was accordingly arrested. Although in the age of the South and North dynasties Kyōto, or Héian-Kyō, regained its political prestige and was made the administrative head-quarters of the Ashikaga Shōgunate, a short time only had elapsed before the disastrous war of the Ōnin era broke out there, and the administrative inefficiency of the Ashikaga Shōgunate allowed the city to be reduced almost to ruins.

Kamakura.

Kamakura, the capital of the preceding age and the Ashikaga's second and northern capital, was consumed by fire in the time of the civil war of the Kōshō era (1455), after having enjoyed prosperity for nearly a century (1350–1438) as the seat of the Viceroy of the eastern districts.

Rise of provincial towns.

The decay of authority in the two central cities of Kyōto and Kamakura was followed by the autonomy of local chiefs, and, in the course of time, the residences of those autonomic magnates grew into what might be considered local administrative centres. Yamaguchi in the Province of Suō, the castle of the Ōuchi family, was the most characteristic of these. During nearly a century of sustained prosperity, it became a large town, planned in every way as Kyōto, its ambition at one time being to become the seat of the Imperial Court. In the same category must be placed Odawara of the Hōjō family, Sumpu of the Imagawa family, Kōfu of the Takéda family, and some others.

Instigated by the twice-repeated Mongolian invasion (1273 and 1281), a new age of foreign trade and piratical raids was opened in the time of the South and North dynasties, and thence, till the extinction of the pirates in 1588, the seas eastward of the Malacca Strait remained the unchallenged domain of the so-called '*Hachiman-buné*' (ships dedicated to Hachiman, tutelary deity of warriors), a class of indomitable piratical vessels. About 1540, towards the middle of the Tembun era, Japan entered into trade relations with the Portuguese, Spanish, and other European nationalities, which relations were maintained with increasing development down to the national isolation of the Kwanyéi era (1639). In such an age nothing could have been more natural than the renaissance of economic cities connected with foreign trade. Among these, Sakai of the Province of Izumi was the most typical. Its origin may be traced as far back as when Yamana settled there about 1380, and its history as a port began when it fell into the possession of the Ōuchi family of the Province of Suō. Though afterwards put under the direct control of the Ashikaga Shōgunate, its municipal privileges were left unimpaired, except the exaction of a certain rent for warehouses, and, thus favoured, it soon developed as a centre of foreign and home trade, the zenith of its ascendancy being about the two centuries beginning with the Ōyéi era (1394).

Rise of economic cities.

It was during this period that Hakata regained something of its old prosperity. Another tradal port, Bō-no-Tsu, also made its appearance, in the Province of Satsuma. Hirado, in the Province of Hizén, whence men had crossed to China since ancient days, was inaugurated as a tradal port in 1549, and enjoyed uninterrupted prosperity for nearly a century, almost throwing into the shade its sister ports of Hakata and Bō-no-Tsu.

Prosperity of tradal ports.

V.—The Age of the Feudal System

Following on the era of autonomic feudal magnates, the South and the North of the country were unified under a perfect feudal *régime*. And thereafter, for three hundred years, that system formed the administration of the nation. During its first

Consummation of feudal system.

twenty or thirty years the centre was in the South, but afterwards it reverted to the North.

Revival of Kyōto.

The brave descent, in 1573, of Nobunaga Oda, from his territory of Owari to Kyōto, proved an important impetus to the union of the so-called North and South, and the revival of the then fading ancient capital of Kyōto. His schemes, though checked by his untimely death, soon found an able exponent in Hidéyoshi Toyotomi, and were successfully carried out when in 1590 he placed the whole nation under his direct supervision, building his castle at Momoyama in Fushimi, and his seat at the ancient city of Naniwa, which thus became the national centre, political as well as economic, eclipsing even the old sea-port of Sakai.

Rise of great cities.

In 1600, as the result of a complete victory over the southern allies on the field of Sekigahara, Iyéyasu Tokugawa made himself supreme among all the feudal lords, and laid once for all the immovable foundation of an era of tranquillity lasting over two centuries and a half. It was during this age that many towns grew into cities—Yédo, Ōsaka, Nagoya, Kanazawa, Ṣendai, Hiroshima, Kumamoto, and Nagasaki being some of the most considerable. This seclusion of the country, combined with feudalism, determined the destiny of our cities in a peculiar way.

Local municipal development.

A curious feature special to the feudal age was that the land was partitioned after an artificial system, independent of its orographical features, and that the *daimyō*, above 300 in number, had each in his fief a capital, state officiáls, considerable military forces, and a peasantry occupied in agricultural pursuits. Thus the size of a city varied in direct proportion to the political importance of its ruler and the extent of his territory.

Common markets.

Being entirely free from foreign influences, the economic condition of the cities was determined solely by internal circumstances, and towns under direct Government control, and distributed throughout the country from communicative and industrial points of view, served as common markets for the exchange of products from every part of the land.

Yédo, the national centre.

Among great political centres, Yédo was orginally in a corner of the wide and wild plain of Musashi, where the ‘ moon

rises from grass and sinks again into grass,' at the rushy mouth of the River Sumida. In the early days of the Kamakura epoch (*circa* 1320), Dōkwan Ōta, a celebrated warrior, constructed there his castle (1458). It was rural in every sense, and is well expressed in what is said to be his own stanza: 'My dwelling is where seas roll by and pines grow nigh, Mount Fuji raising his peak on high.' Here, a hundred and fifty years later, Iyéyasu Tokugawa placed his residence as chief of the eastern provinces, and the city was naturally elevated into the political capital of Japan. The Shōgun's Government and its chief officials, with their whole retinues and families as well as their vassals, civil and military, permanently settled there. Also, by an obligatory order, certain representatives of each local *daimyō* had to reside there, and even the *daimyō* themselves were required to live there every alternate year. In this way the city of Yédo, besides being the seat of the Shōgun's Government, became the secondary common capital of 300 *daimyō*, who brought hither and poured out local riches in their long urban sojourn. In these circumstances it rapidly grew to be the national centre in a manifold sense, for not only every ordinary trade and business for the supply of daily necessaries and luxuries, but also learning and the arts, social life, education, and amusements, underwent there such development as no previous age could have dreamed of, until at length the excessive prosperity of the capital came to be a matter of popular complaint. Men of erudition, in the period from the fifth to the eighth Shōgun (1681–1744), such as Sorai Ogyū, Shuntai Dazai, and Kyūsō Muro, seriously occupied themselves with endeavours to set limits to the ever-growing prosperity of Yédo, for in this they wisely foresaw the impoverishment of the provinces.

A glance at the plan of Yédo will not be out of place. The castle of Yédo, the residence of the Shōguns, was on the central upland of the city, and contained magnificent groups of stone-founded palaces and towers encircled with broad moats, the whole being divided into the two parts of '*Hon-maru*' and '*Nishi-maru*.' The residences of the *daimyō* were mostly near the castle, that is, in the sections of the city called Kōjimachi, Shiba, Akasaka, and Azabu. The *daimyō* had also secondary mansions or villas (*naka-yashiki* and *shimo-yashiki*) within or

without the city. The Shōgun's vassals and bodyguards lived scattered in Shitaya, Hongō, Tsukiji, Aoyama, and other parts of the city, especially in the streets of Banchō, Jinbōchō, Sarugakuchō, Ogawamachi, Surugadai, &c. The mercantile and industrial classes clustered round the residences of the *samurai* and religious establishments, Nihonbashi, Asakusa, Fukagawa, Kanda, Honjo, and Kyōbashi being their centres. At the beginning of the eighteenth century there were no less than sixty-seven warehouses for rice in Asakusa and thirty-seven in Honjo; while Asakusa, Kaméjimachō in Honjo, the streets along the Kanda Canal, and Iséchō along the Tatékawa Canal were famous for the establishments of various wholesale merchants; Nihonbashi and Tsukiji for *daimyō's* warehouses (*kura-yashiki*); Tenmachō, Haségawachō, and Honchō for cloth-merchants; Kiba for timber-merchants; Honjo for fire-wood merchants; Shinkawa and Shimbori for salt, wines, sauces, &c. In Daikongashi, Tachō, Yatchaba, Shinjuku, and Senju, there were markets for vegetables; in Uogashi and Shimba were those for fish. As for amusements and pastimes, Saruwakachō was famous for its theatres; Okuyama of Asakusa for general entertainments; Ryōgoku for shows and restaurants, whilst Uyéno, Nippori, Asukayama, Mukōjima, and Gotényama each had its park.

When we recall that this vast city of nearly 1700 streets and with a population of, in round numbers, two millions found its life in the political and military classes, and that its commercial activity was primarily to supply the needs of sworded people, the reason for the peculiar anti-mercantile sentiment that prevailed will not appear altogether unaccountable, or that the pride of the citizens was to spend rather than to amass what they earned.

Ōsaka as an economic capital.

Meanwhile, the city of Ōsaka, the most important economic centre in Southern Japan, stood out in the clearest contrast to its northern rival. Ōsaka, which, for a short period, had been the political capital under the Toyotomi family, was put under direct governmental control as soon as the Tokugawas were made Shōguns. Availing itself adroitly of its extensive economic domain and of its unrivalled prestige as the natural focus of the nation's communications in all directions, it rose

rapidly in economic importance, especially because the *kura-yashiki* (warehouses) of the *daimyō* were placed there. Under a ban as to foreign commerce, the nation found no other market for its products than the Island Empire, and Ōsaka was the very central point for such a home trade.

The warehouse system in Ōsaka was briefly this: a *daimyō*, if in possession of a warehouse, appointed a responsible deputy (*myōdai*) for it from among the merchants, and also a head-man (*kura-moto*), entrusting to them every business transaction relating to the warehouse, such as the registry of goods sent there from the *daimyō's* territory, the conclusion of sales, and the supply of funds needed for the *daimyō's* residence in his fief or in Yédo. There was also the *kaké-ya*, who managed the distribution of merchandise and the work of book-keeping, though these duties were often accessory to those of the head-man; there was a warehouse contractor called *yōtashi*, whose business was to supply the daily wants of the *daimyō's* vassals, to take charge of the warehouses, and to furnish any funds required for the *daimyō's* local government. These duties also were often undertaken by either the deputy or the head-man. If a *daimyō* had no such accommodation, he appointed a citizen of good repute to be *yōkiki* for the discharge of similar purposes.

In this way Ōsaka came to be looked upon as the reservoir of products from all parts of the nation, and the great medium of money circulation, and its position towards Yédo was exactly that of a kitchen towards a hall in a dwelling.

The population of Ōsaka, which stood at about 280,000 in 1625, increased to nearly 410,000 by 1662, and thereafter remained at 400,000 to 500,000. As an illustration of its riches, a Government loan of nearly 1,700,000 *ryō*, levied upon the city thrice in two months in 1761–62, was furnished by no more than 204 persons, and in 1843 another loan of 1,110,000 *ryō* was furnished by thirty-two persons without the least trouble. As to special markets, there was one for vegetables in Tenma, one for fish in Zakoba, and a rice exchange in Dōjima. Most characteristic of Ōsaka's commerce was a kind of business prerogative called *kabu* attached to a particular house, or guild, called *nakama*, by virtue of which a certain circle of merchants held monopolies.

The prevailing sentiment of the Ōsaka citizens was entirely in accord with the economic pre-eminence of the city in which they lived; that is, credit, saving, thrift, and industry were placed above everything else. The tragedies of Chikamatsu, a great dramatic poet, and the '*Éitai-gura*' of Saikaku, a novelist of no less eminence, contain most vivid pictures of old Ōsaka.

Kyōto. Though much behind these two cities, so far as political or economic ideas were concerned, Kyōto still maintained its high position, but in a different way, for it was there that the ancient civilization was most carefully preserved, and both fine and applied arts, as well as religion, bore their most brilliant fruits, while pilgrims and tourists clustered thither from every part of the country. After the Genna era (1615–23), it gradually recovered from what it had suffered in the Ōnin era (1467–68), so much so that its population at one time reached from 300,000 to 500,000, and its prosperity was further affected upon the eve of the Restoration when, its revival as the national political centre being anticipated, great men came there to live and merchants hastened to open shops. In short, its conservative atmosphere was dissipated, and things seemed to be about to lead it once more towards a glorious career of activity. But the transfer of the Imperial Court to Tōkyō was decided, and Kyōto relapsed into its old quietude.

Nagoya. With the exception of these three, all the other cities were political in their nature, being nothing but the local capitals of the 300 *daimyō*. Among them, Nagoya deserves special mention, because it was the largest city in the provinces bordering the Pacific Ocean, and was the capital of a near relative of the Shōgun's. Its history begins with the construction of the castle in 1610, and since then, taking advantage of its facilities of communication—being placed midway between Yédo, Kyōto, and Ōsaka—and of its extensive domain in the plain of Mino-Owari, one of the richest parts of the country, its progress was remarkable.

Sendai. Sendai, the largest city in the far north, was the seat of Daté, one of the most powerful *daimyō* in Northern Japan. It stands in the plain of Miyagino, commanding an extensive

domain of 500,000 *koku*. Its history begins with the construction of the castle in 1500.

Kanazawa, an important city in the district of Hokuriku, and the seat of the Mayéda family, lords of the largest fief in Japan, was originally founded by Buddhists, who constructed a temple there; in 1583 it fell into the possession of the Mayéda family, who made it into the largest city in the provinces bordering the Sea of Japan. Kanazawa.

Hiroshima, a spacious town in Chūgoku, or Sanyō, was founded in 1589, as a residential castle of the Mōri family, lords of the ten provinces of Chūgoku, and after falling into the possession of the Fukushima family, it was annexed to Asano's territory as early as 1616. It is in the rich plain of Chūgoku, and is geographically provided with excellent facilities for communication with the western provinces. Hiroshima.

Kumamoto, the chief city in Kyūshū, was founded by the celebrated Kiyomasa Kato, who constructed a castle there in 1601. From 1632 it was under the Hosokawa family. Kumamoto.

Such were the leading local cities in feudal Japan, and their population varied from fifty to a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. Besides these homogeneous political cities, there were a class of small towns called *shukuba* (halting places) on all the main routes traversing the empire.

Mention must also be made of the port of Nagasaki, the sole exception to the then prevailing policy of seclusion, which was entirely reserved for foreign trade. Its history, as far as its foreign relations are concerned, dates from 1570, when the Portuguese, to whom Ōmura, its lord, granted unlimited privileges, made it the head-quarters of the Catholic Church. Seventeen years later it was placed under the direct control of the central Government, and later still in 1639, when the exclusion policy was resorted to, the Tokugawa Government specially reserved it for the Dutch and the Chinese traders. In the sixty years from 1648 to 1708, 2,397,600 *ryō* in gold and 374,229 *kwanmé* in silver, and in the one hundred and eight years from 1601 to 1708, 3,371,680,000 *kin* in copper were exported thence. Its progress has continued almost uninterruptedly, in spite of repeated limitations. Nagasaki.

VI.—Prefectural and District Administration

As a direct result of the epoch-making visit of Commodore Perry in 1853, our country emerged once more into international activity, and several ports for foreign trade quickly rose to eminence as trading centres. No less significant a change took place in the bureaucratic cities, for the Restoration was followed by national unification and by the perfecting of the prefectural and district administration, so that all these cities, which had once been ruled by *daimyō*, were transformed into purely economic towns, with the exception of those allotted as military head-quarters, or for other special purposes. Hence decay became the inevitable fate of some of the old political cities, and the new system of communications caused a radical modification of municipal arrangements that dated from an age when the horse was the sole means of transport.

Municipal progress during last forty years.

Immediately political supremacy was restored to the Imperial authority, Yédo, Ōsaka, Kyōto, Nagoya, Hiroshima, Kanazawa, and Sendai were able to retain their former greatness, though in a somewhat different form, and have continued to progress and expand. In addition, new cities such as Yokohama, Kōbé, Hakodaté, and others have grown to signal prosperity as tradal ports. Even the historic city of Nagasaki underwent innovations and entered upon a new career. Nor should we omit the promising city of Moji.

In the first twenty years, which were a transition epoch, they changed from feudal capitals of the age of seclusion into cities of a nation open to the world, and administered under the prefectural and district system; in the second twenty, they have been improved in every way, passing through a period of municipal reform. They now are entering upon a third stage.

(*a*) *Transition Period*

In the years between the Restoration and the Formosan conquest in 1875 or the civil war in the south-west in 1877, several new ports came into existence: Yokohama in north-eastern Japan, Kobé in southern, Hakodaté in the far

north, and Nagasaki, entirely rejuvenated, in southernmost Kyūshū.

Formation of new cities.

Half a century ago, the prosperous port of Yokohama was a small fishing village, called Yokohama-mura, on the Bay of Yédo, with 101 houses, and rice-fields of 335 *koku*, a part of the hamlet standing on an inlet of Nogé. In June 1859 it was opened to the world's traffic, people flocked thither from Yédo and the neighbouring districts, the foreshore was reclaimed, and the villages in its vicinity were brought together, so that already, as early as 1873, exports amounting to fifteen million *yen* and imports to nineteen million *yen* were dealt with there.

Kōbé was a part of Hyōgo, containing nearly a thousand houses with 5000 inhabitants in round figures, before it became a tradal port in 1867. In 1871 the work of providing accommodation was commenced, and after two years the population stood at 38,000, while the volume of exports consisted of two and a half million *yen*, and imports to nearly six million. Hakodaté, opened in 1858, found itself in 1873 handling exports of 450,000 *yen* and imports of 410,000 *yen* in value, and containing 25,000 souls. Nagasaki, also, in 1873, dealt with exports representing two million *yen* and imports about the same value.

Transition of old cities.

While all the above new cities were busily vying with one another in expansion, the old ones also were gradually setting out upon a reformed career.

Tōkyō.

On the 11th of April 1868, the Tokugawa Shōgun surrendered his castle in Yédo to the Méiji Government, and retired to his residence in the Province of Suruga. Thus deprived of a leader, the 80,000 *samurai* of the Shōgun's household were scattered to the four quarters of Japan, and the feudal lords betook themselves to their own fiefs. The effect on the prosperity of Yédo, which now was left almost entirely without trade, may easily be conceived. But after a short sojourn at Kyōto, the Emperor removed to Yédo and took up his residence in the castle, the city (thereafter being called Tōkyō, or 'the Capital of the East') thus once more becoming the seat of the central Government establishments, garrisons, schools, hospitals, &c. As the result of prefectural and district administration and

centralization, most of the former feudatories came back and settled there. At this time, and even until 1877, its population only reached 580,000, or one-fourth of what it was in former days.

Ōsaka.

Ōsaka, the economic centre of Japan, was in a like position as regards population; for the abolition of feudalism naturally broke down the *kura-yashiki* system (see p. 347), which had been the main source of its sustained prosperity, and an elaborate commercial mechanism, hallowed by a long history, fell to pieces and brought with it the bankruptcy of all the leading business men who had been entrusted with the agency and sale of *daimyō's* commodities, only thirty-six of them surviving the first shock, and these being afterwards reduced to ten. In the first year of the Restoration it started on a new career as a city for foreign trade, but the lack of an available harbour forced it to transact all business through the medium of Kōbé, which constituted, as it were, its antechamber. Hence, in 1873, exports were but 900,000 *yen* and imports 400,000 *yen*.

Kyōto and local cities.

Even the city of Kyōto, lying comparatively beyond the reach of change, underwent such a considerable reduction on being deserted by the Imperial Court that its population, once inhabiting 70,000 houses, were at one time only using 10,000.

The cities of Nagoya, Kanazawa, Hiroshima, Sendai, Kumamoto, &c., were able to retain some traces of the political importance which they lost on the abolition of the *han* (fief) administration, by the establishment of local government, garrisons, and schools under the auspices of the new *régime*.

Period of rest.

Whilst the cities were thus undergoing transformation, effective measures were being taken to develop and reform industries, commerce, and particularly agriculture. Municipal progress, too, was largely, though indirectly, quickened by increasing facilities of communication and transportation by land and sea.

Postal communications.

In 1871 a new postal system was inaugurated, and in the next year it spread throughout the empire. In 1873 the rate of postal fee was lowered and made uniform, and post cards were issued, while a postal convention was signed with the United States of America. In 1875 the first mail was sent to China; in 1876 post offices were installed both in China and Korea; in 1877 Japan entered the International Postal Union;

in 1878 all the postal lines in the empire were brought into connection; and in 1882 the number of post offices was considerably increased, and regulations were established so as to fix responsibilities and equalize duties.

In 1871 a system of domestic telegraphs was inaugurated; in 1878 it extended abroad, and in the following year Japan entered the International Telegraph Union. Telegraphs.

In 1872 the first railways were built between Tōkyō and Yokohama, and Ōsaka and Kōbé; in 1876 the Ōsaka-Kyōto line was opened, and in 1883 the Uyéno-Shinmachi line. Railways.

With Government steamers, which, after the Formosan expedition of 1875, were transferred to the Mitsubishi Company, regular services were established with Shanghai and along the domestic coast-lines. In 1882 the *Kyōdō Unyu Kaish* and the *Ōsaka Shōsén Kaisha* came into existence; the former being amalgamated in 1885 with the *Mitsubishi Kaisha* under the title of the *Nippon Yūsén Kaisha.* Thus Japan's mercantile marine, which stood at 15,000 tons in 1870, increased to 42,000 in 1875, and to 59,000 in 1885. Shipping.

(*b*) *The Epoch of Improvement*

Notwithstanding all this, the sphere of national progress was still limited almost entirely to agriculture and rural regions, and influenced industry, commerce, or the growth of cities but little, until the close of the second decade. The nation then awoke to the importance of developing the machinery of communication, and thenceforward commerce and industry received a fresh impetus, and people occupied themselves seriously with municipal problems. In fact, Japanese cities only entered their first period of improvement three or four years subsequent to the Chino-Japanese War, but thereafter their progress has been continuous, and a second period may be said to be closing in the years since the conclusion of the war with Russia.

In 1887 a railway was built between Tōkyō and Sendai; in 1888 one between Tōkyō and Naoézu; in 1889 one between Tōkyō and Kōbé; in 1891 one between Tōkyō and Aomori; in 1898 one between Moji and Nagasaki; and in 1901 one Railways.

between Kōbé and Shimonoséki; so that now, by means of one continuous line, the eastern part of Kyūshū may hold speedy communication with the northern extremity of the main island. The same is true of the Formosan territory, nay, even of Korea. Thus, while there were in 1883 only 250 miles of line, there were nearly 1000 miles in 1888, which became 3000 in 1897, and in March 1907 the total mileage reached 4831 miles open, and 875 miles under construction.

Shipping.

A similar record holds in the matter of sea communication, for whereas Japanese shipping consisted of only 59,000 tons in 1885, it attained a tonnage of 1,115,000 in the end of 1907, promoted by two great wars and the constant auspices of Government.

During the past two decades, electric enterprises have come into existence in rapid succession—such as telephones and tramways, the latter threatening almost to monopolize urban communication.

It was also in the beginning of the third decade of the present era that two most important industries, weaving and spinning, were revitalized. In the year 1904 [1] we find that 71,400,000 *yen* worth of manufactured articles and 144,700,000 *yen* worth of partly manufactured were exported against only 39,500,000 *yen* worth of raw materials, a fact constituting a clear indication of our gradually rising importance as an industrial and commercial, rather than an agricultural nation.

City and town regulations.

City and town regulations were issued in 1888, and a special municipal law, applicable to Tōkyō, Ōsaka, and Kyōto, was enacted in 1890.

Municipal ameliorations.

The improvement of the municipal district of the city of Tōkyō, projected as early as 1884 and investigated by a special committee in 1885, was soon put into execution, and at present is in full progress. Water-works were completed in 1898. In Ōsaka, also, the water-works were begun in 1891 and finished in 1895; a drainage system, set about in 1892, was completed in 1897; and a project of harbour construction, sanctioned by the Government in 1897, is now nearly finished. A canal

[1] It is difficult to disintegrate the figures in later years. But in 1907 the exports of tissues, yarns, and materials, and those of silk and cotton, amounted to 210,000,000 *yen*.

joining Lake Biwa with the city of Kyōto, put in hand in 1885, was completed in 1890. In Yokohama, also, water-works were made in 1888, and a scheme of harbour construction, planned as early as 1889, is on the verge of completion. The water-works of the city of Kōbé, projected in 1887, were duly completed in 1900. Moreover, at Moji, Nagasaki, Wakamatsu, &c., works of harbour construction or improvement, projected in the beginning of the third decade, have, for the most part, been carried through. As for harbour construction in Tōkyō, though not yet ripe for realization, it has constituted an urgent question since 1885.

In estimating our municipal expansion notice must be taken of the rate of increase of the population.

Increase in population of Tōkyō.

As regards Tōkyō, censuses show that the population stood at 880,000 to 910,000 in 1882–83, increased to 1,870,000 in the time of the Russo-Japanese War (1904), and to 1,960,000 in 1905, after the war. This growth is due to the fact that Tōkyō is not only the political capital, but also the centre of education, the head-quarters of the army, of communications, and especially of economic affairs. This twofold advantage, namely being at once the economic and political capital, has been largely responsible for the city's enormous prosperity. It bears favourable comparison with Ōsaka, which has been the centre of trade these three centuries, for while, in 1903, the aggregate capital subscribed to various companies in Ōsaka stood at 62,000,000 *yen*, in Tōkyō, in the same year, it stood at 158,000,000 *yen*; and while in Ōsaka the aggregate capital paid into banks stood at 19,000,000 *yen*, that in Tōkyō reached the large figure of 99,000,000 *yen*.

Ōsaka.

Though surpassed by its eastern rival so far as capital paid into banks is concerned, the city of Ōsaka is still far ahead of Tōkyō in the matter of industrial activity. In the end of the year 1904 there were only 381 factories in Tōkyō against 4283 in Ōsaka, and the latter's population, which stood at 309,000 in the year 1883, increased to 750,000 in 1897, and to 1,020,000 in 1904. Thus in Ōsaka the rate of increase in population, which moves in direct proportion to prosperity, is in advance of that in Tōkyō.

When these two cities are once more considered with regard

to commercial activity, taking as a guide the amount of money-orders dealt with, they are almost on an equal footing, which turns, however, in favour of Ōsaka, when the amount of taxes paid by the citizens is taken into account. As for their respective economic domains, the districts along the Pacific Ocean, east of Shizuoka, the provinces of Kai and Shinano, and the eastern part of Hokkaidō fall into that of Tōkyō, and the greater half of Japan west of Shizuoka falls into that of Ōsaka. The districts along the Japan Sea west of an imaginary line drawn from the southernmost end of the Province of Échigo to the centre of the Island of Hokkaidō constitute the common field of both. In this way Ōsaka maintains its economic supremacy just as Tōkyō does its political, and that it is a chief centre of industry in the Orient is indisputable. Ōsaka's main customers in its foreign trade are Oriental countries, and among the more important staples of commerce, cotton yarns, cotton stuffs, and matches should be reckoned, so that nothing is more apparent than that the city's brilliant promise for the future depends upon the growing intimacy of our relations with the great nations of the East, after the two successive conflicts with them.

Comparison of Yokohama and Kōbé.

Yokohama and Kōbé, respectively the tradal capitals in Southern and Northern Japan, stand to each other in the same relation as Tōkyō to Ōsaka, and may be considered, as it were, their servants, destined to share the fate of their masters. The comparison may be further extended to the prevailing moods of these two ports, for the peculiar non-mercantile tone of Tōkyō is well reflected in Yokohama, just as the mercantile spirit of Ōsaka is dominant in Kōbé. While Yokohama has its industrial domain in Kazusa, Shimōsa, Shinano, and Kai, and two-thirds of its exports consist of raw silk and silk stuffs, Kōbé deals in cotton yarns, cotton stuffs, and matches as its chief staples, which are amply supplied by Ōsaka. Thus it follows that the former's customers are Occidental, while the latter's are Oriental, and we may also expect to see larger fruits of the *post-bellum* activity in the latter than in the former.

The population of Yokohama, which stood at 59,000 souls in 1883, grew to 140,000 in 1892, to 310,000 in 1902, and to 330,000 in 1904. That of Kōbé, on the other hand, which

stood at 50,000 souls in 1883, increased to 140,000 in 1892, to 270,000 in 1902, and to 290,000 in 1904. As for their respective trade, Yokohama had exports and imports of 47,000,000 *yen* in value in 1882, 92,000,000 *yen* in 1892, and 228,000,000 *yen* in 1902; the corresponding figures in Kōbé case being 12,000,000 *yen*, 51,000,000 *yen*, and 210,000,000 *yen* respectively.

Kyōto.

In addition to these two great centres of national life and markets for foreign trade, we should not omit to mention, though cursorily, the ancient city of Kyōto, where nature seems to have shown herself at her best. The arts, fine and applied, religion, and pastimes found there their centre. The northern part of the city is maintained by the celebrated weaving industry of Nishijin; the southern by pilgrims to the two Honganji Temples, of the Western and Eastern sects, thousands of whom flock thither every year; the central, by hotels; the eastern and western suburbs, by famous places and historic monuments; the south-western by its dyeing industry; and the south-eastern by its pottery. In the northern section of the city there are the Imperial Palace, the prefectural offices, schools, and other attractions.

Its population, largely reduced in the earlier years of the present era, grew in 1887 to 260,000, to 330,000 in 1897, and to 370,000 in 1903. It still maintains its third position among our cities, and well deserves the epithet of 'Elysium.'

Nagoya.

Among the feudal cities, which were transformed into economic ones under the new *régime*, Nagoya demands special notice as the most promising, and as progressing in the most steady manner. Its population, which stood at 140,000 in 1887, grew to 240,000 in 1897 and to 290,000 in 1905. As a commercial and industrial city it stands next to Ōsaka, and there seems to be no doubt as to the still greater expansion of its economic domain and industries, when, in no distant future, the Central Railway and the harbour at Atsuta are completed, and the never-tiring diligence of the citizens and their cheap labour are fully employed.

Kanazawa and Sendai.

As for Kanazawa and Sendai, their development has been somewhat tardy, and their population varies between 80,000 and 100,000 inhabitants. The prosperity they enjoy is largely

due to the presence of Government establishments, such as prefectural offices, barracks, and schools. Kanazawa is gradually regaining its former prosperity by means of its weaving industry.

Hiroshima. Hiroshima, whence Japan's armies started for the Asiatic Continent during the Wars, made considerable advance in one decade. Its population of 80,000 souls in 1887 increased to 110,000 in 1897, and to 120,000 in 1903.

Nagasaki. All this while Nagasaki was far from being inert. Its population, numbering 40,000 in 1887, increased to 150,000 in 1903. In spite of hindrances arising from the conservative mood prevailing among its citizens and its limited economic domain, its excellent situation in a corner of the China Sea, where all the steamer lines bound for China, Korea, and Siberia call, and its having coal mines in its vicinity and labourers in plenty, give it special adaptability for shipbuilding; which things seem to promise expansion and progress. It is there that the Mitsubishi Company, owners of the largest dock in Japan, are building great ships and carrying on a large coal-mining enterprise.

Moji. The city of Moji, a fishing village twenty years ago, has attained its present prosperity on account of its convenient situation and its possession of coal mines. As a tradal city it ranks below Yokohama, Kōbé, and Ōsaka only.

Sapporo, Otaru, and Hakodaté. Out in the north there have also appeared several important cities, owing to the reclamation of new territory. Sapporo, the seat of local government, has now a population of 50,000, while Hakodaté and Otaru have each a population of 80,000, and both show every prospect of rapid development, now that the extensive fisheries in the Far North have fallen into our hands.

Future prospects. The world is now awaiting a new era which our country seems destined to inaugurate. Men look towards the Pacific Ocean as the scene where events of universal interest are likely to occur. All things considered, we may justly predict for Japan, the very focus of the Ocean, a glorious future as regards industry and commerce, the development of which, as history tells, always stands organically related to that of cities. Our optimistic views, so far as municipal progress is concerned, need fear no contradiction at the hands of time.

XV

JAPAN'S FINANCE

MARQUIS MASAYOSHI MATSUGATA

Remarkable progress of Japan's finance.

DURING the half-century that has elapsed since the open-door policy was adopted, one of the most remarkable and memorable undertakings carried through in Japan has been that of Financial Reformation. For it is a result of the nation's painstaking care in remodelling fundamentally its institutions in order to equip itself for intercourse with more advanced nations; and the system of Old Japan having been totally abolished, finance has now been placed upon a new basis adapted from Western civilized countries.

Financial system in olden times.

The financial system in times before the Restoration was composite in its nature—a mixture of a characteristic system, that had grown up by degrees since the sovereignty of Jimmu, with the systems of China and Korea, especially with that of the former during the Tang and Sung dynasties (618–1278 A.D.). It had also experienced a peculiar development under the feudal system of the Tokugawa Shōgunate, from the Kéichō era (1596–1614).

It was, as a matter of course, entirely different from that which we have organized since the Restoration on a basis of European methods.

Ruinous finance of the Tokugawa *régime*.

The financial system of Japan during the time of the Tokugawa Shōgunate was highly complicated. In consequence it is not at all surprising that evils were found in every direction when Japan was opened to the world, or that her financial condition just before the Restoration was much embarrassed.

This state of things was, indeed, one of the potent causes that brought about the downfall of the Tokugawa Shōgunate.

Let me briefly describe how chaotic were the finances under the old *régime.*

Japan towards the end of feudalism.

Divided into several hundred clans, or *han,* during the time of the Shōgunate, and under the sway of a purely feudal system, Japan was destitute of any financial unification except that the right of minting gold and silver belonged exclusively to the Shōgunate and was not granted to the feudal lords.

As Japan had for several hundred years kept herself secluded from foreign countries, except Holland and China, with whom she had been engaged in trade only on a small scale, there existed none of the institutions necessary for commerce, such as custom houses, foreign exchanges, insurance offices, &c.

One can hardly imagine the embarrassment of Japan when the American fleet unexpectedly appeared before her shores and, through diplomatic persuasion and representations, induced her to yield to the open-door policy. On the one hand, among patriots two antagonistic opinions struggled for mastery concerning the settlement, one being in favour of the closing of ports against foreign countries, the other in favour of opening the country to international relations. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Tokugawa Government became the central object of public enmity, and the Shōgun's orders were with difficulty carried into execution.

Rice as the only means of revenue.

In days prior to the Restoration, taxes were paid in rice, and so the annual receipts and expenditures of the Government were based upon this revenue. Salaries of officials, for instance, were paid in anything but money. It cannot be denied, therefore, that Japan in those days was still in the age of 'Barter,' so to speak. Nor was this form of taxation carried out impartially, for the quantities of rice paid as taxes varied in different fiefs. So, too, with other miscellaneous payments which were imposed upon the people at the absolute will of the lords, who were, moreover, liable to the arbitrary requisition of extra contributions in money and personal service. In such circumstances it was inevitable that some provincial governments should have become terribly corrupt.

With regard to the coinage, it also, in the days of the Tokugawa Government (under which it had been reformed in

the period of Kéichō (1596–1614), was in a state of confusion, and especially so just before the Restoration. The proportionate value of gold and silver at home, for instance, was far from corresponding to the relative values abroad. This naturally caused an excessive outflow of gold coins and also great fluctuations in the value of both metals. Defects in the coinage system.

The Tokugawa Government had also become so embarrassed that it had to strike coins of inferior quality. The lords not only did the same thing, but also issued their own notes and increased the number of their loan bonds. Thus one can hardly imagine how chaotic were the finances. In the meantime, the civil war, or War of the Restoration, broke out, and at its close the new Imperial Government found itself confronted by the state of things described above.

The new Government, as successor to such a hopeless financial policy and taking the whole responsibility upon itself, had to clear away all the old incongruities and to substitute a system adaptable to the conditions of New Japan, and of this we will now speak. New financial policy of the Imperial Government.

I.—Annual Receipts and Expenditures

The annual receipts at the commencement of the new Government in the first fiscal year of Méiji (1867–68) aggregated only 33,000,000 *yen*, of which 3,000,000 *yen* and 30,000,000 *yen* were estimated as ordinary and extraordinary receipts respectively. Special receipts accrued chiefly from the issue of paper money and loan bonds. The annual expenditure amounted to 30,000,000 *yen*, of which 25,000,000 *yen* represented ordinary expenditures and 5,000,000 *yen* extraordinary. Besides, there was another class of expenditure, termed 'Special Expenditure,' which included the outlay incurred during the civil war that broke out at the beginning of the Méiji era. Annual accounts of first and thirty-eighth years of Méiji compared.

Comparing these annual accounts with those of 1908, we find that the annual receipts during the latter amount to over 619,000,000 *yen*, of which 475,000,000 *yen* and 144,000,000 *yen* have been estimated as the ordinary and extraordinary annual receipts respectively; and that the annual expenditures

amount to 619,000,000 *yen*, of which 427,000,000 *yen* and 192,000,000 *yen* have been estimated as the ordinary and extraordinary annual expenditures respectively.

The annual accounts in the first year of Méiji cannot be said to have been representative of the whole of Japan, since, the new *régime* having been only just inaugurated, finances were at the time so confused that the annual receipts accruing direct to the Tokugawa Government were not included among those obtained by the new *régime*, to say nothing of those accruing to the local lords. It is only fair that this should be remembered in making a comparison with the first annual receipts placed in the safe of the new Government. The subsequent rapid development in the administration of finance has been principally the result of hard work done during the last forty years in reforming various systems and institutions and in promoting industries which contributed much to the national wealth and brought about a great increment of annual receipts. The increase in expenditure, however, has been, to some extent, the result of the two recent wars, fought within ten years of each other.

Causes of the financial progress.

For the first four years of Méiji the central Government was as yet powerless, since the empire was divided into several hundred provinces or *han*, still under the influence of the old feudalism. It was, indeed, not until 1871 that a prefectural system was instituted for the administration of the whole country, and all parts came under the direct control of the central Government. Then followed a financial unification by reforming the land tax, which is to be counted among the most important events in the history of New Japan; by improving the coinage system; by granting the proprietary right in land to private persons; by readjusting the rate of the land tax, which had heretofore been unequal; by abolishing the payment of taxes in rice and establishing instead their payment in money; by repealing miscellaneous duties; by adjusting such loans as the Tokugawa Government and provincial lords had made; by consolidating the paper money issued by various fiefs; by placing loan bonds in the hands of the feudatories and their retainers as a substitute for the pensions formerly paid in rice, instead of any cash settlements; by improving the national

Various improvements in financial system.

treasury system, and by establishing rules for the receipts and expenditures which constituted the 'fiscal year,' the 'budget,' and the 'settled accounts.'

These various tasks had been fairly accomplished by 1876.

In 1877 a civil war broke out in the south-western provinces, the pacification of which called for such an enormous amount of money that the Government was again forced to resort to the issue of a large quantity of inconvertible notes, which brought on inflation and consequent depreciation.

The eleventh to the nineteenth year of Méiji (1878–86) were devoted to consolidating inconvertible notes, elaborating a scheme of Army and Navy expansion, and extending the railways, being stimulated thereto by the Korean problem. All of these enterprises caused, as a matter of course, a great increase in the annual expenditures. In order to meet that increase, the Government had to resort to new sources of revenue as well as to public loans. In the meantime, improvements worthy of notice took place in the regulation of the treasury system, of the public loan system, and of the banking system. From the nineteenth to the twenty-sixth year of Méiji (1886–93) was the period of the commencement of our constitutional government, the Diet having been inaugurated in 1890. Thereafter, not only the Government, but also the people gave their attention to the reformation and rearrangement of various institutions and organs which were already existing in an imperfect shape, and thus no increment in annual receipts and expenditures resulted. After 1878. After 1886.

The Diet showed a negative tendency in financial affairs —annual expenditures being cut down each session. As a result of this, each year saw an abundant surplus in the annual receipts. From 1886 onward, the Government kept itself provided with hard cash in readiness for the redemption of paper money. In consequence, the money market became fair and favourable upon the whole; the rate of interest on money fell; and the public loan bonds carrying interest of over 5 per cent. were redeemed or consolidated into 5 per cent. bonds.

Again, the Government made an official assessment of the value of land throughout the country, and removed certain unfair inequalities in the values previously assessed. This

brought about a decrease of several million *yen* in the receipts from land taxes. Nevertheless, the Government had abundant resources in the Treasury.

Abrupt expansion in annual accounts after 1894.

The China-Japan War, which broke out in the twenty-seventh year of Méiji (1894), caused a great revolution in finance, producing an abrupt expansion in annual receipts and expenditures. So, too, the Boxer trouble. In fact, from 1894 onward, the Government of Japan steadily increased its resources in the shape of the war indemnity from the Chinese Government, and of loan bonds and railway loan bonds then issued, and of revenues which grew rapidly. While the annual receipts had thus been increasing, the annual expenditures had also grown to so great an amount that the expansion of both annual receipts and expenditures, looked at from an outside point of view, appeared limitless. In fact, as *post-bellum* undertakings, the Army and Navy had to be largely increased; public organizations for communications and education required supplementing; an iron foundry had to be established; new undertakings and reformations in Formosa became a necessity. All these, together with other various important works, needed much money. It must be borne in mind, however, that there have been ample resources, in spite of such a rapid expansion of finance, to meet the increased expenditures; for the Imperial Government has strenuously pursued a fixed policy from the first, and especially since 1886, with a view to the development of the country in finance and economy and in commerce and industry, so as successfully to bring about the results ever aimed at, by rearranging and improving all the necessary institutions and systems. There is not the slightest doubt that we can bear all the burdens that have accrued from the Russia-Japan War, and that we can contribute something to the peace, to the civilization, and to the progress of the world as a nation of the Orient. The following table shows the growth of the annual receipts and expenditures under the new *régime*:

ANNUAL RECEIPTS ..

Fiscal Year.	Ordinary. *Yen.*	Extraordinary. *Yen.*	Total. *Yen.*
1867–68	3,664,780	29,424,533	33,089,313
1869–70	10,043,628	10,915,872	20,959,500
1875–76	83,080,575	3,240,502	86,321,077

ANNUAL RECEIPTS (*continued*)

Fiscal Year.	Ordinary. *Yen.*	Extraordinary. *Yen.*	Total. *Yen.*
1880–81	58,036,574	5,330,681	63,367,255
1885–86	56,429,622	5,727,213	62,156,835
1890–91	78,593,498	27,875,856	106,469,354
1895–96	95,444,652	22,988,069	118,432,721
1900–01	192,170,081	103,684,787	295,854,868
1904–05	217,627,999	12,229,994	229,857,993
1907–08	475,737,000	144,059,000	619,796,000

ANNUAL EXPENDITURES

Fiscal Year.	Ordinary. *Yen.*	Extraordinary. *Yen.*	Total. *Yen.*	Surplus. *Yen.*
1867–68	5,506,253	24,998,833	30,505,086	2,584,227
1869–70	9,360,231	11,425,609	20,785,840	13,652,565
1870–71	12,226,382	7,008,776	19,235,158	2,909,440
1875–76	52,842,348	13,292,424	66,134,772	20,186,305
1880–81	60,297,322	2,843,574	63,140,896	226,359
1885–86	47,643,037	13,472,277	61,115,314	1,041,521
1890–91	66,752,431	15,372,972	82,125,403	24,343,951
1895–96	67,148,007	18,169,173	85,317,180	33,115,541
1900–01	149,134,167	143,615,892	292,750,059	3,104,809
1904–05	171,736,914	51,444,316	223,181,230	6,676,763
1907–08	427,194,000	192,602,000	619,796,000	—

There are two classes of annual *comptabilité*—the ordinary class of annual accounts and the extraordinary class of annual accounts. The annual receipts and expenditures given above belong to the former, whilst those concerning the undertakings in Formosa, various Government schools, Government railways, and Government works, belong to the latter, and are not included in this table.

Dealings with National Treasury's money.

The receiving, keeping, and disbursing of public money in the Department of Finance have been completely centralized and entrusted to the Bank of Japan, which, as one of the obligations imposed upon it by the Government, has to discharge all these functions with full responsibility. At the beginning of the Méiji era, however, the National Treasury's money was handled in such a complicated manner as to cause delay in every case. Money received by the Government from the people, for instance, could not be used for disbursements for a long period. Moreover, as each local government had its own administration fund, it was necessary to keep a large amount of cash on hand in order to be in readiness for payments at any time. This kind of economy was gradually abolished when, dating from 1886, a fundamental reform in the system of financial

administration was introduced by unifying all the receiving, keeping, and disbursing of public moneys formerly handled by each local government on its own account. In a word, the Imperial finance is now well administered under one simple regulation, as may be observed in its present working. Thus the annual budgets and settled accounts being first compiled and presented to the Diet, this body must then vote upon them after they have been duly attested by the Board of Audit. There is no question that the financial administration, which was conducted in the time of the old *régime*, and at the beginning of the new, in secrecy and obscurity, differed widely from the present practice.

II.—TAXATION

Taxation system in the Tokugawa *régime.*

Under the old *régime* the system of taxation was highly complicated, owing to the fact that every province had its own system based upon a different method of administration. The principal tax, paid in rice chiefly, was that laid upon the land. Besides, there were miscellaneous duties and monopoly systems. Local lords, or *daimyō*, often loaned capital to their subjects, with the understanding that the latter should return it, with interest, in the form of products. The profit gained by selling these latter formed a part of the annual receipts of the local government. In cases of a deficit in annual receipts, compulsory contributions were imposed upon the people, or else payments were made on the part of the people to the lords in consideration of some privileges granted by the latter. Speaking generally, the basis of taxation was so imperfect that taxes levied by the feudal lords were apt, in time, to weigh too heavily upon the people, and, besides, cases of corruption among officials were not infrequent, not only through inequality in the rate of taxes so levied, but because of their being paid chiefly in commodities, and because of the lords' arbitrary power in fixing the rate.

This state of things checked the development of national economy. Taxes levied by *han* or feudal lords were comparatively heavier than those raised by the Tokugawa Government from territories under its control. The greater number of taxes were direct, the indirect being very few.

Custom duties formed a part of the annual receipts of the Tokugawa Government. Foreign trade, before the inauguration of the open-door policy, could be carried on to a limited extent only in Déshima and Nagasaki, and with China and Holland only. At this time no customs system was in existence. Duties collected by the Government were in the nature of contributions. It was only after the Restoration, and as a result of the open-door policy, that the customs duties were assessed and properly fixed in conformity with the treaties concluded between foreign countries and Japan.

Unification of the taxation system effected.

The first move on the part of the new *régime* was to bring about a unification of the tax system throughout the whole empire. With this end in view, the rate of direct taxes was reduced, especially that of the land tax, the condition of farmers was improved, and agricultural enterprises were, to a large extent, encouraged. A deficit in annual receipts was made up by the gradual establishment of indirect taxes. In 1872, the land-tax reform having been proclaimed, the land of the whole empire was surveyed; a distinction was made between land owned by the Government and that held by the people; the private ownership of land was established, and a title-deed was given to every landowner. A basis of assessment was found by converting the land's net average produce for five years into its money value. The rate of land tax was then fixed at 3 per cent. of the same. The former system of paying taxes in produce was abolished, and, in its stead, coin became the only acknowledged medium of payment; the old basis of taxation, fixed annually in accordance with the condition of the crops, which had to be officially examined from time to time, was abandoned and a new one was adopted as explained above, and altogether over two thousand miscellaneous duties were wiped out.

Effects of the reformed tax law.

The reform of the land-tax law played a great part in the development of the economics of our empire. By it, in the first place, for instance, the people, regardless of the social rank to which they belonged, could enjoy common rights, and their proprietary titles in land were definitely recognized and confirmed. Thus the right to sell and purchase land having been definitely given to the people, their properties

became secure, and this has naturally fostered a self-governing spirit, as a result of which lands have been constantly improved. In the second place, the people, who formerly had to pay taxes imposed arbitrarily by the Government, are now, as a result of the land-tax reform, left in no doubt as to the amount of taxes they should pay, since reform has established a unification of the rate of land tax throughout the country, and no Government officer is allowed to change the rate so long as the law remains without amendment. In the third place, the people save all the trouble formerly necessitated, when taxes were paid in products, by packing and shipping them to certain places appointed by the Government. Since the acceptance of the new basis of taxation, products may be exchanged for money and taxes paid in coin from the proceeds. In former times, when taxes were paid in rice, the amount of the annual receipts of the Government depended, as a matter of course, largely upon the market price of rice, the fluctuation in which caused the Government no little difficulty.

Land-tax reform.

The land-tax reform was accomplished in 1876. Carried into execution throughout the empire, it aroused strong protest among stubborn and conservative folk who still clung to old customs, whatever they might be, and who were necessarily ignorant of a measure's merits. Tumults and demonstrations followed in various forms all over the country, but the Government, paying no attention to such things, enforced the measure with determination, mainly as it had been first planned, although it was thought fit, at the request of certain tax-payers, to allow for a time the payment of taxes in rice if more convenient, and even to extend the date fixed for payments in money in cases of bad crops. Further, money was loaned to the poor to enable them to pay taxes in instalments. This was facilitated by establishing a money-saving system, which should provide against a general failure of crops or famine. Moreover, in 1876, the rate of the land tax was reduced from 3 per cent. to 2½ per cent., causing a diminution of nearly 8,000,000 *yen*. This step, satisfactory to the people, proved efficacious in silencing their protests against the land-tax reform.

The reformed land tax was the foundation upon which all other taxes have been based and out of which they have

developed. It may well be stated that a germ of the idea of tax-paying obligation, implied in the Imperial Constitution which took effect from 1890, had already existed at the time when the land-tax reform was carried into execution. It was one of the causes which brought about an improvement in finance and a development of the economy of the empire. Among the other great tasks the new *régime* had undertaken were: rearrangement of the system of pensions given to the nobles and their retainers; the adjustment of paper money and coinage; the reform of banking administration; and the consolidation of public loan bonds.

The reformation of land tax as the foundation of improvements in taxation.

The next step of the Government was to rearrange the system of local taxes as distinguished from national taxes, so that unification might be brought about, and certain corrupt practices, introduced by Government officials of the old *régime* connected with the levying of taxes, might be abolished.

Rearrangement of the local tax system.

Questions concerning Korea which arose about 1881–82 necessitated both military and naval expansion. Inconvertible paper-money issues had to be consolidated, and, in addition to the expense incurred by the above expansion, there were many other undertakings which caused, as a matter of course, an increase in the annual expenditure. In order to meet these the Government had to raise the rate of the tax on *saké*, and, besides, to create new taxes on tobacco, on confectionery, on soy, on income, and on revenue stamps. These new taxes, with the exception of income tax, belong to the class of indirect taxation. From 1886 the annual receipts increased so rapidly that the Government was enabled to reduce the land tax by making a special reassessment of the value of land, dividing it under the two headings of rice-fields and farms. The Government, moreover, made a suggestion to the Diet to the effect that the prison expenditure, heretofore disbursed from the proceeds of local taxation, should be paid out of the National Treasury. Though this suggestion was not approved in the Diet at the time, it has been carried out recently.

Increase of the rate of taxes and new taxes.

After the China-Japan War (1894–95) the Government had again to raise the tax on *saké*; to create a tax on occupations, a registration tax, and a leaf-tobacco monopoly;

Changes in taxation after the China-Japan War.

and, on the other hand, to abolish the taxes on vehicles, on ships, and on confectionery, which were classed as national taxes, and which, being small in amount, had given trouble in collecting, and for which reason, among others, it was found advisable to place them in the local taxation class, so that the national taxes might be more easily consolidated. Again,

The increased rate of taxation.

in 1896, the Government had to raise the rate of taxation on account of *post-bellum* measures, and also, in 1900, to meet unexpected war expenditure incurred during the Boxer trouble in China.

Upon the outbreak of the war against Russia, the Government created various war taxes, such as the 'Extraordinary' and 'Special' taxes, and brought the tobacco-manufacturing monopoly into operation.

The year 1896 saw an increase in taxes of about 26,000,000 *yen*; 1899 an increase of 40,000,000 *yen*; 1900 an increase of about 21,000,000 *yen*; 1904 an increase of about 75,000,000 *yen*; 1907 an increase of 13,000,000 *yen*; and 1908–9 an increase of 44,000 *yen*. Comparing 1900–1 with 1908–9, we find the totals increased from 192,000,000 *yen* to 475,000,000 *yen*. These increased amounts were obtained by raising the old rates of taxation, except in a few cases, such as that of the sugar excise, created anew in 1900, the tobacco-manufacturing monopoly, and the tax on beer, which had not been heretofore in operation. Such an increase of taxes may seem to have been too abrupt,

Tax-bearing power of the nation.

but there was ample ability on the part of the people to bear taxation of such proportions, for, from 1868 up to the time when Japan was forced into the war with China (1894–96), the Government had constantly devoted itself to developing the country's resources by rearranging the administration of home affairs. Moreover, in 1897 the coinage system was reformed and the weight of the unit of the gold standard was changed, that is to say, a silver *yen*, which was formerly considered the equivalent of a gold piece, weight 4 *fun*,[1] was now brought down to one-half in value, so as to be the equivalent of a gold piece weighing 2 *fun*.

In consequence of this depreciation in the value of the *yen*, the people felt little difficulty in paying the increased taxes

[1] One *fun* is equivalent to 5·8 grains troy.

Their financial capacity was also evident in the development of foreign trade, in the betterment of the style of living, and in ever-increasing public institutions, such as schools and other establishments of a similar nature, which the various local governments, urged by a spirit of emulation, had been rapidly multiplying all over the empire. Furthermore, the increased tax revenue was applied to defraying expenditures incurred in conformity with the open-door policy, in expanding trade and industry both in China and Korea, and also in various undertakings planned for the development of Formosa.

Customs duties.

The customs duties, at the time when Japan's door was opened to the world, were fixed, on an average, at the rate of 20 per cent. on imports. But as a result of interference on the part of foreign countries during the old *régime*, the actual customs duties, both on imports and exports, which the new *régime* inherited from the old averaged only 5 per cent. This system of 5 per cent. customs duties had been rendered incapable of expansion by the treaties then existing, and therefore could not vary with the varying demands of the Imperial Treasury or with the condition of commerce and industry. In short, it had no elasticity.

The empire was always eager for a revision of the old treaties. Negotiations with foreign Powers continued through a long series of years, but no agreement was arrived at (although the United States had shown her good will all the time), until a revised treaty on an equal footing was at length signed between Great Britain and our country in 1894. Then followed successively new treaties with the other countries of Europe and America. As a result of these, which were put in force in January 1899, duties on imports were fixed at 10 per cent. *ad valorem*, and those on exports were soon afterwards altogether abolished.

Various systems and institutions connected with the administration of taxation have been gradually improved and developed in recent years. Nevertheless, there are still many features calling for improvement if we are to keep pace with the rapid progress of commerce and industry.

The system of taxation in Formosa differs, in a measure, from that in the empire proper, inasmuch as Formosa, being

Recent improvements in taxation.

a newly occupied island, presents somewhat different requirements. However, improvements in administration, since we took possession of the island, have been so great that that now in operation does not differ materially from that in Japan herself.

Okinawa or Loochoo, owing to its isolated situation, clung long to its own old usages and customs, but, in recent years, the island prefecture has so advanced in general development that, as the result of an extended investigation into its tax law, the system of taxation since 1903 has become almost identical with that enforced elsewhere in the empire.

III.—The National Debt

Methods of contracting debts in the old *régime*.

Though debts contracted both by the Shōgunate Government and the *daimyō*, or lords, were of considerable amount, yet no definite figures are procurable. For the methods and rules of contracting debts were so imperfect that the creditors were often compelled to contribute further or else to forfeit money they had already loaned to the Government. Of course there were exceptional cases when a feudal lord, forced to contract a debt outside his territory, pledged his annual receipts as security to some wealthy merchants or privileged temples, whether of Shintō or Buddhism. In other words, there existed no institutions, in the time of the old *régime*, like the bourse, for the issue of public loan bonds, nor was there any recognition of the equal rights of both creditors and debtors, all of which nowadays facilitate the investment of capital.

Imperial Government consolidate all debts contracted by the feudal lords.

When, on July 14, 1871, an Ordinance was issued proclaiming the establishment of the prefectural system (under which the position of Governor was filled by agents of the central Government), the new Government had to deal with and adjust such debts as had been contracted by *daimyō* or feudal lords. It was not, however, until 1873 that those debts, after investigation, were completely adjusted and converted into Imperial public loans. These loans were issued under two denominations, that is to say, those contracted from 1844 to 1867 were called 'Old Public Bonds,' and those from 1868 to July 1871, 'New Public Bonds.' According to the

Act of New and Old Public Bonds, the Old Public Bonds were to be redeemed in annual instalments within fifty years, without interest, and the New Public Bonds by lottery, yearly or every other year, within twenty-two years, with 4 per cent. interest. It must be understood that all these were originally debts of money, rice, and other articles which the feudal lords had borrowed from various individuals and at different times. Nevertheless, the debts were consolidated in conformity with a fixed rule and form, and the bonds, subject to exchange, were given to the creditors as an offset to their loans. Debts that had been contracted prior to 1844 did not concern the new *régime*, as they had been written off and abandoned by the creditors in obedience to the commands of the feudal lords.

'*Kinsatsu* Exchange Bonds.'

The 'New and Old Public Bonds Act' can be counted among the greatest reforms brought about since the Restoration. The establishment of a public-loan system, based upon that in vogue in Western countries, dates from this period. By that Act the people were emancipated from all obligation to loan or contribute money to the authorities, unless a contract was drawn up in conformity with the civil laws, and, as a result, the credit of the Government was greatly enhanced, and the public-loan system has since made much progress. After the issue of the New and Old Public Loan Bonds there followed the so-called '*Kinsatsu* Exchange Bonds,' which were issued as a first step towards putting the financial system in order and towards the withdrawal of the various forms of money that had been put into circulation by different feudal lords.

'Pension Bonds.'

In 1874 the Government issued pension bonds and delivered them to nobles and retainers. The Government also decided at this time to change the institution of 'rice-pensions' into one of 'money-pensions,' and afterwards, in 1876, issued the Voluntary Capitalized Pension Bonds, by which the old system of pensions was abolished and money-pensions were substituted.

'Pension Bonds for Shintō Priests.'

In 1877, as a relief to Shintō priests, 'Pension Bonds for Shintō Priests' were issued. In the following year, the Government floated Industrial Works Loan Bonds for the prosecution of public works. This was the first issue of a public loan

'Industrial Works Loan Bonds'—the first public loan.

'Railway Loan' and 'Navy Loan Bonds.'

The 'Consolidated Loan Bonds.'

at home, and it should be counted among the leading events in the annals of Japan, and considered a stage of progress in economics. For all the previous public-bond issues had been nothing but a means of clearing off old debts and providing pensions. Subsequently there were issued the Railway Loan for the construction of railways, and the Navy Loan for the expansion of the Navy. In 1886 the Consolidated Loan Act was promulgated for the purpose of redeeming all public bonds previously issued bearing over 6 per cent. interest. This was done by issuing new public bonds bearing 5 per cent. interest. The promulgation of that Act afforded the Government a good opportunity for consolidating the public loans at a rate of interest much lower than that it had been paying. The arrangement was carried out without much difficulty because, by this time, the Imperial finances had been brought into such good shape that it had been found possible to abolish the inconvertible notes and to establish convertible ones instead. Moreover, the rate of interest was low in consequence of the abundant circulation of money. Furthermore, that Act enabled the Government not only to supply a certain deficiency in existing Acts for regulating public debts, but also to simplify the management of all business connected therewith. This was another stage of progress in the administration of public debts. Of this Act all the existing regulations and rules concerning Imperial public debts are an outcome. From that time onward the Government gave its attention to the redemption of public debts, until it had to issue a war loan and a public works loan for the construction of railways. Afterwards further loans became necessary to supply means for the war with China in the years 1894–95; for the expansion of both Army and Navy; for the establishment of an iron foundry, and for public works in Formosa and Hokkaidō. All the public loans mentioned above were issued at home.

Further loans for war expenditures and public works.

Foreign loans.

In the time of the old *régime* none had ever been floated abroad, although some feudal lords contracted debts with foreign merchants in Nagasaki or in Yokohama instead of defraying in cash the cost of steamers and arms bought from the latter. But since this way of transacting business was liable to extensive corruption, it was absolutely forbidden soon after the

Restoration. The first loan which the new *régime* issued for the purpose of constructing railways was publicly floated in London in 1870, of £1,000,000, bearing 9 per cent. interest, with customs duties and profits arising from railways pledged as security. It was inevitable that the Government should have to pay a high rate of interest on public loans, because its credit was still very unstable at that time. Again, in 1873, the Government raised in London a public loan of £2,400,000, at 7 per cent. interest, for the purpose of adjusting the pensions of nobles and retainers. Thereafter, for quite a considerable period, no public loan was floated abroad. In fact, neither the Government nor the people favoured foreign debts because, as the world's history shows, such obligations were liable to cause trouble politically between the two countries concerned as creditor and debtor when no stable financial system was as yet established by the latter. It was proposed, about the year 1880, to raise further capital abroad in order to restore the original value of paper money then in circulation, but it was not carried out.

First foreign loan.

Second foreign loan.

The war with China, as I have pointed out, produced remarkable changes and developments in the financial condition of Japan, but, at the same time, foreign capital was absolutely necessary to the consistent progress which she had maintained in all her undertakings. As a result, in 1897, war bonds amounting to 43,000,000 *yen*, and bearing 5 per cent. interest, were placed on the London market. The Government further felt the necessity of issuing public bonds in London amounting to £10,000,000 sterling at 4 per cent. interest. Again, in 1902, Imperial public loan bonds, totalling 50,000,000 *yen*, and bearing 5 per cent. interest, were placed on the London market, and in 1905 the Government issued public loan bonds in New York and London, amounting to £10,000,000 sterling at 6 per cent. interest.[1] In fact, through the war of 1904–05 Japan incurred a foreign debt of eleven hundred million *yen*, the greater part of which was expended in two years. Thus foreign loans have been repeatedly raised;

Influx of foreign capital.

[1] The most recent external loan is the 5 per cent. of 1907, of 224,549,000 *yen*. The foreign loans now amount to 1,165,701,224 *yen*, and the total National Debt to 2,276,346,452 *yen*.

the Government relying upon the financial credit Japan has won in the world in recent years. Though Japan has reached a position to expand her commerce and industry, yet she has to depend upon foreign capital to a great extent, as the money market at home can hardly meet the demand. The credit of the Imperial Government, when public loan bonds have been issued hitherto, has been quite stable. This is owing to the fact that the Government has never failed to strictly carry out its agreements concerning public loans. Thus, in 1878, for instance, the Government settled upon a plan to redeem public loan bonds by establishing a sinking fund, and Article 67 of the Imperial Constitution, promulgated in 1889, provides that nothing shall be withdrawn from the amount of money assigned for redeeming public loan bonds unless the Diet consents.

The credit of the Imperial Government.

The increase of public loan bonds, issued to meet war expenses since the war with China and with Russia, has affected the value of those bonds. Bonds of 100 *yen* face value, bearing 5 per cent. interest, used to maintain a market price of over 111 *yen* before the war with China, but they have now fallen to about 90 *yen* per 100 *yen* in face value.[1] This fluctuation in their market value has nothing to do with the credit of the Government. The total amount of public loan bonds at present outstanding is calculated at over 1,110,000,000 *yen*, the ratio *per capita* of the population amounting to 11 $\frac{43}{100}$ *yen*. It must be noted that all these bonds, except those which have been appropriated to meet inevitable expenses, have been issued for the construction of railways, as well as for the prosecution of various productive enterprises, and for no other purposes. In other words, the Government has never issued public loan bonds without a fixed and clearly indicated object and a plan to defray the debt. No public loan bond has even been issued by the Government to meet a deficit in its annual receipts, if any existed. In order to redeem war bonds the Government has resorted to an increase of resources and shortened the term of redemption. From the dawn of the Méiji era till to-day over forty years have passed

Public loans outstanding at present.

[1] 1906—highest, 96·50; lowest, 89·50. 1907—highest, 92·00; lowest, 83·60.

away, during which there have been many undertakings, each one needing money to ensure success. But we have no doubt that there is still left ample margin for the issue of further public loan bonds, such policy being imperatively demanded to keep pace with the development of the empire.

IV.—Coinage

Unification of the currency system.

At the time when Japan was opened to the world, the currency system of the country was in a most disorganised condition. This was due to the fact that the Shōgunate, owing to constantly increasing financial distress, had to resort frequently to recoinage as a relief measure, which resulted in debasement of the currency. Moreover, some of the local governments, or *daimyates*, secretly coined money, and these coins as a medium of exchange were exceedingly inconvenient and confusing. The first task, therefore, to be accomplished by the new *régime* was to reorganize, on a sound basis, the existing system of coinage and to unify the currency system.

Establishment of the coinage system.

With this end in view, directly upon its inauguration, it set about the task by collecting coins of all foreign countries and subjecting them to chemical analysis; by establishing a mint at Ōsaka with machines purchased from an English mint, and brought out here from England; and finally by sending out men to America to learn her currency system. Thus a perfect, up-to-date coinage system was gradually established.

The gold standard.

According to it, gold 900 in the 1000 fine was taken as the standard, silver and copper coin being also legal tender. In addition to the standard gold coins, the silver one-*yen*, equal in size and quality to the Mexican dollar, was issued in order to facilitate foreign trade in the Orient, where, in those days, the Mexican dollar was the only universal medium of exchange. No sooner were all these new coins issued than old coins, both gold and silver, struck by the Tokugawa Government and some *daimyō*, were withdrawn altogether from circulation.

The silver standard.

In 1877 civil war broke out in the south-western provinces. The Government, in order to meet the expense, had again to

resort to the issue of a large amount of paper money, the value of which naturally depreciated. As a result, coins appreciated and became still more restricted in circulation, although they were used only for foreign trade. In case of exchange between paper money and coins, the latter stood always at a premium. This difference, however, was regarded by the Government as an indication, not of the depreciation of paper money, but of the appreciation of silver. The authorities, therefore, increased the amount of silver *yen* in circulation. When the Government opened places for the redemption of paper money in 1886, silver coins only were offered in exchange. Such being the case, the currency of Japan at that time was based practically on a silver standard, although legally the system was bimetallic. The price of silver, however, owing to various reasons, gradually fell, and artificial checks to its fall were effective only for a short time. Fluctuation after fluctuation in foreign exchange seemed to follow each other in endless succession. In the meantime, Western countries commenced to adopt gold monometallism. Our authorities knew very well that, to insure a healthy growth of finance, Japan must adopt, sooner or later, a monometallic gold standard, and this was impressed upon the minds of financiers so keenly that the Government determined to effect the reform as soon as possible. The desired opportunity came with the Peace Treaty of 1895, when China began to pay to our country an indemnity of 200,000,000 *taels*. Further negotiations between our Government and the Chinese authorities resulted in the payment of the indemnity, not in Chinese money, but in pounds sterling. This was important, since a large gold reserve was indispensable for the establishment of gold monometallism. So, in 1897, the silver standard was abolished and gold was made the standard currency, as we see it to-day.

The monometallic gold standard.

According to the present coinage system of Japan, the standard gold coin is nine-tenths fine, two *fun* (or 11·6 grains) being taken as worth one *yen*. Gold coins are classified under three denominations: viz. 5-*yen*, 10-*yen*, and 20-*yen* pieces. As legal tender, there are further silver coins of three kinds, viz. 50-*sen*, 20-*sen*, and 10-*sen* pieces; 5-*sen* nickel coins; and three copper coins, viz. 2 *sen*, 1 *sen*, and ½ *sen* (or 5 *rin*).

Present coinage system.

The art of minting has made remarkable progress during the last forty years, and minting experts, who had been invited from England, have been long since dispensed with. Moreover, improvements in management and invention have been made in various other ways. The Minister of Finance visits the mint every year and inspects its work, examining very strictly the quality and weight of the coins. He then makes a report on the result of his inspection. No fault has yet been found, nor any sign of violation of the rules laid down.

The condition of paper money.

Simultaneously with a consideration of the coinage system, attention should be drawn to the condition of the paper money. It is worthy of notice that the Shōgunate Government, notwithstanding the fact that it suffered no little financial distress, never issued any kind of paper money, although some financiers earnestly advocated such a measure, whereas *daimyates* and small domains under the direct control of the Shōgunate Government put into circulation various kinds of notes. Owing to this heterogeneous system, the depreciation of these inconvertible notes was unavoidable. About the time of the Restoration, therefore, the financial embarrassment was simply indescribable. The new *régime*, abolishing, on the one hand, the feudal system, that is to say, inducing all lords of fiefs to surrender, of their own accord, their domains and vassals to the jurisdiction of the Imperial Government, and, on the other hand, absolutely forbidding them to issue paper money, redeemed the notes still in circulation at current market prices.

Paper money.

However, the new Government, soon after its inauguration, was itself forced to issue paper money, the so-called '*Dajō-kansatsu*,' to remain in circulation until arrangements could be made with regard to taxes and other resources. In fact, the Government, to meet its expenses, could resort to no other measure than issuing such inconvertible notes. At first the credit of this paper money was very insecure, and the result was depreciation. This state of things could not be borne long. Various measures designed to prevent forgery of paper money were taken and carried out strictly. Thus it was not long before the new Government gained the confidence of the people, and saw its paper money circulating easily.

Besides the above-mentioned *satsu* there were several other notes as follow:

'*Minbushō Satsu*' (paper money issued by the Department of Home Affairs).

'*Ōkurashō Dakan Shōkén*' (convertible notes issued by the Department of Finance).

'*Kaitakushi Dakan Shōkén*' (convertible notes issued by the Colonization Department).

All these notes were issued by the new Government in different forms and ways. For some time inconvertible, they were, from 1886, made exchangeable for silver, and later were redeemed entirely.

Manufacture of paper money.

Owing to crudity at first in the process of manufacturing paper and of printing, forged notes were frequently discovered, and therefore the Government established, in 1871, an institute called the '*Shihéiryō*' (or Bureau for Paper Money), by which much improvement was made in manufacturing and issuing notes. Thus, for instance, the first notes circulated by the Government were of home make; the next were of German manufacture; and finally, a factory was established in Japan under the direction of foreign experts brought here under contract. It is due to the Government's efforts, so perseveringly exerted, that we have to-day paper money of such excellence. The convertible notes issued by the Bank of Japan and now in circulation represent work accomplished entirely by the Government Printing Bureau.

Redemption of inconvertible notes.

The highest amount of Government paper money in circulation at one time is found in the statistics for 1879; it aggregated 130,000,000 *yen*. This large sum was due to war expenses subsequent to the Restoration; to the redemption of paper money issued by feudal lords or *han*; and to deficits in the Government's annual receipts, all of which had to be made up in some way or other. But evils inevitably incidental to the circulation of inconvertible notes were not slow in making their appearance, and resulted, as a matter of course, in the depreciation of such notes, in an efflux of specie, and in appreciation of the prices of commodities as well as in the rate of interest.

The Government, realizing the financial danger, took firm steps to withdraw the paper money then in circulation. In the first place, by economizing the annual expenditures, by increasing taxes and in various other ways, it accumulated a fund for the redemption of paper money. One-half of this fund was used for the redemption of inconvertible notes, and the other for the purchase of foreign bills, by which a metallic reserve might be formed. In the second place, the Government found it convenient to abolish an ordinance providing for the issue of reserve paper money, and to establish instead a measure for issuing Treasury notes, which were a sort of short-period public bonds. In order to avoid the efflux of specie, a restriction was placed on the importation of foreign articles needed in every department of the Government. To obtain money and, at the same time, to promote industry among the people, the Government sold to the latter industrial businesses which had hitherto been under its own management.

The reserve fund thus accumulated in the Treasury was kept chiefly in the form of public bonds or of loans. These, however, were now turned into cash, which was used for redeeming the existing paper money. Again, the Government caused the Yokohama Specie Bank to enlarge its field of operations by establishing branches and agencies abroad, so that, with the aid of conveniences furnished by the bank in the matter of foreign bills, export business might be promoted and, consequently, specie induced to flow into the country. Furthermore, the Government revised the Regulations of the National Banks with the object of gradually bringing about the redemption of paper money issued by them, and established the Bank of Japan with authority to issue convertible notes. The Bank of Japan, in return for this special privilege, was placed under legal obligation to advance to the Government the sum of 22,000,000 *yen* without interest, to be employed as a fund for taking up the Government's paper money.

The Bank of Japan.

The year 1885 saw a decrease of 88,000,000 *yen* in the amount of Government notes in circulation, and the reserve fund had by that time accumulated to the amount of 42,000,000 *yen*. As a result, the Government opened an exchange for the redemption of paper money, which was continually withdrawn

The withdrawal of paper money.

from circulation. According to a return made in 1890, the amount of outstanding Government notes was found to be 40,000,000 *yen* only, for which the Government had in reserve an equal amount of hard money. It may be said, therefore, that the principal chapter of the redemption of Government paper money was closed at this period. Thereafter, however, the Government constantly strove to withdraw these notes altogether. In conformity with Ordinance No. 6, promulgated in 1898, December 31, 1899, was fixed as the term of circulation, and December 31, 1904, as the last day of exchangeability for specie.

Small notes.

Let me add a few words more in regard to the redemption of Government paper money. During the old *régime* there were various kinds of fractional paper currency of small denominations, such as one *mommé*,[1] one *fun*, one *mon*, and one *rin*.

Even under the new *régime* there were notes of one *shu*,[2] two *shu*, one *bu*, two *bu*, ten *sen*, twenty *sen*, fifty *sen*, and one *yen*. These small notes, though handy, were much injured by frequent handling and were expensive to make, but, above all, they caused a decrease in the circulation of specie and weakened, as well, the spirit of thrift on the part of the lower classes of people, who had never much appreciated paper money.

Paper money, speaking broadly, has no value except as a sight draft. Any country that stands upon a strong, sound financial foundation has never allowed itself to issue notes of small denominations. So the Government of Japan did not fail to withdraw such small notes as soon as possible. It is regrettable that we have still a small one-*yen* note and a five-*yen* note, both issued by the Bank of Japan.

Paper money issued by private corporations.

After the Restoration there were, for a time, four kinds of paper money issued by private corporations of individuals (not by the Government), that is gold notes, silver notes, copper notes, and foreign silver notes. In 1872 the National Bank Regulations were enacted for the purpose of establishing national banks after the American system. According to these regulations

[1] One *mommé* is the sixtieth part of a *ryō*, or ten *fun*, and one *rin* is the tenth part of one *mon*.

[2] *Shu* is a silver coin of a rectangular form, equal to a quarter of a *bu* in value; one *bu* is a quarter of a *ryō*.

the banks were allowed to issue their own notes convertible into gold; at the same time people in general were prohibited from issuing any kind of notes resembling such paper money. The Government granted to the banks a further privilege in 1876; by which their bank-notes could be converted into any circulating money, not necessarily into gold as at first. They could be converted into Government paper money as well. In fact, notes issued by the national banks were in this way turned into inconvertible notes like the Government paper money. Such notes amounted, early in 1880, to 34,000,000 *yen*, which is said to have been the highest figure reached. From that time onward the Government took steps to withdraw them from circulation, revising the National Bank Regulations in 1885, with a view to redeeming all the bank-notes within a certain number of years. Consequently the amount in circulation decreased yearly, and eventually a law was enacted prohibiting their circulation after the year 1900.

Bank-notes.

Thus both Government paper money and bank-notes have been summarily disposed of, and since 1885 the Bank of Japan has been authorized to issue its own notes instead. These are the only notes now in circulation throughout the empire with the exception of Formosa. They were at first made redeemable in silver, but since the adoption of gold monometallism, which dates from 1897, they have been exchangeable for gold. The Bank of Japan has obtained the privilege of issuing notes on business assets within the legal limit, namely 120,000,000 *yen*, and, in case it should have to issue notes in excess of that limit, the bank is required to reserve specie to a equal amount; or else the notes are subject to a special tax, the rate of which is fixed at 5 per cent. In this case the bank must obtain permission from the Minister of Finance.

The Bank of Japan's notes.

The metallic reserve, against which notes are issued, consists of both gold and silver, whether in coin or bullion. But, as silver is subject to fluctuations in price, it is practically seldom that the bank stores it. The metallic reserve was in 1907 161,000,000 *yen*. Since the Bank of Japan has been thus under the strict supervision of the Government, its notes have naturally been accepted with confidence, not merely in Japan,

but also in Korea, China, and other places, where they are freely circulated.

The Bank of Formosa's notes.

Formosa, as part of the harvest reaped in the war with China in 1894–95, has come under the domination of Japan, and to her, under such circumstances, a different system of administration has had to be applied. For instance, the Government created a special bank, called the 'Bank of Formosa,' with the privilege of issuing bank-notes. For a period these notes were made interchangeable with silver *yen*, inasmuch as one-*yen* silver coins had been commonly circulated in the island.

After the occupation of the island much general progress and improvement were made, to say nothing of economic development. In fact, Formosa has now established commercial relations with gold-standard countries to the extent of 70 per cent. of its whole commerce, whereas with silver-standard countries the ratio is 30 per cent. It soon came to be recognized, therefore, that the silver *yen* was no longer necessary as a universal medium. Besides, much inconvenience and evil arose in spite of the facility with which silver *yen* could be exchanged for gold coin at the rate fixed by the Governor-General of Formosa. These conditions resulted, in 1904, in the suppression of the silver *yen*, and, at the same time, notes issued by the bank were made convertible into gold coin.

This privilege of issuing bank-notes, granted by the Government to the Bank of Formosa, is exercisable only when provision has been made for a metallic reserve of equal value. The amount of notes to be issued, not covered by the metallic reserve, is limited to 5,000,000 *yen*. When it is necessary, owing to the state of the money market, to issue notes beyond that limit, the bank is required to obtain permission from the Minister of Finance to that effect, and to pay a tax of at least 5 per cent. per annum on the amount of the over-issue.

Comparing the system and state of coins and notes that existed at the time when Japan opened its ports to the world with present conditions, we cannot fail to be struck with the remarkable progress the country has made during recent years in its financial affairs.

V.—Banking

Banking system in the old *régime*.

The old *régime's* banking system was utterly chaotic. Strictly speaking, there existed no banks in the modern sense. Similar business, however, was transacted by certain wealthy merchants who dealt in deposits and loans. There were also pawnbrokers and exchangers. On account of imperfect methods of transportation and communication, no facilities existed for procuring drafts or bills of exchange. In some provinces, bank-like firms, called '*Kaisho*' or '*Shōsha*,' not only dealt in home products, but also issued notes similar to national paper money. They were of a semi-governmental nature. But neither the Government nor the people had ever enjoyed the convenience furnished by banks as we do to-day. The new *régime*, therefore, encouraged wealthy persons to establish financial institutions as organs for facilitating commerce. As a result, exchange corporations were founded, under the supervision of the Bureau of Communications, in Tōkyō, Kyōto, Ōsaka, Yokohama, Kōbé, Tsuruga, Ōtsu, and Niigata. The Government not only advanced to these corporations a certain amount of money in aid, but also granted them the privilege of issuing their own notes, termed 'gold notes,' 'silver notes,' and 'copper notes.' The functions of these corporations were to sell and purchase bills of exchange, and to loan money to and receive deposits from merchants. This paved the way for banking in Japan. When the promulgation of the National Banks Regulations came, these exchange corporations disappeared or turned themselves into national banks. The practical working of money affairs in Japan dates from this time. Subsequently the number of national banks increased to over 150, their capital amounting to over 40,000,000 *yen* in all, and the total amount of notes issued by them aggregating over 34,000,000 *yen*.

Exchange corporations.

Promulgation of the National Banks Regulations.

Private banks.

The National Banks Regulations were applicable only to banks which enjoyed the privilege of issuing bank-notes; those without it were under special regulations as private banks.

In 1879 the Government, encouraging capitalists and enrolling itself among the shareholders, established the Yokohama Specie Bank for the purpose of furnishing financial facilities for

Establishment of the Yokohama Specie Bank.

the foreign trade of the country. It was first intended to transact its business with specie alone, but, owing to the depreciation of paper money, that plan had to be changed. Though this bank also was under the National Banks Regulations, yet the privilege of issuing bank-notes was not granted to it. Simultaneously with the resumption of specie payments, which was brought about by opening exchanges for paper money, the business system of the Yokohama Specie Bank was modified by special ordinance in 1887. This bank has now become one of the greatest in Japan. Its business is chiefly with foreign bills of exchange.

The Bank of Japan.

In 1882 the Bank of Japan was established as the central bank in order to promote the co-operation and assimilation of banks under it. The Government itself became one of its shareholders, and entrusted it with the management of the Treasury's money. Since then the Bank of Japan has come entirely under the control of the Government, and is allowed to issue convertible notes in order to unify the note system of the country. In consequence of this step, the system of national banks has been modified, and the redemption of their bank-notes carried into effect. In the revision of the National Banks Regulations in the following year, all the privileges that had been granted, as mentioned above, were withdrawn.

The national banks disappear.

In 1899 the charter time of all these institutions—which now numbered 150—expired, and, consequently, no bank bearing the title of 'National Bank' exists to-day. For ordinary banks (as distinguished from national banks, the Yokohama Specie Bank, and the Bank of Japan) no special

Bank Regulations.

regulations had been enacted, until 1890, when Bank Regulations and Savings Bank Regulations were promulgated, all with a view to keep pace with the growth of industry and commerce, to unify the machinery of money circulation, to ease the money market, and to encourage and protect the savings of the poor; these regulations have since contributed much to the development of banking business. In consequence, the number

The present condition of the banking system.

of banks, the volume of their capital and the amount of their deposits, have rapidly increased. Ordinary banks in 1907 numbered, with their branches, 4563, the total amount of their capital in *yen*, 444,209,000; the number of savings banks 519,

and the total amount of their capital 73,453,600 *yen*. In addition to such savings banks, there exists another institution for savings managed entirely by the Government. This is what we call the 'Postal Savings System.' The total amount of money deposited in this institute in March 1908 was 92,922,291 *yen*. Nevertheless, the amount of savings in Japan *per capita* is much smaller than that in Europe or in America. This is a regrettable fact, and the Government, therefore, is using its utmost endeavours to encourage the spirit of saving among the people at large.

Special banks.

To promote improvement in agriculture and industry, it was found necessary to establish special institutions which should facilitate money circulation. These are the Hypothec Bank of Japan and the Agricultural and Industrial Banks of Japan, established in 1897. They have, in conformity with their charters, special privileges granted by the Government with a view to developing agriculture and industry. They are intended to furnish long loans at a low rate of interest to farmers, so that the latter's burdens may be lightened and their credit enhanced.

The Hypothec Bank of Japan and the Agricultural and Industrial Banks are required to furnish loans on the security of immovable property for agricultural and industrial enterprises, and the Industrial Bank of Japan has for its special object the handling of bonds and shares of various kinds. All these banks have, since their establishment, become a great success, the total amount of loans to this date being more than 50,000,000 *yen*.

The Island of Hokkaidō is still sparsely populated, yet much encouragement has always been extended to its colonization. In order to accomplish this, it was considered of urgent necessity to establish a special financial organ, by which ample capital could be supplied for the development of the island. The Colonial Bank of Hokkaidō is this organ, now working and contributing much to that end.

Formosa, being a new territory of the empire and presenting conditions different from those in Japan, has been allowed to establish a special bank, under the title of the 'Bank of Formosa,' with the special privilege of issuing paper money.

The above is a rough sketch of our administrative history as regards banking in Japan. Throughout we find little but progress and development.

VI.—Foreign Trade

Foreign trade.

The foreign trade of Japan in former times, when any existed, is hardly worthy of notice owing to the national policy of seclusion pursued, particularly by the Shōgunate allowing no business men to go abroad, and forbidding the building of ships of sufficient tonnage to undertake long voyages. There was also a restriction laid on foreign ships which had formerly been allowed to come to Japan, so that the number of such ships should gradually decrease. Exception, however, was made in the case of merchants from Holland and China who had been engaged in trade with our people at Déshima, an island in Nagasaki harbour. For these reasons it was quite inevitable that foreign commerce should be carried on in a small way and progress be impossible. Not even the home trade was in a good condition, especially because of imperfect means of transportation and communication. At some boundaries of provinces, for instance, public roads were intentionally made inconvenient and kept in a bad condition for strategic reasons. Furthermore, domestic commerce and industry in those days were on a very small scale. It is indeed due to this fact that we are not yet able properly to meet orders for our products from foreign countries, no uniformity existing either in methods of manufacturing or in packing, although efforts have been made to remedy all such imperfect points.

Development of foreign trade.

The new *régime*, recognizing the necessity of development, established the Bureau of Commerce, which has devoted itself to the encouragement of industrial and commercial enterprises, namely, shipbuilding, navigation, banking, and other various undertakings, in order that the exportation of home products should increase. As a result, both exports and imports have gradually advanced. The tonnage of steam vessels owned by Japanese in 1907 amounted to 1,115,880 tons. The percentage of goods, exports and imports, handled entirely by Japanese and shipped in Japanese bottoms has

also increased. Especially our trade with Korea and China has made rapid progress.

Our tradesmen have of late become more ambitious than they used to be. They are now inclined towards united action, which was lacking altogether in former days. They have also learned to honour credit. In fact, the different manufacturers have become more intimate and friendly in their relations, endeavouring to co-operate with each other in improving the quality of their products by sending proper men abroad, both for theoretical and practical study as well as for the inspection of markets and for other necessary objects. The total amount of exports and imports at the commencement of the Méiji era was only 25,000,000 *yen*, whereas in 1907 we find it amounting to 926,000,000 *yen*. Such rapid progress is due solely to improvements in our financial system and in taxation, coinage, banking, and management of the National Debt.

XVI

JAPANESE COMMUNICATIONS IN THE PAST

BARON HISOKA MAYÉJIMA

Introductory remarks.

IN founding a nation, be the time when it may, and in conducting administration, be its scope wide or narrow, it is evident that transportation, travel, and correspondence can be really effective only when they are made to work co-ordinately with one another. But correspondence cannot come into full play until people have acquired knowledge of letters and of letter-writing. Pending that attainment, a special carrier has to be employed whenever there is an urgent message to be sent, though for ordinary messages the favour of a third person to carry them may be sufficient. Naturally no regular rules could be in force to regulate correspondence of such a primitive description. Correspondence, therefore, being clearly a later innovation than transport and travel, its discussion must be preceded by some description of its twin correlated services, so to speak.

TRANSPORT AND TRAVEL

Early maritime communication.

In giving an account of the genesis of communications in Japan, attention must be directed first to the maritime side of the question, since, as an inevitable result of the natural conformation of the country, communication must have originally been mainly by sea. It is easy to imagine what immense benefits our forefathers must have derived from facilities for maritime communication, and what a vital part this factor played in the growth of the empire. Japanese mythology contains many stories illustrating the truth of this inference.

The first Emperor, Jimmu, clearly owed much to facilities

for maritime transport when, proceeding eastward *viâ* Bungo, Tsukushi, Aki, and Kibi, he reached Naniwa (now the district of Ōsaka) and subjugated the aboriginal chieftains, at last succeeding in establishing his court at Kashiwabara in Unébi. For some considerable period afterwards the sea supplied the principal means of communication by which to maintain order throughout the subjugated districts, and to transport articles of merchandise. How far this was the case may be inferred from the fact that, until the reign of the Emperor Suisei (549 B.C.), even the Sanyōdō, the most populous and prosperous region at that remote period, as it still is to-day, lacked a regular highway, and it was only then opened for the first time. In the seventeenth year of the reign of the Emperor Sujin (81 B.C.) an edict was issued encouraging the construction of ships, and this may be regarded as a proof that, even in those days, maritime trade received its due share of attention as a most important means of communication and transportation; and that many hardy and adventurous mariners must have possessed sufficient knowledge of the art to undertake voyages on the high seas. This truth is borne out by the voyage of Susanō-no-Mikoto to Korea, by the subjugation of the same country at the hands of Empress Jingō in 200 A.D., and by the expedition of General Abé-no-Hirafu in 661 A.D. to the land of the Mishihasé tribe, which was located somewhere in the valley of the Amur. Passing on to a much later period, namely, from 1570 to 1600 (known as the Tenshō and Kéichō eras), the attempts of our sailors to reach distant places were far more frequent, and about this time the first voyages of Japanese traders to Southern China and India, and the dispatch of ships by the houses of Tokugawa and Daté to Mexico, took place.

The Japanese a sea-faring people.

The term '*umayaji*' (post-station) seems to have originated soon after the expedition to Korea by the Empress Jingō, who granted the castle of Tasha to an envoy of that country, to be used by him as a halting place when coming to Japan to present tribute, and also when returning to Korea.

Origin of the post-station.

In the tenth year of the reign of the Emperor Sujin (88 B.C.) four governors-general were stationed in as many districts, and they were made to attend, among other things, to the

business of opening up regular highways. In the fifth year of the Emperor Séimu (35 A.D.) an administrative system was arranged by dividing the country into '*Dō*' or districts, each of these being subdivided into '*Kuni*' or provinces, with an administrative chief placed over each district and province. It appears that the administration of justice had at its command fairly well-established facilities for communication, though it is not possible to ascertain how means of transmitting official orders were contrived. Probably no definite postal system was in force till the period of Taika (646 A.D.), when great administrative reforms were carried out.

Postal system in the Taika era.

During this period, in the reign of the Emperor Kōtōku, a postal system was for the first time definitely arranged. Post-stations were established at various places along the principal highways, and both relay-horses and post-horses were kept for service at all these stations. Bells and checks were used for identifying official messengers and couriers, and it was ordained that only in cases where dispatches required urgent transmission should relay-horses be used, post-horses being employed on other occasions. At the same time a system of passports was arranged, and travellers were made to provide themselves with these documents when travelling to distant places.

Later improvements.

Under the Emperor Mommu, a law for grants of rice from official farms to pay expenses at post-stations was enacted in 702 A.D., while nineteen years later, in the reign of the Empress Gwanshō, the mileage to be travelled per diem by official messengers was elaborately regulated and arranged, and rules were drawn up relative to the punishment to be inflicted for using post- and relay-horses beyond regulation limits. Rules were also made concerning the buildings at post-stations, grants of tillage land to persons having charge of post-station affairs, their exemption from forced labour for public purposes, and also as to the number of horses to be supplied to Government officials of different grades. The regulation post-bells and checks were also revised at that time. The Department of War was placed in charge of matters relating to post-stations, so that it might with convenience arrange for the speedy transmission of dispatches of urgent importance.

Private communications.

Postal administration, such as it was, was satisfactorily performed, although it served mainly to afford travelling facilities to Government officials, and nothing was specially done in aid of communications and travel by private individuals. In fact the facilities were not accessible to the common people, even when conveying to the central Government their taxes, which were generally paid in kind, this particular transport having to be undertaken by a party of men whom the tax-payers specially organized for the purpose. In those days the transport of goods to Kyōto from remote districts was an exceedingly tedious affair and not without danger, owing to the roads being so bad and ill-kept. In sending tribute from Michinoku (the old name given to the north-eastern district of the main island) to Kyōto, the party which had charge of its transportation generally reached the barrier gate of Shirakawa in the early summer, and returned home not earlier than the autumn of the year. The provincial magistrates were at last obliged to petition the Court at Kyōto to adopt some new arrangement for the conveyance of tribute and taxes, and, instead of forwarding them annually to Kyōto, to have them collected at certain convenient places and sent on to the Court every ten years. So arduous was this task of conveying the tribute-grain and other local products to Kyōto under guard, that the carriers not infrequently suffered considerable privations on the way. To alleviate these it was ordained, in the reign of the Empress Kōkén, that all the post-stations should keep a stock of drugs and medical necessaries for the benefit of tribute-carriers.

Improved methods of travel.

Accommodation at the post-stations being available to Government authorities only, private individuals had to carry their own provisions whenever they undertook a journey. They were, consequently, very often reduced to great distress owing to lack of food, for in those days the practice of selling rice and other grain does not appear to have been in vogue in remote places. This may be inferred from an order issued by the Empress Gwammyō, in 713 A.D., to the effect that wealthy people residing along the highways should sell rice to travellers suffering from scarcity of provisions.

For about a century after the enforcement of the new

postal administration in the reign of the Emperor Kōtōku, nothing particularly worthy of notice occurred beyond what may be covered by the broad statement that relaxation of administrative control threw the postal system out of order. History records that, about this period, civil and military officers and men abused, instead of utilizing, the regular service of post-horses, molested military wayfarers, despoiled public granaries, and, in short, reduced the whole system to a state of anarchy and chaos.

Travel in the Héian era.

Matters improved somewhat on the accession of the Emperor Kwammu, who issued orders that roads should be mended, bridges built, ferry-services opened, and post-stations repaired or rebuilt; in short, postal affairs were to be restored to something like their former efficiency. Energetic and highly capable as this sovereign was, he found the task stupendous, as the system was suffering from ages of maladministration. In despair he ordered, in 801 A.D., the abolition of the relay- and post-horses service, and the suspension of all provisions relating to postal administration. We may presume that, by adopting this radical measure, His Majesty expected to thoroughly recast the whole service, and apparently for five years the work of rearranging it must have gone on uninterruptedly, for in 806 A.D. it was once more restored. It is impossible, owing to the scanty records that have been preserved, to ascertain under what circumstances the restored service existed, the only light thrown upon this subject being furnished by the annals of 869 A.D., when the Jōkwan Code (that being the name of that era) was elaborated and enacted. This record contains a clause providing for the establishment of public-highway officers charged with the duty of keeping all public roads in good condition. The Codes of the Engi era, proclaimed throughout the country in 908 A.D., contained more complete provisions concerning postal institutions, and were far more perfect outwardly than those formerly in force. But the Court at Kyōto, immersed in effeminate pleasures, hardly concerned itself at all about the state of affairs in the provinces, and consequently postal administration once more relapsed into a state of disorder. The incompetent Court was unable to keep order even at its own head-quarters, and from about

930 A.D. things became so bad that to the citizens of Kyōto molestation by brigands and burglars was an almost daily occurrence. The outbreak of a rebellion by Sumitoma Masakado in 940 A.D. completed the utter derangement of local administration, with the result that public traffic was blocked, and all means of communication were obstructed.

The Taira and Minamoto eras.

After this, power began to desert the Court, first through the supremacy of the Fujiwara family (relatives by marriage of the Imperial House), and then by the encroachments of the military clans. The rivalry between the two classes for ascendancy culminated in four years of civil war in the Hōgén and Héiji eras (1156–59), which ultimately put the Taira clan in power, to be superseded soon after by its rival, the Minamoto clan. The latter established itself at Kamakura, and for the first time laid the foundations of feudal government. All these internal strifes naturally affected the postal service, so much so that even messengers from the Court at Kyōto not infrequently found it no easy task to procure post-horses for their journeys, and even means of forwarding tribute-rice from the provinces to Kyōto were suspended. The post-inns rebuilt or repaired in the reign of the Emperor Kwammu no longer existed, and even along the Tōkaidō, the most important highway in Japan, travellers could hardly find shelter in which to rest their weary limbs. The hardships and privations that a traveller had to undergo in those days are beyond the imagination of the people of the present generation. So miserable was the condition of things that even a courtier of high rank had to consider himself fortunate when he could procure coarse food and find a shelter of any kind whatever while travelling in the country.

Under the government of Minamoto-no-Yoritomo.

When Minamoto-no-Yoritomo established the seat of the military government at Kamakura in 1186, he regulated postal affairs in accordance with the old system; and with Kamakura as its centre, the service was extended to different parts of the country, though it principally concerned Kyōto and the places situated between the two capitals. In remote districts the service was conspicuous either by its absence or by its abuse, for owing to the predominance of the local chieftains, who disregarded the controlling power of the central authorities, travellers could not even expect to obtain

help from the latter, but were left to the tender mercies of the local magnates and of the highwaymen who infested the roads. Messengers of the Court were often unable to undertake any long journey with security.

From 1268, when Kublai Khan's first envoy arrived, to 1281, when his armada was annihilated, communications between Kyūshū and Kamakura were necessarily active, but anything like a regular service was not even then established. Requisitions of labour on peasants residing along the highways seem to have answered the purpose fairly well.

The Kembu era.

In 1334 the Emperor Godaigo destroyed the military regency of the Hōjō and ruled the country himself, without an intermediary, for a short time. He drew up a new Digest of Laws, and the postal service received a due share of attention. Later on, the supplementary provisions of Takauji Ashikaga added somewhat to the efficiency of the service. It is very much to be regretted that this state of affairs lasted for so short a time, for with the Court remaining as before a mere figurehead, and with the Ashikaga Shōgunate at Kyōto soon reduced to impotence, there was no longer a central depository of power in the country to enforce and maintain order.

The Dark Ages.

The truth is that Japan was not at that time a single state, but an aggregation of a large number of petty independent principalities, which were constantly at war with each other, the stronger bent upon absorbing the weaker. For about two and a half centuries, that is, till the rise of the Taikō Hidéyoshi and the unification of the country under his sole sway, disorder and anarchy prevailed. People were unable to attend to peaceful occupations, owing to incessant warfare in their midst; learning was left to the care of the priests, and even the nobility and gentry were generally illiterate. But for one redeeming feature, namely, the pursuit of the fine arts, which attained some degree of progress, the country would have been grovelling in utter darkness during the rule of the Ashikagas. In these circumstances postal arrangements were completely thrown out of gear, and communications of all kinds were irregular between the different parts of the country. It is true that matters were much better in some fiefs, notably in that of the

Ōuchi, who occupied a large part of the western end of the main island. But even here, whatever protection was extended to the business of communications was prompted by strategic considerations and by the idea of facilitating the payment of taxes and the presentation of petitions to the authorities. The notion of protecting trade and social intercourse was practically non-existent.

The Toyotomi period.

In 1556 the Taikō Hidéyoshi made Ōsaka the seat of his government. A statesman and warrior of commanding genius, inexhaustible resource, and prompt execution, he subdued all the different principalities throughout the country, and brought them under his sway. Messengers had to travel constantly between Ōsaka and all the important places throughout the land, and journeys of feudal lords to and from the same city to do homage to their suzerain were regularly exacted. Thus the necessity of maintaining regular facilities began to be felt. Unfortunately, this state of things did not last long, for, soon afterwards, Hidéyoshi undertook a long and fruitless expedition to Korea, and once more tranquillity deserted the country. Whatever facilities in the way of postal arrangements remained, were almost exclusively turned to purposes of war.

The Tokugawa period.

The founding of the Tokugawa Shōgunate in the year 1603, at Yédo, coinciding as it did with the eager yearnings of the people for peace, and with the aversion of the warriors to continually shedding one another's blood, imparted a strong impulse to the revival of learning. At the same time, the system of feudalism having been matured, the feudal barons were compelled to maintain a fixed residence at Yédo and to live there with their wives and children for a specified time, in proof of their fealty to their suzerain-lords, the Tokugawas.

Consequently traffic along the various highways became active, and led to the readjustment of postal administration. Strict regulations were enforced concerning the number of post-horses and couriers to be put on service at each post-station, the loads to be carried by them, and the rates of charge, and they further specified the number of horses and couriers which courtiers, *daimyō*, or their retainers were entitled to employ on payment of the regulation fees. This arrangement

was, for the most part, faithfully adhered to, for in those days manners were still simple and the people frugal, chiefly because they were still suffering from the effects of long and disastrous internal troubles, so that even the *daimyō* had not much impedimenta to carry on their journeys to and from the seat of the Shōgunate.

Journeys of the *daimyō*.

More than that, even the small packages of these nobles were generally carried by retainers and servants in their own employ, and it was only on rare occasions that they availed themselves of the horses and men provided at the post-stations *en route*. Naturally, the journeys of ordinary officials were far simpler. In short, the postal system was comparatively well arranged at that time. Later on, an order was enforced at all the post-stations for building suitable lodging-houses, where people travelling in an official capacity or on private affairs might be accommodated. Gradually, travelling was made easier and more comfortable than before. It is true that the existence of barrier-gates here and there was a serious hindrance, but this was an unavoidable evil, inasmuch as the gates were erected for the purpose of enabling the Shōgunate officials to identify the families of the feudal barons who had to remain in Yédo as hostages.

The accommodation now provided at the post-stations was a great advance, and added much to the comfort of wayfarers. Still the buildings were miserable affairs, and travellers had to pay for the shelter provided, cooking their food for themselves, both shelter and food being of the coarsest description, and barely enough to stave off hunger and cold. A popular saying (presumably of this time) puts the matter in a nutshell: 'If you have a pet child let him travel,' meaning that travelling is an excellent teacher for training one in the hard facts of life.

Private postal service.

Under the Tokugawa Government peace continued to reign for over two hundred years, leaving unprecedented prosperity in its wake. All the arts of peace attained marked development, and in these circumstances travelling became so active, that the post-system in existence was no longer adequate to meet the augmented demands made upon it. Enterprising men, therefore, opened a regular courier service,

or '*hikyaku*,' between Yédo, Kyōto, and Ōsaka in 1663 which was privileged and patronized by the Government.

In some cases the *daimyō* extended special patronage to local private establishments of the same kind, while in others they maintained their own services of couriers and horses. At any rate such establishments, whether official or private or both combined, sprang up in all the important cities and ports, and, though necessarily imperfect, fairly satisfied the requirements of the time. Indeed, it may be affirmed that the business of communications in Japan now entered a new stage of development. Meanwhile, it must be remembered that the coasting trade, although not embracing the whole of Japan, was still maintained on its old lines in the Pacific and on the shores of the Sea of Japan. From this time the accommodation provided at lodging establishments was very much improved, and travelling gradually began to lose much of its former hardships and privations, so that it became both comfortable and attractive. But the improvement just mentioned was attended by one serious evil which weighed heavily on the shoulders of tax-payers. As may easily be imagined, the long continuance of tranquillity engendered, in the course of time, a spirit of luxury, so that whereas the retinue of a *daimyō* in his journeys to and from Yédo had formerly been a simple affair, and the effects and packages accompanying him comparatively light, now both retinue and impediment reached extraordinary proportions, not from necessity, but chiefly from a love of display. The progress of one *daimyō* alone entailed a heavy task on the men and beasts of burden at all the post-stations along the route, the demands far exceeding the limits originally permitted by the Tokugawa magistrates. This infringement was connived at by the authorities, and as the bad example set by the *daimyō* was imitated by their retainers and others, the busiest post-stations situated along the principal highways, viz. the Tōkaidō, the Nakaséndō, and the Ōukaidō, were soon subject to terrible burdens. To alleviate their strained condition, a peculiar arrangement called the '*Sukégō-hō*,' or the 'Helping Community System,' was adopted for the post-stations situated along those three principal routes of communication.

A new epoch.

The '*Sakégō*' system.

This system provided that when a post-station found itself unable to meet official demands for transportation or communication, or for any public work, levies of men and horses, or of money, could be laid upon the villages in the vicinity. Thus the scheme proved a heavy burden upon ordinary farmers, as it necessitated more or less sacrifice of the time and labour needed upon their own land for purposes of daily sustenance.

Abuses by the privileged classes.

Even without this standing grievance, the travelling of *daimyō* and their retainers involved ordinary wayfarers in serious inconveniences and trouble. As already stated, the Tokugawa Government at first enforced strict regulations about the number of pack-horses and coolies which its own officials were allowed to make use of in their journeys, the number being graded according to the rank of an official. For those of high rank, a permit bearing the 'Red Seal' of the Shōgun himself was granted, while to lower officials a permit was issued by a councillor. Subsequently, this little bit of paper bearing the Shōgun's seal was abused as a means of terrorizing other people, and its fortunate possessors began to behave as though they were actually escorting the great ruler himself. Thus flourished about, the permit became, at last, a terrible weapon of persecution. The approach of a 'Red Seal' bearer was always heralded by one or more runners announcing the grave event to the people, and obliging them to squat respectfully by the roadside while the 'Seal' passed by. This was sufficiently oppressive, but the journey of a courtier from Kyōto was even worse in some respects. Altogether, the tyranny of the ruling classes weighed oppressively upon the lower orders, and amid these almost intolerable conditions a century passed until the nineteenth was reached.

The period immediately preceding the Restoration.

During the period of national agitation which preceded the Restoration, communication and transportation became extremely complicated and busy. Hence the Shōgunate had frequently to issue orders and instructions with the object of keeping the postal administration well regulated and preserving it from abuse. Unfortunately, these were all to no purpose, for things went on from bad to worse. Some suitable and positive remedy instead of mere negative measures had to be determined upon, and it was decided, in an evil hour, that the

limit of each 'Helping Community District' should be enlarged, so that a greater number of people might be made to bear the burden. Its direct consequence was that farmers in remote places within the limit had to commute their services by the payment of money, which, of course, imposed a painfully heavy burden upon them.

Beginning of the Méiji era.

The inauguration of the present era of Méiji was followed by unprecedented activity in affairs of communication and of a general renaissance. This was proximately due to the necessity of marching the Imperial Army, with all its stores, eastwards towards Tōkyō and still farther on. The Government established a special office to deal with this branch of administrative business, the method pursued being mainly that adopted by the Tokugawa Shōgunate. But although every endeavour was made to preserve the efficiency of the service, the reform was not wholly a success. At not a few places it failed, chiefly owing to the fact that the demand made on the service was too much for the limited means at its disposal. The matter became so greatly complicated that in some places the post-stations were deserted by those who had charge of the business, because the allowance granted by the Government had not reached them. It became necessary to take some steps for remedying this state of affairs, and the new Government, misled by the wrong precedent established by its predecessor, decided to enlarge the extent of the 'Helping Community' limit for all post-stations lying along the Tōkaidō and Nakasendō highways, where traffic was far more active than in other places. In pursuance of this misdirected zeal, a district corresponding in area to the production of 50,000 *koku* of rice was added to the 'Helping Community' jurisdiction of the Tōkaidō, and one of 30,000 *koku* to that of the Nakasendō. Thus, even villages separated by over one hundred miles from the nearest post-station were made to contribute their quota towards maintaining it, and as the poor villagers could not give their services in person, they were obliged to employ paid substitutes, the pay, of course, coming out of their own pockets. In not a few cases this burden was far heavier than that of the regular taxes, and it was not, therefore, surprising that a 'Community System' of this particular description came to be

Evil effects.

Radical reform of the Méiji era.

regarded as a curse by the people. Matters remained in this state during the early period of the reinstated Imperial Government, but a new order of things more in harmony with the general tendency of the times began to be evolved. With the settlement of the domestic troubles of the Restoration, the time also arrived for inaugurating reform in this direction. The abolition of the feudal *régime*, and the consequent cessation of the travelling of feudal princes to and from Yédo in gorgeous array, considerably relieved the burden of post-horses and porters, for the travel of civil and military officers was incomparably simpler than that of their predecessors under the old *régime*. At the same time, it soon became apparent that facilities for communication, such as ships, and vehicles of all kinds, were destined to play a more important part than before in the social mechanism. These circumstances justified the authorities of the day in coming to the conclusion that the time had matured for abolishing the unfair and oppressive post-station system then existing, and for superseding it by one more in accord with the tendency of the times, and having its benefits equally accessible to all classes of the community.

A regular mail service system.

These reforms having been effected in 1872, the baneful practices of old times were abolished, and in their place a regular mail service system was arranged and put into operation, relieving the country for the first time from an abuse under which ordinary people, and especially farmers, had been groaning for generations.

The 'Express Agency.'

About this time the 'Express Agency,' a private organization under official encouragement, was established by those who had formerly maintained the regular courier service between the three cities Yédo, Kyōto, Ōsaka, and by others who undertook similar business in other large cities. This new service afforded regular transport facilities between the three capital cities, open ports, and other places, and though necessarily imperfect, it nevertheless represented a great advance over anything previously existing. The new agency established a head office in Tōkyō, a branch in each of the local cities, and carried on transport business by hiring both men and horses at certain regular rates, charging indiscriminately and fairly, both to Government officials and private individuals. This

establishment was required to obtain official permission to draw up its rules of association, and also to place itself under official control in conducting its business.

Opposition to the new postal service system.

The new system differed so radically from what it replaced that some people, who had grown accustomed to the old state of affairs, grumbled at it, chiefly because of its simple methods and democratic spirit. This sentiment was shared even by a section of Government officials who, accustomed to the pomp and formalities of the old mode of travelling, were displeased to find themselves obliged to share inns with other travellers, instead of monopolizing the accommodation for their own use, as they used to do in former days. Nor could they maintain altogether philosophic composure when they saw post-horses and porters, whose services they could formerly requisition without any charge, hired out both to them and to private travellers upon exactly the same conditions. Formerly they were accustomed to be met on their arrival by the head-man of a post-station and his assistants, and to be sent off by them at departure, and the abandonment of this conventional practice seemed to them as much a blow to their social rank as if they had been actually degraded. This conceited and out-of-date class of men were a source of serious annoyance to the managers and officials of the new transport branch offices or agencies, for they were liable to break out into loud abuse on every trivial occasion, seeking consolation in that way for the discomfort caused them by the new system. The porters and carriers, too, attributed to the abolition of the old postal service the diminished quantity of baggage to be carried and the consequent decline of their business, and so they also regarded the new system with hostile eyes.

Official interference.

Notwithstanding these improvements, travelling was still a very tedious affair, owing to the lack of simple facilities for communication—the *jinrikisha* was not yet in existence—and to complicate matters the innkeepers continued to be more or less guilty of their former fraudulent practices. With a view to getting rid of such mischievous customs, the authorities encouraged respectable and trustworthy innkeepers to organize a league throughout the country, and to make some definite

arrangement for promoting the comfort and interest of travellers, and this was found to work satisfactorily.

Recent progress.

Matters continued to improve steadily, and by 1887 all the means of communication and travelling had markedly advanced, so that the accommodation provided at hotels and lodging-houses became such as to satisfactorily minister to the comfort and ease of travellers. Police officials, too, were now in a position to extend sufficient protection to people on a journey. Thus the facilities for and the safety of means of communication and travelling became complete. It need hardly be added that this applies with tenfold significance to the state of affairs existing at present. Indeed, to persons accustomed to the present facilities for communication, an account of journeys undertaken less than a generation ago must appear marvellous, so wide is the contrast separating the travelling conditions of the two periods.

The Correspondence System

Correspondence in olden times.

Correspondence is an important factor in the administrative affairs of State, and its great benefits seem to have been known and appreciated even in remote antiquity, inasmuch as we have a current tradition to the effect that in very ancient times a great conference was held at Ama-no-Yasu-Gawara by the 'deities' of the land, and this was doubtless preceded by some exchange of communications. Then the adoption of a written script must have been followed by the writing of messages and their transmission.

Ancient manuscripts record that, in the tenth year of the reign of the Emperor Sujin (88 B.C.), governors-general were appointed over the four main regions of the country, and made to report on the state of affairs in their respective jurisdictions. Hence it is evident that some facilities for correspondence must have existed at that time, but the absence of any detailed record makes it impossible to ascertain the actual condition of affairs at such a remote period.

Postal reform in the Taika era.

When a post service was inaugurated in the reign of the Emperor Kōtōku as before mentioned, special arrangements were made for expediting the transmission of official messages.

Provisions were in force for punishing any delay caused by negligence in the transmission of such messages, while set forms were determined for writing them. Then a regular official organization was drawn up for dealing with this business, and at the same time all matters connected with relay-horses and post-horses were definitely regulated.

According to the Engi Codes, it may be inferred that messages of urgent importance must have been carried by a regular service of reserve post-horses, and those not demanding such speedy transit were sent by the ordinary post-horses. After that time no enactment or regulation worth recording was framed in connection with the business of communications. It is beyond doubt that this important institution experienced many ups and downs of fortune, but there is no possibility of ascertaining with any accuracy precisely how matters then stood.

Official correspondence in the Tokugawa era.

The correspondence service was carried to some state of perfection in the time of the Tokugawas, when messages of urgent importance were sent by express couriers, while those of an ordinary kind were conveyed by means of the 'Three Cities Regular Courier Service.' Feudal lords, and also the offices specially maintained in the provinces by the Yédo Government, had their own special services of communication by couriers and post-horses. The transmission of a special dispatch by an express messenger was a lively affair: he was carried night and day, without stopping, in a palanquin borne by relays of men, numbering as many as ten or more, according to circumstances. Some of the clans, Kishū for instance, had their own regular express services on the Tōkaidō.

Private correspondence of old.

Such was roughly the state of the official service for correspondence, and the question naturally follows, 'What about the correspondence of private individuals?' Before describing this, it should be noted, first of all, that learning, although it attained considerable progress in the country even in ancient times, was practically confined to courtiers and aristocrats, and that by far the greater majority of plebeians were illiterate. Moreover, as the ambitious projects and avaricious plans of the courtiers and *samurai* not unfrequently involved the country in disturbances and wars, hampering

peaceful traffic and business transactions, people were obliged to confine their intercourse within very narrow limits, and very rarely had occasion to correspond with persons living in distant places. It may, therefore, be said without exaggeration that no practical means of communication existed in Japan for the common people until the era of Kwanbun (1661–72).

Private correspondence in warlike times.

Nevertheless correspondence among private individuals was not absolutely unknown, although no regular service existed for the transmission of letters and messages. Now and then documents had to be sent, and for doing this suitable facilities were not wanting, being supplied by priests, pilgrims, and other religious personages. In those days Buddhist priests travelled far and wide on the sacred mission of disseminating the doctrines they professed. They penetrated into the most lonely places and the most remote corners of the empire at the call of duty. Sometimes they became pioneers in opening ways through forests, or in repairing roads, and even in throwing bridges across rivers. Then there was a class of lay pilgrims called '*yamabushi*,' who roamed about the country, camping in the open air. There were also Buddhist pilgrims, who went the round of all the holy places, however distant. These various persons constituted media of a sort for carrying messages and letters between the common folk. The summons, now and then, of robust lads or good-looking girls from the provinces to Kyōto for one purpose or another, probably furnished further means of conveying messages to people residing in distant places; while peddlers, it need hardly be added, conveniently served the purpose of transmitting non-official messages.

Private correspondence under the Tokugawas.

The long-continued peace and prosperity which reigned throughout the country after the Tokugawa Shōgunate had been established in Yédo, was naturally followed by a greater spread of learning among the masses and increased activity in trade, a state of affairs which gave rise to a need for facilities of correspondence and communication between people residing in distant places. To supply this a regular courier service was authorized by the Shōgunate in 1663, and this serving as a model for local enterprise, a 'thrice-a-month express service'

began to make its appearance in this or that fief, to connect it with Yédo by regular facilities of communication. Several express agencies were also established as private enterprises either in Yédo or Ōsaka, and they were conducted as a paying business, regular charges being demanded for letters entrusted for conveyance. The business routes of all those express agencies, whether official or private, were directed to Yédo, which was therefore the pivot of the service, and it was very rarely that the benefit of such facilities was extended to any places beyond their respective lines. About the year 1823 the 'Three Cities Courier Service' extended its main line in one or two directions, but the distances being short and the scope of business limited, while social intercourse and all trade connections were local in operation, the service was far from being active.

Feudalism a check to the development of the system of communications.

Again, the existence of the feudal system and the keen rivalry between the neighbouring fiefs deterred rather than encouraged social communication among the general public. The roads were, in many cases, left full of obstructions, and both intercourse and business transactions between neighbouring districts were consequently very meagre, so much so that the people of adjoining regions differed radically in dialect, manners, and customs.

Correspondence service at the time of the visit of Commodore Perry.

The arrival of the American embassy in 1853, and the extraordinary agitation which then overtook the country, suddenly awoke both Government and people to the urgent need for some quick and reliable system of communications, for in the absence of efficient machinery the authorities found themselves much hampered in their endeavours to keep the public correctly informed as to the development of affairs, and they were therefore often misled by alarming rumours, instead of being served with authentic information. As far as the general public was concerned, the great work of the Restoration may be said to have been actually accomplished before they were apprised of what was going on.

Conclusion.

The restored Imperial Government addressed itself to all matters of reform with the ardour and energy of one awakened after long repose, and in due course means of communication received their full share of attention, and attained a state of progress and perfection now patent to all.

XVII

JAPANESE COMMUNICATIONS
THE POST, TELEGRAPH, AND TELEPHONE

BARON KENJIRO DEN

DOMESTIC POSTAL SERVICE AFTER THE RESTORATION

Postal system at the beginning of the Méiji era.

IN December 1870 the Méiji Government ordered the twelve clans (*han*, or political divisions then in vogue), and the six prefectures (*ken*), situated along the main route of the Tōkaidō, to distribute postal boxes and establish postal stamp-offices at all the station towns under their jurisdiction, and in March of the following year it started for the public a daily mail service between Tōkyō and Ōsaka, the distance between the two cities being covered in about three days. This service was at first confined to letters, but subsequently, in the same year, it was extended to newspapers, printed matter, books, and commercial samples. The service area was also enlarged, so as to embrace all the important cities and towns between Hakodaté in the north and Nagasaki in the south. In 1872 the system was extended throughout the country, and in 1873 the old mail-carrier service, as a private enterprise, was suspended and postal service was made a Government monopoly. At the same time, postal rates, which had previously differed according to distances, were scheduled into three classes, viz. Urban, Suburban, and Provincial. Post-cards were also issued for the first time.

Initial stage of the service.

The service was slow in securing public confidence in its initial stage as a Government undertaking, especially as it involved much tedious procedure, as, for instance, receipts to be given even for ordinary mail matter. The weight and

size of a letter was fixed, and conveyance was unconditionally forbidden to everything exceeding those limits. Moreover, the name and address of the sender of a letter had not only to appear on the envelope, but in addition on a small paper label, being a repetition of the same, which had to be attached to the envelope, pasted loosely on its face side. If the writer still felt uneasy as to his letter being properly collected and delivered, he could attach an extra label similarly inscribed, which, being detached in due course and officially stamped, was filed, on the day following the posting of the letter, in front of the box into which it had been placed.

Amendments of postal regulations.

Not until 1883 were amendments effected in the Postal Regulations, when mail matter was divided into four classes and a unified postage throughout the empire was adopted. Changes were also introduced, at the same time, in the management of the provincial post-offices. Up to 1885 the entire postal system was under the control of the Transportation Bureau (*Ékitéi Kyoku*); but in that year the Communications Department (*Téishin Shō*) was created, and the Post and Telegraph Services, having been united, were placed under its jurisdiction. This union of two hitherto independent services was subsequently effected in all the district offices. Since then further changes and improvements have been effected from time to time, as necessity arose. In 1892 a Parcel Post Service was started, to be followed by the establishment of the Exchange (or Pay-on-Delivery) Parcel Post Service. Upon the acquisition of Formosa in 1896 the Imperial Postal System was put into force in that island. In 1900, with the consent of the Imperial Diet, a Postal Service Bill was enacted, and the system then became a complete organization subject to a statutory law, which established regulations relating to legal affairs, covering the ordinary Mail and Parcel Post Services, and also introducing the Declared Value System in connection with ordinary mail matter. It also provided for the issue of letter-cards, and sanctioned the use of private post-cards. A Railway and Seaport Service Law was also enacted at the same time, which made clear the rights and obligations concerning mails carried on board railway trains and steamers. In 1903 the practice of differentiating the rates of postage

Communications Department.

Parcel Post.

Postal Service Bill.

on pareels, according to distance, was abolished, being replaced by a method of scheduling charges into six classes according to weight.

Japanese post-offices abroad.

Simultaneously with the increased facilities of the postal service at home, mention may be made here of its extension in foreign parts. A pioneer enterprise in the latter direction was the establishment in 1876 of a Japanese post-office in Shanghai. At present Japan possesses post-offices in Peking, Tientsin, Newchang, Chefoo, Shanghai, Nanking, Hankow, Shache, Soochow, Hangchow, Foochow, and Amoy—twelve places in all—in China; also at Fusan, Wonsan, Masan, Mokpo, Kunsan, Chemulpo, Seoul, Pinyang, Chinnanpo, and Songjin, and other towns along the routes of the Seoul-Fusan and the Seoul-Ninsen Railways. The Japanese postal service abroad is in every respect regulated in accordance with the postal law in force at home, and, except in a few cases, the rates of postage are the same as those obtaining within the empire.

International Postal Service

Foreign postal service.

With the opening of the country to foreign intercourse, the need for increased means of facilitating communication with the outer world soon began to be felt, and two years after the establishment of the Domestic Postal Service, that is, in March 1872, the Government provisionally put in operation a Foreign Postal Service by making arrangements with the British, United States, and French post-offices then in existence at Yokohama, Kōbé, and Nagasaki. Shortly afterwards the United States perceived the futility of retaining its own post-offices for its people in Japan, and having concluded a postal treaty with Japan, closed its offices simultaneously with the coming into force of that treaty in 1875. This was the beginning of the direct exchange of postal service with foreign countries. In July of the same year the International Postal Union was formed, and Japan joined it in the following year. The admission into the Union took effect in 1876, and the event making it no longer necessary for either England or France to maintain their open-port post-offices in Japan, the former closed hers in 1879, the latter following in

Japan joins the International Postal Union.

1880. The completion of twenty-five years since Japan joined the International Postal Union took place on June 20, 1902, and the Communication Department marked the occasion by holding a meeting to celebrate it, as well as by issuing illustrated souvenir post-cards of the event. On this memorable occasion the Emperor was pleased to raise Mr. Hisoka Mayéjima to the peerage and grant him the title of Baron, in appreciation of his long and meritorious service in the establishment of the present postal system.

Foreign Parcel Post Service.

With regard to the Foreign Parcel Post Service, the first treaty was concluded with the Government of Hong Kong in 1879. Similar treaties for reciprocal service were subsequently concluded with Canada in 1890, with Germany in 1894, with Great Britain in 1896, and with France in 1898. In 1903 Japan joined the International Parcel Post Union, and, in the following year, succeeded in coming to a satisfactory agreement with the United States with regard to the same service, thus putting an end to a long-standing question between the two countries.

THE POSTAL SERVICE TO-DAY

Increase of number of post-offices.

During the first year of the establishment of the present postal service, the number of post-offices throughout the empire was some 179 only. Since then the number has steadily increased, and the latest returns, compiled in March 1907, show that the number of post-offices, including those in Formosa and China, then aggregated 6563.

Letter-boxes.

In 1871 the country possessed only 158 letter-boxes, but the number had risen to 53,321 in 1907. Postage stamps were sold only at 34 different places in the initial year of their introduction, but the figures swelled to 50,484 in 1907.

Officials and employees.

The Postal Service officials and employees numbered 176 in 1870; but since 1885, when the amalgamation of the Postal and Telegraph Service took place, their number has very considerably increased, and, according to the returns of 1907, the Communications Department was employing 34,016 persons in its post and telegraph offices, post-offices, telephone exchange offices, and postal money-order offices,

excluding those employed in its Communications Bureau and Postal Savings Banks. These figures amount to 74,257 when the number of carriers, telegraph and telephone workers and labourers are included.

Third-class post-offices.

The greater number of the post-offices scattered throughout the country are classified as third-class post-offices, which are conducted on the contract system. The reason is this—the topography of Japan is such that personal service has to be more largely depended upon than railways for the collection, delivery, and transportation of mail matter; and in order to secure the most economical method of facilitating the mail service in every part of the country, the Government has adopted the plan of establishing third-class post-offices, which are not under its direct management, but are run by post-masters, whom the Minister of Communications chooses and appoints from amongst local men of good standing and reliability. These appointees enter into a contract with the Government for conducting their business, and are placed under the direct supervision of the local first-class post-offices.

Postal Stations

Domestic postal service.

The Empire of Japan consists of over six hundred islands, and these abound in elevations and declivities, leaving comparatively small room for extensive plains. These circumstances make the postal service of this country considerably more difficult than that of other countries, and the means resorted to for the purpose are of almost infinite variety. According to the official returns of 1906, the principal apparatus in use for exclusively domestic postal service were 4345 hand-carts, 110 horse-vans, 145 sleighs (pulled by men), 33 horse-sleighs, 167 van and sleigh-horses, 276 riding-horses, 205 pack-horses, 16 steamers, 278 Japanese boats, and 550 bicycles. Again, for the above-mentioned reasons, waterways form by far the largest proportion of our postal routes,

Difficulty of delivery.

and consequently those covered by the railway are comparatively few. It may also be noted here that Japanese houses on an average do not exceed two stories even in the largest

cities, and usually have open spaces in front, at the rear, and on both sides. The result is an extraordinary surface extent for the populated area, even in the Metropolis and large cities, which contrasts strongly with the architectural tendency to increase the height of buildings in densely populated city areas in Europe and America. This forms another disadvantage which adds to the difficulty of our Postal and Telegraph Service.

Extent of mail matter.

With regard to the amount of mail matter, the present ratio is 24 per person,[1] which is two-and-a-half-fold increase as compared with what it was twelve years ago. Taking the Parcel Post Service by itself, the ratio is 31 parcels per 100 persons, and the ratio for 1906 showed an increase of fifteen times that of the first year in which the service was put into operation.

Recent Parcel Post figures are:

	Home	Foreign
1903 ..	10,425,143 ..	14,182
1907 ..	17,892,810 ..	51,517

Growth of Foreign Mail Service.

Coming to our Foreign Mail Service, our geographical position militates, as yet at any rate, against attaining the degree of development which the Continental Service in Europe has reached, but in comparison with our domestic service its proportionate growth is in no way inferior. The outgoing and incoming foreign mail matter (including letters and parcels) in 1906 was 46,367,116; the number of the outgoing matter being in excess of the incoming by about four millions. As classified according to the countries with which the Mail Service was exchanged, the statistics for the same year were as follow:

Statistics of the Foreign Mail Service.

Japan–China incoming and outgoing ..	8,043,462
Japan–Korea	26,980,173
Japan–United States	5,280,858
Japan–England	2,852,051
Japan–Germany	842,722
Japan–France	380,211

[1] This with a population of 50 millions would mean a total of twelve hundred million articles. The actual figures were, in 1907, 1377 millions, as against 918 millions in 1903.

Postal Money Order Service

Postal Money Order Service.

The Postal Money Order Service was initiated for the public in January 1875. At first the service was limited to ordinary money-order transactions and the offices of issue numbered only about two hundred, the annual amount dealt with being about 110,000 in number, representing some two million *yen* in value. Since then the service has attained a remarkable degree of development, and to-day all the post-offices throughout the empire are open for the purpose. The returns for the fiscal year of 1907 show that the number of orders issued during that year represented 149 million *yen*, and the number of orders paid represented 172 million *yen*, as against 90 million issued and 96 million *yen* paid in 1903. The maximum amount obtainable per order for one person at a time is fixed at present at 50 *yen*. The limit, however, for orders exchangeable between the Japanese post-offices in China and Korea, and also between these post-offices and those at home, is 100 *yen*. Further, special provisions are made for issuing extra-limit amounts in favour of orders destined for places not possessing money offices. The Telegraph Money Order and the Postal Note Order Services were commenced in 1896. The present maximum limit for a postal note is five *yen*. In 1904 the Residential Postal Money Order Service was put into practice. This was followed by the introduction of the 'Negotiable Crossed Postal Money Order' system, the necessary regulations for this innovation being proclaimed in the following year. This new departure on the part of the Money Order Service necessitated its connection with the Clearing House Union, which having been effected, the system has become one of great convenience, not only to banking circles, but also to the general public.

Telegraph money order and postal note order.

Foreign Postal Money Order Service.

The Foreign Postal Money Order Service, like the Foreign Parcel Post Service, was opened in 1880, a treaty for the purpose having been concluded between this country and Hong Kong in the preceding year, and the Yokohama post-office being entrusted with the conduct of the service. In the same year, through the post-offices of the English Government in Hong Kong, the service came to be exchanged with

Australia and the Straits Settlements. A similar treaty was concluded with England in 1881, with France in 1884, and with the United States in the year following. The conclusion of corresponding treaties was subsequently effected, through the assistance of England, with the other countries of Europe and with America, and through the Hong Kong Government with other Eastern nations.

In 1885 Japan entered the 'International Postal Money Order Union,' and it is now exchanging money orders with twenty-three countries.

Owing to the peculiar geographical position of this country, there have been few opportunities for the complete development of social relationships with the nations of Europe and America, or with their banks and other monetary organs relating to commercial requirements. Nor do our foreign postal money orders reach high figures either as to number or amount, those which come under the jurisdiction of the Imperial post-offices established in China and Korea not being included under the Foreign Service returns.

It is only through the foreign money orders sent home by Japanese settlers in Hawaii, the Pacific States, and the provinces of North America that the amount and number of these transactions attain more or less respectable figures.

Foreign money-order transactions.

According to the official returns for 1906, the number of foreign money orders issued was 12,911, representing a total of 426,338 *yen*,[1] their destinations being chiefly as follow: about 138,550 *yen* to the United States, 66,500 *yen* to Germany, 55,400 *yen* to England, and 15,670 *yen* to France. The orders received and paid were 128,449 in number and 9,401,810 *yen*[2] in amount, of which 8,940,000 *yen* came from Japanese in Hawaii, the Pacific States, and the provinces of North America.

Postal Savings Banks

Postal Savings Bank System.

Our Postal Savings Bank System arose with the enactment of the 'Saving Deposit Regulations' in 1875, when these were put into force in Tōkyō, and were shortly afterwards made effective throughout the country. At present the minimum

[1] 1907—568,257 *yen*

[2] 1907—11,615,851 *yen*.

amount depositable in a post-office at one time is fixed at ten *sen*, and the maximum at fifty *yen* per person.

The law forbids the total amount of the principal and interest on a deposit to exceed one thousand *yen*; but it provides for the purchase of stock and its keeping in trust by Government banks, on behalf of the depositor, when his or her savings reach the amount in question and when he or she so desires. In 1900 the system of accepting deposits in postage stamps was introduced for the benefit of school children, as a means of encouraging and inculcating the habit of saving among the juvenile population of the country. The Postal Savings Bank System suffered considerably at first in its business through the competition of private savings banks, but an increase in the rate of interest and increased facilities in the system of deposits and withdrawals in 1898 brought about a recovery, and it continues to show increasingly favourable tendencies, so much so that, when the nation was engaged in the Russian War, the service not only suffered no hindrance, but on the contrary the number of depositors showed a decided increase.

Encouragement of saving among young people.

Mode of investing postal savings.

The mode of investing the postal savings is left wholly to the discretion of the Finance Department, which generally applies them to buying up or consolidating the national debts. The Government has it in view, however, when the proper moment arrives, to introduce changes and improvements in these methods of investment and application, following the practices now in operation in foreign countries.

Statistics concerning the Postal Savings Bank.

In the initial year of the establishment of the Postal Savings Bank System, the depositors numbered only a little over 1800 with aggregate savings of 15,000 *yen*; but in the years 1906 and 1909 the following figures were presented:

	1906	1909 (June).
Number of depositors ..	5,943,700	9,050,000
Amount of deposits ..	56,213,588 *yen*	114,376,000 *yen*
Interest	2,970,208 ,,	
Ratio of deposit per capita	9·32 ,,	12,994 ,,

Classified according to their occupations, the percentages of depositors and deposits in 1906 were as follow:

Occupations:	Number in 100,000	Amount in 100,000 *yen*.
Agriculturists	21	205
Manufacturers	3	47
Merchants	7	122
Miscellaneous	3	55
Working men in employ ..	3	40
Public service: Civil ..	6	102
„ , Military and Naval	1	13
Students	18	68
Occupation not known ..	7	111

It will be seen from the above table that the manufacturing class is far behind the agricultural and the commercial classes both in its number and in the amount of its deposits. This may be accounted for by the fact that, while the habit of saving has attained a considerable degree of development among the latter two classes from olden times, it could hardly be said to exist among the manufacturers and workers in this country. Consequently, it has become an established practice for our postal authorities to place branch offices within the premises of large factories, whether under official or private control, in order to furnish every facility and encouragement for the employees to make deposits; at the same time factory owners and employers of labour are also making every effort to foster habits of thrift among their workers.

The Telegraph Service

Means of rapid communication before the introduction of telegraphy.

The use of beacons and rockets as a means of rapid communication was not unknown in Japan in ancient times, but code signalling did not come into use until the introduction of 'flag-waving,' which, in its working, bore some similarity to the flag signalling now in vogue among mercantile and naval ships. The 'flag-waving' system had its central station in Ōsaka, its service radiating thence to the principal cities and towns of the country, and it was established for the purpose of transmitting market quotations of rice and

other cereals and merchandise. The *modus operandi* consisted in exchanging messages from tower to tower; these were high frame structures built at fixed distances, the messages being transmuted into special modes of flag-waving, which were discerned by means of telescopes.

First importation of telegraphic apparatus.

In 1854 the United States envoy, Commodore Perry, made a present of a set of telegraphic apparati to the Shōgun of that time, and this was the first importation of the wonderful instrument into Japan, but it was not put into use at once. In 1858, Nariakira Shimazu, one of the great *daimyō* under the Tokugawa Shōgunate (notable for his progressive ideas, for his zeal in introducing the material elements of Western civilization, and for the fact that he was the master and teacher of the renowned 'Elder' Saigō), caused telegraph wires to be put up within the precincts of his castle for practical purposes. That was only twelve years after the introduction of telegraphy on the continent of Europe. But the establishment of telegraphy as a central Government institution did not take place until after the Restoration, when it had a beginning at Yokohama in the construction of a wire connection between the Lighthouse Bureau and the Law Court House in 1869. Subsequently, under the superintendence of an English engineer named George Miles Gilbert, wires were put up to connect Tōkyō with Yokohama, a distance of eighteen miles. In 1872 'Telegraph Service Regulations' were put into force, and this was followed later by the enactment of the 'Telegraph Bill'; these measures tending to gradually solidify the foundation of the Telegraphic Service.

First establishment of telegraphy by the central Government.

People's attitude towards the new instrument.

The early period of the service was marked by ignorant notions current among the general public, the masses making it a subject of superstitious speculation which afterwards found vent in destructive attempts. A typical story of the day was that of an old dame who, having heard of the wonders worked by 'telegraphy,' and having a much-loved son living a long distance away, made up a bundle of clothing, hung it on a telegraph wire, and revelled in a vision of her precious boy rejoicing over his dear mother's present! It was the 'Saigō Rebellion' in 1877 that aroused the country to the

importance of the 'Telegraph Service such as it then was, and the authorities took prompt steps to secure its thorough dissemination, their efforts resulting in the completion of main lines extending throughout the empire in 1885. The amalgamation of the Postal and Telegraph Services took place in 1886, and telegraph offices were quickly increased in number. In 1900 a new 'Telegraph Bill' was enacted, and at the present time telegraph offices are scattered all over the country, almost every post-office having a service. At the end of the fourth year after the establishment of the service, the mileage was fifty-three miles of overland single lines. The latest figures are:

Completion of main lines.

			Ri.
1907.	Aerial bare lines	Length of routes ..	8,692
		Length of wires ..	38,249
1905.	Aerial and underground cables	Length of routes ..	3·53
		Length of cables ..	4
		Length of conductors ..	344
			Miles.
1905.	Submarine cables	Length of cables ..	2,240
		Length of conductors ..	3,006

Latest statistics.

Of the sea cables, the longest is that which connects the main island of the empire with Formosa, across a distance of 1229 miles; it was laid in 1897.

Most of the telegraphic circuits are fitted with 'Morse' instruments. The use of wireless telegraphy is not extended to the general public, but is still confined to the Army and Navy. The system of wireless telegraphy which was so wonderfully successful during the late war was neither the 'Marconi' nor any other system of foreign origin, but was a new and joint invention of Commander Tonami and Dr. Shunkichi Kimura, Professor in the Naval College, and Matsunosuké Matsushiro, Engineer of the Department of Communications.

Wireless telegraphy.

The first noticeable fact in the Foreign Telegraph Service was the laying of cables by the 'Great Northern Telegraph Company,' connecting Nagasaki with Vladivostock. With

the opening of the Tōkyō-Nagasaki line in 1873 by the Imperial Government, the Foreign Service was at the same time commenced, but the transmission of messages beyond Nagasaki was entrusted to the Great Northern Telegraph Company.

Direct foreign telegrams.

In 1878 the country commenced to deal with direct foreign telegrams in accordance with the provisions of the International Telegraph Convention, and in 1879 it joined the International Telegraph Union and sent a delegate to the International Telegraph Conference which was held in London. In 1883 the Government concluded a treaty with Korea for laying submarine cables, and entrusted the Great Northern Company with the work of connecting the two countries. In the same year Japan joined the International Union for the Protection of Submarine Cables. In 1891 the Government secured by purchase from the Great Northern Company the control and possession of that portion of the Korean sea-cable system laid between the islands belonging to this country, and in December of 1898 a similar transaction was effected with the Chinese Telegraph Bureau with regard to the cables between Formosa and Foochow.

The number of domestic telegrams.

In 1871 the number of domestic telegrams totalled only 20,000, but in 1907 messages sent and received rose to 24,413,965, not including Formosa. The figures stood at 26,000,000 when those for foreign messages were added. As in the Postal Service, so in the Telegraph, our international relationship and geographical position make the number of foreign messages dealt with in this country comparatively small. Nevertheless, it has been conspicuously on the increase of late years.

The Telephone Service

Importation of the telephone.

Soon after the introduction of the Graham Bell System as a business enterprise abroad, it was imported into this country and given a trial between Yokohama and Tōkyō in 1887, and it was subsequently put into operation between the Government offices. In 1888, after some improvements in the apparatus, and after transmission wires had been devised and adopted, further trial services were opened between

Tōkyō and Atami, and Tōkyō and Shizuoka. In the following year the service was extended so as to connect Tōkyō with Ōsaka, with very satisfactory results. At that time, however, the Government was not in a position to open the service for public use, and an attempt was started to set up a private telephonic service. The Government decided, however, in favour of making it an official undertaking as in the case of the Telegraphs, and in 1890 the Telephone Service Regulations went into force. In December of the same year the service was opened for public use in Tōkyō and Yokohama, as well as between those two cities; but at that time people in general were so ignorant of its usefulness that special efforts had to be made to secure subscribers. This state of things was, however, of short duration, as the public quickly awakened to its real value and, the tide turning in its favour, it has gained strength with each passing year. From 1896 onward the service has been gradually introduced into all the principal cities of the country, with subscribers steadily increasing in number. In 1897 a long-distance telephone service, covering 350 miles, was opened between Tōkyō and Ōsaka. Since then the plan of distributing automatic telephones has been adopted, and they have been set up in large numbers in the most frequented thoroughfares of the cities and towns. In 1902 the Government introduced and opened its telephone service in Seoul, Chemulpo, Fusan, and other places.

Long-distance telephone service.

Telephone service is now enjoyed by thirty large cities, including Tōkyō, Ōsaka, Kyōto, Yokohama, Kōbé, Nagoya, and sixty-seven smaller or special services are opened at summer or winter resorts, watering-places, and small towns. According to the returns of 1907 the number of telephone offices open to the public was then 262, and there were also 159 automatic telephones. The telephone subscribers in 1907 totalled 75,229 in Japan. The subscription fee in force in Tōkyō at present is sixty-six *yen* per annum, and the transfer of a subscription privilege already *in esse* generally commands over three hundred *yen*.

Telephone statistics.

The telephone wire in use in this country is manufactured of copper obtained from our own mines. For overhead lines, aerial cables are principally used. The streets of the

Engineering of the service.

cities and towns of this country being quite different from those of Europe and America in regard to the style of buildings, it is impossible for us to utilize the tops of houses when putting up electric wires over them, and the erection of roadside posts being invariably indispensable, the engineering portion of the Telegraph and Telephone Services is especially difficult in urban districts. In consequence of this the use of underground cables is sometimes resorted to in places where large numbers of telephone wires meet. The telephone statistics taken in March, 1900 and 1907, were as follow:

Telephone wires and messages.

		Ri.
1900	Length of routes	638
	Length of wires	18,136
	Number of messages ..	45,714,241
1907	Length of routes	1,526
	Length of wires	56,176
	Number of messages ..	.. 159,414,115

Telephone apparatus.

During the experimental period, extending to 1890, the telephones in use in Japan were those made after, and with modifications and improvements on, the models of Graham Bell, Edison, Blake, Ader, and others, but with the opening of the service to the public in 1890 the Gower-Bell system came to be principally used. At present, either the solid-back or the Delville transmitter is furnished with the subscriber's set. Small exchanges are operated with standard switchboards, and for larger ones having more than six hundred subscribers the multiple magnet boards are generally used. In Kyōto the Western electric relay boards are working very satisfactorily.

According to the returns of 1905, the receipts and expenditures of the Post, Telegraph, and Telephone Services are as follow:

Financial aspects of the correspondence services.

	Yen.
Ordinary Post receipts	16,285,557
Parcel Post receipts	2,430,779
Postal Money Order receipts	1,604,409
Postal Savings Bank receipts	31,795
Telegraph receipts	6,456,226
Telephone receipts	3,111,962
Total	29,920,728

The receipts for years 1907–08 and 1908–09 were estimated at 34,310,000 *yen* and 38,585,000 *yen* respectively.

XVIII

JAPANESE COMMUNICATIONS: RAILROADS

VISCOUNT MASARU INOUYÉ

General remarks.

I HAVE been invited by Count Ōkuma to participate in his task of compiling a history of New Japan by furnishing my own account of the development of its railroad enterprises, as it constitutes an essential factor in the history of our civilization. I have been so deeply impressed by the Count's liberality and patriotism in preparing this special publication that I have consented to pen a few lines on this subject, although I doubt my ability to meet the requirements of the case.

The reader may, perhaps, think it unnecessary that I should begin with events which occurred during my youth, but I believe that they will be of some use as indicating the general state of affairs prior to the building of railways.

Condition of the country during my youth.

The period of my youth was the middle of the nineteenth century, when the situation of the country was a very critical one. Owing to the menace of foreign Powers on the one hand, and to the dangerous strife between political factions and rival parties among the *daimyō* on the other, peace not only with foreign countries, but in our own was menaced. Agriculture and commerce alike were in a most deplorable condition, having lost all activity under an oppressive administration. It was indeed the time for sincere patriots to lament, and following in their wake I endeavoured to do something for the cause of my country. I thought that the best way to enable her to oppose foreign aggression was to begin by reconciling the elements of Occidental and Oriental civilization, and with this object in mind I travelled to Nagasaki and Hakodaté to seek men who could impart to me something

of Western learning and knowledge. But, to my great regret, I found that there were no such persons excepting interpreters, or people with a smattering of knowledge concerning military or marine affairs. I also failed to find any means of making investigations as to science or art. I consequently determined to proceed *incognito* to Europe in order to obtain some knowledge of Western civilization by making personal investigations, with the object of utilizing the results after I returned home.

Visit to England.

But to leave the country was at that time strictly forbidden by the Tokugawa Government, and I had to wait for an opportunity of secretly getting away, through the influence of a member of the British Legation staff. Fortunately for me, the lord of Chōshū, my former master, shared my views as to the introduction of Western learning and knowledge, and encouraged me to proceed to England at once, granting me some pecuniary assistance at the same time. So, taking advantage of a dark night, I succeeded in reaching a ship bound for England. It was in May 1863 that I thus left Yokohama as a fugitive. Four others engaged in the same enterprise. They were three young men who afterwards rose to be the Marquis Inouyé, Prince Itō and Viscount Yamao, and the late Mr. Endō. What a contrast between us and the university graduates who now go abroad with subsidies from the Government!

Subjects I studied in England.

We stayed in England for a few years, and I studied at first the English language, arithmetic, physics, and chemistry, and afterwards mineralogical and railway matters.

At last, having learned that the fall of the Tokugawa Shōgunate had been followed by the Restoration of the Imperial Government, we hastened home, hoping to be made use of ourselves in State affairs. It was at the end of 1868 that we set foot on our dear land once more. On our arrival we found that His Majesty the Emperor had already transferred his seat of government to Tōkyō, that universal peace reigned throughout the country, and that immense activity prevailed everywhere.

Communication in olden times.

Owing to the peculiar geographical conditions of our country, it may be confidently said that from ancient times there existed but one adequate means of communication, namely the human legs. It is true that a sort of palanquin and riding-horses existed,

but their use was limited to a small circle of nobles and military men. But for common people or ordinary travellers, there was no available transport except their own legs, supplemented by pack-horses and *kago*. The pack-horses usually carried about thirty or forty *kwammé* (250 to 350 lb.). These loads were transferred at each stage or station, the distance between the stations being four to six miles, or sometimes seven to ten miles, according to localities. The maximum distance traversed per day barely exceeded twenty-five miles. These pack-horses sometimes carried travellers seated on plank chairs or saddles placed between the loads hung on either side of the animals. Thus the horses, their loads, and the travellers, taken together, presented a triangular figure, and were called *Sambō-Kōjin* (three-treasure-gods). As for the *kago* (a species of small palanquin), as it may still be found in Hakoné, Nikkō, and some other places much frequented by foreigners, no description of it need be given here. To make a journey by *kago* is not an agreeable thing. No one can spend a day comfortably in such a conveyance. Its inconvenience and uncomfortableness can be gathered from the statement of a certain feudal lord who said one day that it might be a sufficient punishment for a criminal to make him ride in a *kago* all the way to Yédo. The distance one can travel per day in a *kago* is about the same as that covered on a pack-horse. Except in the case of very youthful, very aged, or very weak persons, walking is a far pleasanter method of progression, and consequently a man's legs were considered the best means of locomotion in olden times.

Difficulty of crossing rivers.

Moreover, there was no accommodation for crossing the rivers and streams that rise in the ranges of mountains that form the backbone of the country and flow in northerly and southerly directions. In crossing these rivers, travellers had to rely on ferry boats, and even these conveyances were not found in rivers like the Ōigawa and some others, as for defensive purposes boats or vessels were not allowed to be used on them. In such cases the travellers were obliged to pass over by mounting on the shoulders of men, called *kata-guruma*, and it often happened that the traveller was immersed up to his waist. In other cases people crossed by seating

themselves on plank chairs (called *rendai*) fastened to two wooden poles, by which the planks rested on the shoulders of two, four, or an even greater number of men. Each of these chairs (*rendai*) might take more than one person at a time, or sometimes even a *kago* with the rider inside. The inconvenience and tediousness of this way of travelling may be imagined from the fact that it sometimes took travellers about half a day to cross one river. Besides, the rivers were liable to frequent inundations in times of heavy rain or the thawing of snow, and in such cases travellers were obliged to stay in inns and taverns at the side of the rivers and to wait until the waters abated. If such was the state of communication even along the Tōkaidō, the greatest highway of the empire, the condition of smaller or branch routes in rural districts may easily be imagined.

Minor seclusion of each *han* or *daimyate.*

Owing to the mountain ranges which extended throughout the central portion of the country and formed plains between their ranges, what people of old called natural strongholds were to be met with in almost every part of the country. In feudal times each lord or baron used to build his castle on such a stronghold. There, surrounded by his vassals, he rulêd over a community constituting a kind of town or city. Means of intercommunication were then confined exclusively to his own dominions, his administrative policy being to set up strong defences against incursions by his neighbouring lord or lords. Hence, as the natural ruggedness of the roads was regarded as an advantage from a strategical point of view, the degree of this ruggedness gradually increased towards the boundary lines of his dominion, being regarded as the addition of an artificial to the natural obstructions. Moreover, it was the custom in those days to hamper free communication throughout the country by means of *sékisho*, or barriers. Hence, on the great highways, the Tōkaidō or the Tōsandō, there were always provided gates or barriers, through which none could pass without a special permit. Here all suspicious people were detained, imprisoned, or dismissed from the district, according to circumstances. There were, it is true, some secret passes or short cuts by the side of these barriers, but these were always shut to the

general public, and all who attempted to pass by these secret routes, or with false passports, were severely punished as *sékisho-yaburi* or barrier-breakers. This was even the case with a great *daimyō* or baron who happened to pass through the dominion of other *daimyō*. Therefore it was not an easy task for a common person to pass through a *sékisho*, and thus artificial barriers were added to natural ones.

Transportation of cargo in olden times.

For the transportation of cargo on land there were two kinds of wagons in use, namely, one pushed or drawn by a person or persons, and another by an ox or oxen. These were adapted only for transporting small quantities of goods a short distance, transportation for any long distance being hindered by the existence of the artificial and natural strongholds. For the transport of travellers' luggage there were but human legs and horses.

Boats and vessels as means of transport in olden times.

For the purposes of water transport there were only small coasting vessels and river boats, the construction of any larger vessels being forbidden by the Tokugawa Shōgunate. The largest type of ships then existing was that called *sengoku-buné*, or a boat with a capacity of one thousand *koku*. The mode of managing sails being unskilful, many days had to be devoted to a journey, and the vessels were so badly built as to be often dangerous. Hence, except in case of travelling between the mainland and islands, people usually preferred the land routes, and water-carriage was solely used for transporting cargo.

Minor seclusion caused major seclusion.

In these circumstances it may be said that in medieval times the minor seclusion of each *han* or *daimyate* caused at last the major seclusion of the whole country. This policy was regarded as the best for guarding the country against foreign influence, and no one thought of the importance of facilitating means of communication, so that the land was kept for over two centuries from contact with the outer world.

Such was the general aspect of our country as regards means of communication before I sailed to England, and the same condition still prevailed for a short time even after my return.

But nature could no longer hold this nation of active

spirits in the grooves of stolid conservatism. The year 1868 was indeed a memorable epoch, marking important changes in all spheres of public activity. Opening of the country.

It was in this year that the surrender of the Tokugawa Shōgunate was followed by the Restoration of the Imperial Government, that the administrative system of *Gun-Ken* (Prefecture and County) was organized in place of the feudal system, and that the five Imperial Oaths resulted in the firm establishment of the fundamental principles of the empire.[1]

In accordance with these principles the Imperial Government exerted itself strenuously to abolish all anachronisms, and to promote new interests. As a result of its labour the barrier-gates were at once withdrawn, the people were enabled to enjoy freedom in means of intercommunication in domicile and in occupation, and public feeling began to show a feverish activity. As more became habituated to this novel environment, they began to feel, day by day, the inconvenience of the existing means of communication.

At this moment steam vessels came to the country and for the first time opened up sea routes of communication, but at the outset these were only between Yokohama, Kōbé, Nagasaki, Europe, and America, and the traffic on them was undertaken by foreign ships only. First steamers.

On the other hand, the overland means of communication could not remain in its old condition, and there quickly followed the invention of *jinrikisha*, and soon afterwards the manufacture of carriages. Thus signs of innovation were apparent. The local governments competed with one another in repairing the roads throughout the country, and in the course of a few years overland communications made great progress. *Jinrikisha* and carriages.

But *jinrikisha* and carriages alone were not sufficient to compete with the speed of steamers, and in order to establish connections by land and sea, railways had to be introduced. This was the idea of one or two able statesmen whose keen insight revealed to them the future of Japan. Necessity of connection between land and sea.

In November 1869 Lord Daté, then Minister of Finance, Mr. (now Count) S. Ōkuma, the Vice-Minister, and Mr. (now First era of railways.

[1] See *ante*, p. 141.

Prince) H. Itō, the Assistant Vice-Minister, were commissioned by order of the Emperor to take charge of railway work and to obtain the necessary funds from England. This was the first germ of railway enterprise in Japan, although prior to this Sir Harry Parkes had advised the authorities to undertake the same enterprise.

It happened in this year that the Government had to import foreign rice in order to relieve a famine in the north-east and Kyūshū. They were not able to meet this emergency by introducing rice from the districts of Hokurikudō and other places where the cereal was abundant, for the lack of means of land transport stood in the way. Taking this fact as an illustration, Sir Harry Parkes urged the Government to construct railroads, which would make desolation by famine impossible in future. This was finally acknowledged by Mr. Ōkuma and Mr. Itō, who, however, hesitated for lack of necessary funds. Thereupon they consulted Mr. Horatio Nelson Lay, an English gentleman who had just come to Japan on his way home after resigning the Commissionership of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs, and who was said to have great financial ability. He suggested that a line of a certain length should be constructed by raising a loan in England to the amount of three million pounds on the security of the Japanese customs revenue. At the first interview between Mr. Lay, Mr. Ōkuma, and Mr. Itō I was the interpreter, and was therefore able to learn their respective opinions, and this occasion was the beginning of my connection with railway enterprise. On the conclusion of the negotiations, Mr. Ōkuma and Mr. Itō submitted the matter to the Emperor, and, after the Imperial sanction had been obtained, the scheme was publicly announced. The arrangement was that the following should be entrusted to Mr. Lay: the raising of a loan to the amount of one million pounds sterling as a part of the expenses of constructing the line between Tōkyō and Hyōgo; the hiring of engineers and workmen, and the importing of materials, &c.

Construction of the line between Tōkyō and Yokohama.

Thereupon Mr. Lay returned home to make arrangements for raising the loan. In the spring of the following year he sent out Mr. Morrel as chief engineer, and others whom he had

engaged in England, and, as a first step, work was begun on the eighteen miles separating Tōkyō and Yokohama.

Outcry against railroads.

What was then the public opinion concerning railway construction? Naturally there was a universal cry of opposition, and it is not to be wondered at, for the people were not yet able to appreciate its benefits.

To be more precise, the people generally disliked the railway because of the heavier burden it would throw upon their shoulders by causing additional taxes, and the innkeepers and goods-carriers living along the line feared that it would deprive them of their occupation. Many even of the governmental officials stood on the side of opposition, some of them crying out, 'To make a foreign loan is to sell the country.' They did not understand what a loan was.

Notwithstanding this outcry and opposition, the two statesmen held undauntedly to what they believed to be right, and they established the foundations of a network of lines now measuring 5000 miles. It had been the custom under the Tokugawa Government that the people might not question official measures. But from the beginning of the Imperial administration the people were allowed to express their opinion upon State affairs, and thus there were at this time many who proclaimed their views on this subject of railroads, and almost all were against it. Even after the work of construction began opposition was still heard, especially when considerable difficulty was experienced in laying the line along the shore at Takanawa, as the Army Department refused to permit any survey of the neighbouring mainland. It was consequently, through the wise management of Mr. Ōkuma, laid on land reclaimed from the sea.

Basis of railroad estimates.

Estimates for railroad work were at first, of course, prepared by foreign engineers. But a treatise entitled '*Tetsudō Okusokuron*' ('Surmises about Railways') was compiled by Mr. (now Baron) Mayéjima. The outlines of this were, as well as I remember, a statement of the steps involved in the construction of the trunk line from Tōkyō to Kyōto and Ōsaka, and the branches between Tōkyō and Yokohama, as well as between Ōsaka and Kōbé, together with minute estimates for building and equipment, and details of income and expenditure. In

the summer of 1870 this book was shown to me by Mr. Ōkuma. Mr. Mayéjima was then a high official in the Department of Finance, but I do not remember whether his estimates were duly adapted to the requirements of the time. Nevertheless, it is certain that there then existed no other work of this sort prepared by a Japanese hand, and Mr. Mayéjima, therefore, is justly spoken of as the originator of our railroad estimates.

Decision as regards gauge.

The first question in constructing the lines was that of gauge. Having learned the views entertained by Europeans as regards this point, I concluded that, in a mountainous country like ours, the narrow gauge of 3 ft. 6 in. would be most suitable. The authorities concerned also entertained the view that the 4 ft. 8 in. gauge, as in England, would be too big for this country and uneconomical at the same time. Moreover, in existing circumstances, it was more advantageous to build one hundred and thirty miles of the narrow gauge than to build one hundred miles of the wider gauge. Ultimately the Government decided to adopt the measure of 3 ft. 6 in.

Change of method with regard to foreign capital.

Meanwhile, Mr. Lay was raising a loan in England, but as his way of managing the matter did not always meet with our approval, the Government issued a proclamation in June 1870, cancelling his commission and granting him a certain allowance instead. Subsequently, all matters concerning our railway finance were transferred to the hands of the Oriental Bank. The latter appointed Mr. Steward, chief manager of the Head Office at London, Mr. Robertson, manager of the Branch Office at Yokohama, and Mr. Curgill, travelling supervisor, to act as their representatives and commissioners. In July of the same year work was begun on the twenty miles between Ōsaka and Kōbé.

The Ōsaka-Kōbé line.

Official organization.

In the early days of our railway enterprise business was conducted under the control of the then existing Department of Civil Affairs and of Finance, the late Mr. K. Uyéno and Mr. S. Shioda being the officials in charge, but in 1870 railway matters were transferred to the special control of the Department of Civil Affairs, as a consequence of the splitting up of the above dual Department into two independent offices. The officials then appointed, in addition to the above two gentlemen, were the late Count M. Ōki and Count K. Yoshii.

In October of the same year the Department of Public Works was created to transact business relating to mining, light-houses, shipbuilding, and engineering works, and a special bureau to attend to railway business was attached to this Department. Mr. Ōkuma was then the superintendent, and under his control the late Viscount Yamao and myself transacted all the business of the Department. In August 1871 I was appointed superintendent of the Railway Bureau, this being the first time I was publicly placed in charge of railway business. I forthwith endeavoured to further the work on the lines between Tōkyō and Yokohama, and between Ōsaka and Kōbé, and I ordered the foreign engineers to survey the line leading from Ōsaka to Ōtsu *viâ* Kyōto.

Opening of the Tōkyō-Yokohama line.

In May 1872 the line from Shinagawa to Yokohama was completed and opened, and in September Tōkyō and Yokohama were connected. On the 12th of the latter month the Emperor proceeded to the stations at Shinbashi and Yokohama and declared the road open, in the presence of the foreign Diplomatic Corps, thousands of the Government officials, civil and military, and myriads of spectators, addressing at the same time complimentary words to Ōkuma and Itō, and granting generous rewards to the officials concerned in the work of construction. This was the first official opening of railroads in Japan.

Line between Kyōto and Ōsaka. Transfer of the Railway Bureau to Ōsaka.

In December 1873 the commencement of work on the twenty-seven miles separating Kyōto and Ōsaka was announced. In the next year I proposed, for various reasons, to transfer the Railway Bureau to Ōsaka. In the first place, I found there was no more important business to be done in Tōkyō, because the Tōkyō-Yokohama line had been completed and opened to traffic as already stated, whereas the Ōsaka-Kōbé line was still in course of construction, and the work on the Kyōto-Ōsaka branch was about to commence. Moreover, the general plan of construction had been greatly enlarged, more foreigners were employed, and all persons were busy making surveys in the vicinity of Kyōto, Tsuruga, and Nagoya, and attending to various other business. Accordingly, there was much more work to be done in the west than in the east, and in order to facilitate its control, it was essential to transfer

the central office to Ōsaka. The proposal being accepted by the Government, the Railway Bureau removed there.

Opening of the Ōsaka-Kōbé line.

The Ōsaka-Kōbé line was opened to traffic in November of the same year. The Kyōto-Ōsaka line was also nearly finished, and in September of 1877, a temporary station having been established at Ōmiya-dori in Kyōto, traffic was commenced, and, subsequently, the present station being completed, the opening ceremony was conducted by the Emperor in February 1878. The Foreign Diplomatic Corps and many Government officials attended this celebration. This was the first opening of railroads in Western Japan. The total mileage of eastern and western roads opened to traffic was seventy-one, and the number of years spent on the construction had been about eight.

Opening of the Kyōto-Ōsaka line.

End of relations with the Oriental Bank.

Prior to this, the term of employment to the two managers of the Oriental Bank had expired, and that of Mr. Curgill came to an end on the very day of the ceremony.

Situation from 1875 to 1878.

During the interval of four years, 1875–78, the business carried out had been only the completion of the Kyōto-Ōsaka road, together with the doubling of tracks, the replacement of wooden beams of bridges by iron, and the supervising of the survey of the Nakasendō route. Nothing more noteworthy occurred during those four years, and for this there were several reasons. In 1875 occurred the insurrection of Saga in Kyūshū, which was soon followed by that of Hagi, Chōshū, and after the expedition to Formosa a complication with the Chinese Empire followed. Then, as soon as these insurrections and foreign difficulties had disappeared, the South-Western Civil War (or Satsuma Rebellion) ensued. The Government were fully occupied in putting down this revolt and in restoring peace and order, and they spent large sums upon this and other events. The State was, in fact, hard put to meet this and other emergencies which occurred in succession. Thus it was quite natural that no further steps should be taken in the matter of railway enterprise, which had mainly to do with future benefits. Nevertheless, I tried directly and indirectly to urge upon the Government the necessity of furthering the work on new lines of railways. But I failed, and, under the circumstances of the time, it

was quite impossible to make any advance with this kind of work.

Public Undertakings Loan.

But by the winter of 1877, the South-Western Civil War having ended, the Government resolved to raise loans for public undertakings. At first they raised 12,500,000 *yen*, out of which 5,000,000 *yen* was allotted to the use of the Department of Public Works, and more than one-half of that amount was for the construction of new lines. Accordingly it was determined that the Kyōto-Ōtsu road should be built first, and then the road between Shiozu or Nagahama, both on the northern shore of Lake Biwa, and Tsuruga. The idea underlying this programme was that a connection could thus be established between the southern and northern seas by means of the railroad, and by the use of steamboats on the lake. It was also considered that this road would render a profitable return upon the money allotted for its construction.

Kyōto-Ōtsu line.

Construction by the Japanese alone.

It was in the month of August 1878 that work began on the ten miles or more between Kyōto and Ōtsu. There is one thing worthy at this point of special mention, namely, that in this case the work of construction was an engineering success for Japan, as this line was completed without any assistance from foreign engineers. Hitherto a few Japanese who could understand English had followed the foreign engineers under the name of assistants and as interpreters between them and the Japanese workmen. The work of construction had been carried out in this manner, the number of the foreign staff being very numerous. Thus, in 1877, when they reached the maximum, there were about 120 foreigners, and the amount of their salaries was, of course, very great, while there was much useless expense incurred owing to the lack of mutual understanding. For instance, in constructing stone walls for bridges, the workmen used to smooth four faces of each stone, while it was really necessary to do so only with the two joint-faces. In another case it was found that only right-angled slippers were used, the others being thrown away as unserviceable. In this and other ways not only a great deal of money, but much time and labour were wasted.

Under these circumstances I considered it was quite

Training of Japanese engineers.

impracticable to carry out the work on any longer lines, and that it was necessary to train Japanese in the work of engineering. I therefore made arrangements to have them trained at Kōbé, and some of them were afterwards found to be very useful. On the other hand, I deemed it necessary to reduce the numbers of the foreign staff in consequence of a deficiency in available resources. Hence, in the construction of the Kyōto-Ōtsu line I employed foreign engineers as advisers only, ordering them to make plans for tunnels and iron bridges; but I did not allow them to interfere with the business of superintending the construction. I acted myself in the double capacity of superintendent and chief engineer, although I felt somewhat uneasy in so doing. This line was only ten miles, but there was a tunnel at Ōsaka-yama the inclination of which was one in forty, and the result of the survey indicated many engineering difficulties. Nevertheless the work resulted in a fairly good success. In August 1880 I was able to see a portion of the line from Kyōto to Ōtani, excepting the tunnel, temporarily opened to traffic, and after a few months the tunnel was completed.

Kyōto-Ōtsu line.

In July 1881 the ceremony of opening this Kyōto-Ōtsu line was conducted by the Emperor, who was then on his way to the western part of the empire. For the first time since the beginning of railway work a favourable balance appeared in the estimates, this good result having been obtained chiefly by curtailing the useless expenses mentioned above. Henceforward it became customary in constructing other lines to follow this example. This experience also led to the dismissal of foreign engineers, stokers, &c., and the employment of Japanese in their stead, and in the course of two or three years the number of the foreign staff went on decreasing, until only two or three engineering advisers remained. Thus, in the history of our railway enterprise, the work on the Kyōto-Ōtsu line may be regarded as a considerable step forward.

Naga-hama-Tsuruga line.

By the time the Kyōto-to-Ōtani part was completed, work on the Tsuruga line was about to commence. Marquis Inouyé was then Minister of the Public Works. He was, of course, a zealous advocate of extending the lines of railway

throughout the country, but the allowance fixed for railway work out of the loan raised a few years previously was only three million *yen*, and of that sum one million *yen* had already been spent on the construction of the Kyōto-Ōtsu line, so there remained at this time only two million *yen*. The remaining sum had therefore to be employed on the most profitable line, so various questions arose as to choice of the road to be constructed. One proposal was to suspend work on the Tsuruga line and to prolong the trunk line as far as to Nagoya; another was to start a new line from Tōkyō to Takasaki. These questions were not settled until they had been submitted to a ministerial council in the presence of the Emperor, when it was decided that no other line but the Tsuruga line should be constructed for the present. It was in October of the same year that this decision was made public, and I at once caused a survey of the line to be made, but finding the inexpediency of the proposed route, namely, that to Tsuruga *viâ* Shiozu, I determined to have it altered to the road now existing, that is, the line extending from Nagahama to Tsuruga *viâ* Yanagasé. This alteration being sanctioned by the Government, I caused the work of construction on the twenty-seven miles to be commenced in the summer of 1880, and as this was only the second line undertaken since dispensing with foreign hands, I paid special attention to it. The line involved many tunnels between Yanagasé and Hikita, and the inclination of these being one in forty, the engineering difficulties proved very great. Nevertheless, in January of 1882 I was able to see the lines of ten miles each on either side of the Yanagasé Tunnel opened to traffic, and in 1884 the whole route was opened upon the completion of the tunnel.

Nippon Railway Company.

At the time when it was decided to start this Tsuruga line no financial resources were available except the sum previously mentioned, neither was there any expectation of obtaining funds for carrying on the work upon other lines. Yet it would have been unwise to suspend the railway enterprises in such circumstances. Hence, after much consideration, it was decided to cause the Nippon Railway Company to be organized, and this was brought about through the great efforts of the late Prince Iwakura. As regards the origin of this

company, it will be well to quote the views entertained by the Prince, the main points of which were as follow: Should the nobles make a bad use of their capitalized pension bonds granted by the Emperor on the reddition of their estates, they will become bankrupt, but, if these bonds are collected and employed as capital for railway enterprise, there will be advantages on both sides, the company obtaining the necessary funds for its foundation, and the nobles holding the shares of the company as their hereditary property. These views being carried out, the company was enabled to establish itself. It was the pioneer of private railway enterprises in Japan, and it obtained a charter for laying the Tōkyō-Aomori line. The plan of the company was to start a line from Tōkyō to Takasaki and Mayébashi on the one hand, and to run another line from Ōmiya to Aomori on the other, thus connecting Tōkyō and Aomori. Owing to the scarcity of engineering experts, the company had to request the Government to undertake the construction of the lines, and so, in 1881, the Railway Bureau took this work in hand. Unfortunately, the company was not originally promoted by shareholders who understood the benefits of railways, but by persons encouraged by the profits guaranteed by the Government; consequently, there were always internal troubles of some sort arising. Moreover, considerable difficulty was experienced in collecting the share-capital. Under these circumstances the work of construction was not commenced until 1881–82, when an amount of 300,000 *yen* was borrowed from the Treasury. The work on the Tsuruga line had been completed, except the Yanagasé Tunnel, but I returned to Tōkyō in haste, in order to attend to the business of the company, for I thought that the extension of railways, whether by official or private funds, must be encouraged. I took all the work of construction into my hands, with the assistance of my subordinates in the Bureau, and, in June of 1882, I caused work to be commenced on the Kawaguchi-Kumagai and the Uyéno-Kawaguchi sections, and then on the Yamanoté line. By the year 1883 I was able to open the road for traffic so far as Kumagai, and in 1884 to Mayébashi and Takasaki; subsequently, from Ōmiya to Utsunomiya, Shirakawa, Sendai, and Morioka,

and in 1891 I succeeded in completing the whole route of over 450 miles, that is, the line from Tōkyō to Aomori.

Other Government lines.

By 1881 work on the Tsuruga line was almost completed, and it was then proposed to extend the line as far as Nagoya. With this object I suggested building a section from Nagahama to Ōgaki, whence water routes were available to Kuwana and Yokkaichi, and, in this way, connection would be established between all the places, and travel by the Tōkaidō route would be much facilitated. But there was no prospect of carrying this out at once, for financial resources were not favourable. Nevertheless, I tried several times to induce the Government to undertake the scheme forthwith. However, in March 1882, I obtained the sanction of the Government for an extension of fourteen miles between Nagahama and Sékigahara, and, subsequently, I again endeavoured to induce the Government, through the present Marquis Matsugata, then Minister of Finance, to give its sanction to the further extension of the line, and this, in August of the following year, was granted for the nine miles to Ōgaki. I was thus able to maintain the work of construction on the lines in Western Japan. But it was not an easy task to obtain the sanction of the Government even for an extension of only some twenty miles, and a year or two was spent in fruitless endeavours. This shows that the public in general was not, at that time, interested in railway enterprise.

Railroad loan.

But a new era for railway enterprise was about to commence, for when the line of the Nippon Railway Company was completed as far as Takasaki, some of the leading statesmen began to feel the importance of a railway service, and thenceforward it received a due share of attention from the Government. At this time, Prince Yamagata and other high officials of the Army insisted upon the necessity of connecting Takasaki and Ōgaki, and, subsequently, the Prince submitted to the Emperor his opinion to that effect. On the 23rd of December 1885, the plan of carrying the railroads along the Nakaséndō route, and raising a loan to the amount of 60,000,000 *yen*, was adopted by the Government. My satisfaction on that day was almost boundless.

In the year 1886 I began preparations for carrying a railroad

The Nakaséndō.

along the Nakaséndō route. After surveying a steep mountain pass, called Usui-Tōgé, as a first step, I made a plan for extending the Ōgaki line direct eastward. But, in order to run it through Kiso, it was found necessary to pass it over the Rivers Yébi, Nagara, and Kiso. The breadth of the two former rivers was not great, but they had bad, muddy bottoms, and to make bridges over them would cause great expense and time, thus delaying the work on the whole line, whereas speedy construction was necessary.

Handa line.

In consequence I formed another plan, namely, to start a supplementary line from Handa and Kamézaki to Nagoya, intending to convey, by means of this line, railway materials to Nagoya, and then to push on the work to Kiso. By so doing it would be possible to continue the construction in the provinces of Mino and Shinano without the trouble of bridges over the streams running through the Kiso valleys. In regard to the section over the Usui-Tōgé also, it was necessary to make a different plan. There were many tunnels to cut through, and the nature of the work inside them seemed to require special arrangement as well as to involve long delay. It was also thought extremely unwise to put off the work on the line along the western side of the mountain until the opening of this section.

Shinyétsu line.

Hence it was necessary to make a new plan, as above stated. The object of this was to start a line from Naoétsu, and, extending it as far as Uyéda *viâ* Zenkōji, make it join the trunk line of the Nakaséndō route. The idea was to forward, by means of this line, railway materials from Uyéda and Kiso on the one side, and to Usui on the other, thus extending the work on the above-mentioned western line. Moreover, it was considered that this Naoétsu line, being so located as to bisect the country from north to south, would become in future an essential independent road. Either of these two plans was originally intended to be a supplementary work to the trunk line along the Nakaséndō route. Both of them being approved by the Government, I commenced work on both, and at the same time I endeavoured to push on the work from Ōgaki on the one hand and from Takasaki on the other.

Meanwhile, the result of about a year's survey in the vicinity

of Kiso and other mountainous regions demonstrated that the engineering difficulties would be insuperable. But investigations made in several important places along the Tōkaidō route indicated plainly that there were various advantageous points as compared with the Nakaséndō route. In the first place, it was found that if the above plan of extending a line from Uyéda to Kiso were carried out, it would require ten years' labour for its completion, the distance of the line being 120 miles. Further, as regards the cost of construction, 100,000 *yen* per mile would be required for the Nakaséndō road, while 70,000 *yen* would suffice in the case of the Tōkaidō. As to the locomotive hours between Tōkyō and Kyōto, two or three per cent. more hours would be required in the case of the Nakaséndō, owing to the higher gradients on the line. At the same time the locomotive expenses also would be greater. Again, as regards passengers and goods, there would be a great difference between the two, for there are many flourishing towns, like Shizuoka, Hamamatsu, and Toyohashi, &c., on the one route, while on the other there are neither towns nor plains to be opened up, and consequently no goods would offer for carriage, except timber coming down the streams from the Kiso ranges. In view of these circumstances, it became necessary to abandon the idea of carrying the railroad along the Nakaséndō route, and the only alternative was to follow the Tōkaidō. But this was objected to by military men, who insisted upon the advantages of the Nakaséndō from a strategical point of view.

Abandonment of the Nakaséndō route

In the beginning of our railway enterprises I passed along the Tōkaidō and observed that there were many big rivers, like the Fuji, the Ōi, &c., which seemed to require a great deal of money for bridge construction, as the materials would have to be imported from abroad; while on the side of the Nakaséndō there were no such difficulties, but only tunnels to be made. I thought, therefore, that the latter was naturally suited for railroad construction, and I entertained that idea up to the time of which I am now speaking. Not only I myself, but also such of the foreign engineers as made investigations along this route, were of the same opinion. Nevertheless, after careful consideration, I came to the conclusion that the route

must be altered, and seeing no use in further hesitation or reflection, I placed the matter, coupled with illustrations, before a Cabinet Council. It was in the beginning of the year 1886 that this alteration was adopted and proclaimed.

Tōkaidō route.

The Tōkaidō route having been decided upon, it was time to start the work of construction. But plainly, unless the line of about 250 miles, extending from Yokohama on the east and terminating at Ōgaki on the west, and the line of about 40 miles separating Ōtsu and Nagahama were completed, the two capitals, Tōkyō and Kyōto, could not be connected. Besides, there was a portion of the Ōgaki-Sekigahara section, the work on which had not yet been finished. Thus the whole length of line to be completed was about 300 miles. The nature of the work seemed at first none too easy, owing to the presence of many steep hills and passes, like Hakoné and Kanaya, and of big streams, like the Fuji and the Tenryū, along the route, but by the beginning of 1887 the survey of most of the sections was finished. Subsequently all preparations for the planning of bridges, the landing of materials at points like Shimizu and Handa, and the supplying and distributing of them to various places along the route being completed, the work of construction on various sections was commenced simultaneously, with the expectation of having it thoroughly finished before the opening of the Imperial Diet in 1890. Here it may be mentioned that the substantial benefits ultimately derived from altering the Nakasendō route to the Tōkaidō were even greater than was expected at first. Every facility and convenience, for instance, that we enjoyed at the time of the Chino-Japanese War was a result of this alteration. It may be also mentioned that the through opening of the Tōkaidō route was due to the efforts made by Count Ōkuma and Prince Itō at the time of the Restoration, in defiance of all antagonisms. The nation ought not to forget the merits of these two statesmen.

Mileage and construction cost of other govern-

At the time when the Tōkaidō line was opened to traffic, not only the Tsuruga line but also the Naoétsu line were completed, Tōkyō and Naoétsu being thus connected. The road over the Usui-Tōgé was, however, not yet finished. The total mileage of State and private lines had now increased to about

1000: the former roads measuring 550 miles and the latter 450. The total cost of construction and equipment was about 56,000,000 *yen*, of which 36,000,000 *yen* belonged to the State and 20,000,000 *yen* to the private lines. The lines of railway extending to the above mileage were completed while the work of construction was under my control. mental and private lines.

Some two or three years after the establishment of the Nippon Railway Company, another private railway company was promoted by Marquis Mayéda and others under the name of the *Hokuriku Tétsudō Kaisha* (the Northern Railway Company), but notwithstanding the Government's support it came to nothing. Following this, two other companies, the Sanyō and Kyūshū, were started, and their establishment was effected in the year 1884 or 1885. About this time the public began to realize the benefit of railway enterprise, but dared not yet attempt it unless assisted by the Government. When, however, the Tōkaidō route was almost completed, organizers of private railway companies began at once to increase, and a period of private railway enterprise was inaugurated. Since then new companies, such as the Kōbé, Mito, Ryōmō, Kwansai, Ōsaka, Nankai, Kyōto, Hankaku, and many others, have entered the field. The consent of the Imperial Diet to the Law of Railway Construction also called various private enterprises into existence. Even in Hokkaidō some private lines made their appearance by the side of the State lines. The rise of such private undertakings was indeed remarkable. This was especially the case in the years 1896 and 1897, when it became necessary to restrain the tendency, as it threatened to become speculative without doing any permanent good to the country, although it cannot be doubted that it contributed much to promote the activity of our railway enterprises throughout the country, and increase the mileage of State and private roads, until at last the day came in 1903 on which we were able to celebrate the completion of the five thousandth mile. I remembered it was just a year after the whole Tōkaidō route had been opened to traffic (namely, in 1888) that I attended a meeting of those engaged in railway enterprise, Government and private, held at Nagoya in order to celebrate the completion of the thousandth mile! Other private railways.

It may be here noted that more than half of this total mileage of 1000 consisted of State lines, and the greater portion of the remaining half belonged to the Nippon Railway Company, that of other companies being scarcely worthy of mention. At the instance of the meeting just mentioned I made some remarks on the progress of our railway enterprise, saying: 'The fact that the mileage, which attained to 70 only during the first ten years of our railway enterprise, increased to 1000 during the next ten years, should be regarded as a proof of great progress. A baby becomes a child of three years old after three years have elapsed, and our enterprise is still a child of three years. I hope we shall succeed in rearing this child to manhood at the earliest date.' Thenceforward, our railway enterprise made remarkable progress, as I have already shown. We succeeded in adding 4000 miles in the course of fifteen or sixteen years, a result which was naturally matter for congratulation. But, on the other hand, there was already growing up another tendency which affected the efficiency of the railway service. So many small railway companies scattered themselves in every direction that it became necessary to provide some measures for their control. In view of these circumstances, I endeavoured to introduce the idea of nationalizing them, but, unfortunately, the public would not entertain it. But with the progress of the times nationalization has come at last, and this should be regarded as another step of progress in the history of our railway enterprise.

Conclusion.

During the last fifteen or sixteen years there have occurred many changes and events which have an important bearing upon the history of our railway enterprise, in addition to those I have already mentioned. But these events or changes belong mostly to the time subsequent to my retirement from office. Moreover, they are recent, and are so familiar to everybody, that they do not need any explanation at my hands; besides, anyone sufficiently interested in the subject can find them set out elsewhere.

But before closing this chapter there remain one or two more things concerning which I want to speak a few words.

We have to-day 6700 miles of railway extending to every

part of the country, and electric trams that spin through the streets of our cities in every direction. If this state of improved communications be compared with that existing in the days when we passed over the hills in *kago* and waded across rivers sitting on *rendai*, what a contrast it presents! It is almost beyond conception.

Present mechanism of communication.

But, without the able guiding hands of the two statesmen, Ōkuma and Itō, who, fearlessly and in spite of all antagonism, carried out, on the advent of Imperial Government, the plan of railway enterprise, it may be doubted whether we could have hoped to see the present flourishing state of communications. I, therefore, always regard these two statesmen as the great benefactors who sowed the seeds of the railways, an essential element of civilization, in the Eastern world.

Ōkuma and Itō.

In 1905, when I arrived in Seoul on my return from a Manchurian tour of inspection, I was invited to the grand feast given to celebrate the opening of the Seoul and Fusan Railroad Company. When, at that moment, I beheld the faces of so many of my old colleagues who had shared with me in railway work at home, I was deeply affected. For I had not expected to find these men cheerfully engaged in the same work in a land far beyond the seas. If any further reminder was needed here was one, that the seed sown by Count Ōkuma and Prince Itō, at a time when there was not even the vestige of a railway eastward of India, and nourished under my care, was now prosperously growing, not only in the fields of Japan, but also on the plains of Korea and Manchuria.

My feelings on the occasion of the Seoul and Fusan Railroad opening.

But, if we are to be fair, by the side of the successes made in our railway enterprise there must be set some defective points. For instance, when the idea of adopting the wide gauge prevailed, an outcry against the Government's procedure in exclusively choosing the 3 ft. 6 in. gauge was raised on every direction. But I believe that the Government was right, and that an alteration of gauge can be easily effected whenever such a step be judged necessary in the public interest. Precedents can be found in foreign countries. For instance, an American railroad, which extended over three thousand miles and consisted of the narrow gauge ten or more years ago, was

Question of gauges.

reconstructed to the broad uniform gauge within a few days.[1] When the railway system was, for the first time, introduced into this country, fears were entertained even as to its maintenance, because the circumstances of the time were such that we virtually stepped into trains out of *kago*. Since then only forty years have passed. We could not have expected to see such a phenomenal growth as would warrant the outcry about gauges. Such a cry is, indeed, a matter of congratulation. That we shall require to advance a step forward and adopt the wider gauge is what I sincerely hope and believe.

Railway Statistics

	1903	1907
Mileage	5,973	6,735
Engines	1,574	2,064
Carriages	5,141	5,760
Wagons	21,580	34,104

	1903	1907
Passengers	114,868,551	143,260,792
Tonnage of Goods	18,036,594	24,092,793
Income	57,796,000 *yen*	81,995,000 *yen*
Expenditure	28,301,000 ,,	43,362,000 ,,
Profit	29,495,000 ,,	38,733,000 ,,

[1] The Great Western in England was altered from broad to narrow between Saturday and Sunday night.—EDITOR.

XIX

JAPANESE COMMUNICATIONS: THE MERCANTILE MARINE

REMPÉI KONDŌ, PRESIDENT OF THE *NIPPON YŪSÉN KAISHA*

Number of ships.

DURING the period of nearly fifty years that has elapsed since the country was re-opened to the outside world, the Mercantile Marine of Japan has by slow, but sure, advances secured a commanding position in the Eastern seas, and its capacities and equipments are now such as to secure it against successful competition in domestic waters. The following statistics evidence this:

Date.		Number.	Tonnage.
June 1908—	Steamers	2,304	1,160,440
	Sailing vessels	5,379	384,481
	Totals	7,683	1,544,921
June 1905—	Steamers	1,988	938,783
	Sailing vessels	4,132	334,684
	Totals	6,120	1,273,467
June 1902—	Steamers	1,441	609,951
	Sailing vessels	3,977	334,507
	Totals	5,418	944,458

Comparing the 7683 ships of 1,544,921 tons in 1908 with the 46 ships of 17,948 tons in 1871, it is seen that the number

has increased about 163 times and the tonnage 85 times, and this remarkable development has taken place not only in their number and tonnage, but also in their carrying capacity, as the following table shows :

List of Ships displacing 1000 *tons or upwards*

	Ships.	Tons.
1887	140	321,980
1900	159	410,537
1908	338	932,599

List of Ships and Nature of Construction

	Steel or Steel and Iron.	Iron.
1900	137	130
1907	409	161

This also shows marked progress, for whereas Japan has now 409 steel ships and 20 vessels of 6000 tons or upwards, she had only 67 iron-made vessels in 1886.

Number of seamen.

The following is the record of seamen (foreigners and Japanese) registered by the Government as having passed the examination stipulated by law :

	Japanese.	Foreigners.	Totals.
1899	13,936	302	14,238
1908	21,803	351	22,154

In 1876 Japanese licensed mariners numbered only 74, and of these only four were Japanese subjects. In 1895 the numbers were 4135 Japanese and 835 foreigners. In 1876 Japanese pilots mustered only one against 15 of foreign nationality, but the corresponding numbers are now 22 and 12 respectively. Ordinary seamen aggregated 38,217 in 1900 and 202,710 in 1904.

During the first stage of development the scope of the Japanese Mercantile Marine was not large, but it extended

Scope of the Mercantile Marine.

gradually from 1870 when the *Kaiso Kaisha*, under instructions from the State Department for Communications, established the first regular service between Tōkyō and Ōsaka *viâ* Yokohama and Kōbé, the liners leaving thrice a month. In 1875 the *Mitsubishi Kaisha* opened the Yokohama-Shanghai line, and subsequently purchased from the Pacific Mail Steamship Company the goodwill of the latter's service on the same line. Next year the *Mitsubishi Kaisha* strengthened its *locus standi*, outstripped its rival, the P. & O. Steamship Company, and established a regular service between Japan, Chefoo, Tientsin, and Newchwang, as well as another regular service between Japan and Vladivostock *viâ* Fusan and Gensan in Korea. In 1885, when the *Nippon Yūsén Kaisha* was established, Japan had only four regular services abroad, namely, the Yokohama-Shanghai line, the Nagasaki-Vladivostock line, the Nagasaki-Chemulpo line, and the Kōbé-North-China line. Afterwards the Japan-Bombay line was opened by the *Nippon Yūsén Kaisha* in 1893; the Japan-Australia line and the Japan-Europe line by the same company; the Japan-San Francisco line by the *Tōyō Kisén Kaisha*, and regular services in the Yang-tze River by the *Ōsaka Shōsén Kaisha* were opened in 1896.

The following is a table of the leading regular services:[1]

Services of the Mercantile Marine.

European Line of the Nippon Yūsén Kaisha.—The liners engaged on this service number twelve steamers of 6000 gross tons or upwards, with a speed of fourteen knots or more, and they leave Yokohama fortnightly for Europe, calling when outward bound at Kōbé, Moji, Hong Kong, Singapore, Penang, Colombo, Suez, Port Said, Marseilles, London, Antwerp, and Middlesborough; and when homeward bound at London, Port Said, Suez, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Kōbé.

American Line of the Nippon Yūsén Kaisha.—The liners on this service are three steamers of 6000 gross tons or upwards, with a speed of fifteen knots or more, and they ply once every four weeks between Yokohama, Hong Kong, and Seattle. Between Yokohama and Seattle they call at Victoria on both outward and homeward voyages, and between Yokohama

[1] These statistics are those of 1903. Later ones have not been available.

and Hong Kong they call on the outward voyage at Kōbé and Moji, and on the homeward voyage at Moji.

San Francisco Line of the Tōyō Kisén Kaisha.—The liners on this service are three ships of 6000 gross tons or upwards, with a speed of seventeen knots or over. They sail once every four weeks, namely twelve times a year, to and from San Francisco and Hong Kong. Between Yokohama and San Francisco, on both outward and homeward voyages, they call at Honolulu; and between Yokohama and Hong Kong they call at Kōbé, Shanghai, and Nagasaki on both outward and homeward voyages.

Australian Line of the Nippon Yūsén Kaisha.—The steamers on this line are three of 3500 gross tons or upwards, with a speed of about ten knots, leaving Yokohama and Melbourne monthly, and calling at Kōbé, Nagasaki, Hong Kong, Thursday Island, Townsville, Brisbane, and Sydney on both outward and homeward voyages.

Bombay Line of the Nippon Yūsén Kaisha.—The liners on this service are three of 3000 gross tons or upwards, with a speed of about ten knots, leaving Yokohama and Bombay monthly, and calling at Kōbé, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Colombo on both outward and homeward voyages.

The services on the Yang-tze River are divided into several lines:

Shanghai-Hankow Line of the Ōsaka Shōsén Kaisha.—The liners on this service are three vessels of 2000 gross tons or upwards, with a speed of about eleven knots, leaving Shanghai and Hong Kong twice a month during the nine months from March to November, and thrice every two weeks during the three months from December to February, namely, ninety-six times throughout the year.

Hankow and Ichang Line of the Ōsaka Shōsén Kaisha.—The vessels on this line are two ships of 1500 gross tons or upwards, with a speed of about ten knots, leaving Hankow and Ichang six times a month during the six months from April to September, and four times a month during the six months from October to March.

Yokohama-Shanghai Line of the Nippon Yūsén Kaisha.—The vessels on this line are three steamers of 2500 gross tons

or upwards, with a speed of about fourteen knots, leaving Yokohama and Shanghai once a week.

Kōbé-North China Line of the Nippon Yūsén Kaisha.—These lines are three ships of about 1400 gross tons, with a speed of some twelve knots, leaving Kōbé, Tientsin (or Taku), and Newchwang once a week.

Kōbé-Korea and North China Line of the Nippon Yūsén Kaisha.—One steamer of about 1400 gross tons, with a speed of about twelve knots, leaves Kōbé and Newchwang once every four weeks.

Kōbé-Vladivostock Line of the Nippon Yūsén Kaisha.—One steamer of about 1400 gross tons, with a speed of some twelve knots, leaves Kōbé and Vladivostock once every four weeks.

Kōbé-Otaru Line of the Nippon Yūsén Kaisha.—The steamers on this line are twelve of about 1400 gross tons, with a speed of some ten knots. They leave Kōbé and Otaru ten times every month on the Eastern route, and once a week on the Western route. The steamer on the Eastern route calls at Yokohama, Oginohama, and Hakodaté every voyage and at Yokkaichi five times a month. On the Western route they call at Onomichi (or Itosaki), Moji (or Shimonoséki), Sakai, Tsuruga, Fushiki, Naoétsu, Niigata, Sakata, Tsuchisaki, and Hakodaté.

Aomori-Muroran Line of the Nippon Yūsén Kaisha.—The steamers on this line are three of about 700 gross tons, with a speed of some ten knots. They leave Aomori and Muroran every day.

Japan-Sea Coasting Line of the Ōya Kisén Kaisha.—The steamers on this line are two of about 1400 gross tons, with a speed of some ten knots. They leave Moji or Otaru monthly.

Hankow-Hsiangtan Line of the Konan Kisén Kaisha.—The steamers are two of 935 gross tons (speed not specified), leaving Hankow and Hsiangtan once a week.

These services are all carried on by special arrangement with the central Government. There are other regular services under special agreement with various local authorities, namely, three services between the mainland and Formosa, a Formosan coasting service, and six services between Formosa and South

China, all under arrangement with the Governor-General of Formosa; several coasting services in Hokkaidō under sanction of the Governor of Hokkaidō; a service between Tōkyō and Ogasawara Islands (Bonin Islands), under the sanction of the Governor of Tōkyō; and a service establishing communication between various islands, under arrangement with the Governor of the prefecture of Kagoshima and Okinawa. There are also many irregular services.

Ship-owners.

In 1904 there were sixty-two companies and sixty-five individuals owning ships, and at their head stood the *Nippon Yūsén Kaisha* and the *Ōsaka Shōsén Kaisha*, whose vessels are shown in the following list:

	Nippon Yūsén Kaisha.		Ōsaka Shōsén Kaisha.	
	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.
1901	109	220,214	98	64,166
1907	121	265,446	128	107,491

Ship-builders.

The number of unofficial shipbuilding yards, in 1905, was 216 yards and 42 docks, the principal being the Mitsubishi Docks at Nagasaki (established in 1886), the Kawasaki Docks at Kōbé, the Uraga Docks, and the Yokohama Docks (the two last established in 1896). Ships aggregating 47,000 tons were built in these various yards in 1902, whereas those built in 1898 had aggregated 24,000 tons only. The Mitsubishi Dockyard built nine ships of 14,000 tons and repaired ninety-four ships of 185,400 tons in 1903. The ss. *Tango Maru*, built at this dock to order of the *Nippon Yūsén Kaisha*, is the largest ship in the East belonging to any Japanese company, her tonnage being 7500 gross tons. The building of a vessel of such size in our own dockyard is worthy of special notice in connection with the history of shipbuilding in the East. The total number of private docks in Japan was 42 in 1905. That of the Mitsubishi is 722 ft. in length and 88 ft. in width, being the largest in Japan. The Kawasaki Docks, the Uraga, and the Yokohama are next in size to the Mitsubishi.

Educational institutions for marines.

The Tōkyō Mercantile Marine College is the most important institution of the kind in Japan. It was established by the *Mitsubishi Kaisha* under order of the Government in 1875, and was converted into a governmental college in 1882. It

has contributed largely to the marine of Japan, supplying about 500 graduates for officers and engineers. There are also colleges for the education of mariners in Toba, Awashima, Yugé, Hiroshima, Ōshima, Saga, and Hakodaté, all established and controlled by the authorities.

Various marine institutions.

The Imperial Mariners Association, '*Téikoku Kaiji Kyōkai*,' established in 1899, aims at developing and improving the maritime affairs of the empire. The Marine Relief Association, '*Kaiin-Ékisai-Kai*,' established in 1880, has for object to find occupation for ordinary seamen and also the supply of seamen to ship-owners. It has now 29,000 members and it has supplied about 325,000 seamen to employers up to date. The Imperial Japanese Distressed Mariners Relief Association, '*Dai-Nippon-Téikoku Suinan Kyūsaikai*,' has succoured more than 93,000 seamen since its establishment in 1889. Among marine insurance companies the principal is the '*Tōkyō Kaijō Hokén Kaisha*' (Tōkyō Marine Insurance Company), which was established in 1878. The policies annually written by it amount to 407,000,000 *yen*.

Maritime Administration

Maritime administration.

The Ship Superintending Bureau, '*Kansén-kyoku*,' in the State Department of Communications, consists of three sections: one for inspection of vessels, one for examination of mariners, and one for general control of affairs relative to both Japanese and foreign ships in Japan. For the purposes of this bureau, the empire is divided into four parts, the headquarters of these being located at Tōkyō, Ōsaka, Nagasaki, and Hakodaté respectively. These four parts are subdivided into eighteen sections, each having a maritime bureau (*Kaiji-kyoku*). One hundred and eighty-eight lighthouses have been erected at various points throughout the country. For the building and maintenance of these either Frenchmen or Englishmen were employed until 1880, when they were all replaced by Japanese experts.

Maritime laws.

The first law was enacted in 1870. It contained various provisions relative to the form of licences for ships; regulations for signalling; method for saluting at sea; prevention of collisions at sea; regulations for anchorage in open ports;

customs' regulations with regard to landing and shipping of cargoes; customs' entry of ships within twenty-four hours after their arrival; customs' manifest stating the kinds and quantities of cargoes on board, &c. Another maritime law was promulgated in 1878, relative to mariners and to examination for officers and engineers on ships of Western model. The maritime laws now in force were enacted in 1899. Certain laws for the encouragement of navigation and shipbuilding, enacted in 1896, are worthy of special attention, and some extracts from them are given here:

(*a*) A subsidy for the encouragement of navigation will be granted to a ship which is of 1000 tons gross or upwards, has speed of at least ten knots, is manufactured of iron or steel, and has passed the examination presented by the shipbuilding regulations issued by the Minister of State for Communications. The subsidy for the encouragement of navigation is 25 *sen* per ton gross for every 1000 miles for a ship of 1000 tons gross with a full speed of ten knots, and ten per cent. extra is granted for every 500 tons gross, and twenty per cent. extra for every additional knot above ten knots' speed. The subsidy to a ship of either 6500 tons gross or upwards, or of a full speed of eighteen knots or over, is granted at the same rate as that to a ship of either 6000 tons gross or of seventeen knots' speed.

(*b*) A subsidy for the encouragement of shipbuilding is granted to a ship which is 700 tons gross or upwards, manufactured of iron or steel, and which has undergone official inspection in accordance with regulations issued by the Minister of State for Communications. The subsidy is twelve *yen* for every ten tons gross for a ship of from 700 to 1000 tons gross, and twenty *yen* for a ship of 1000 tons upwards. Further, if the engines of the steamer as well as the vessel are of Japanese manufacture, five *yen* extra per unit of horse-power is granted.

Under these laws the annual subsidies for the encouragement of navigation and for special regular services aggregate some 5,000,000 *yen*, while the subsidies for the encouragement of shipbuilding total about 60,000,000 *yen* a year. The laws were enacted after full investigation into the various systems

operative in Europe and America, and the present prosperity of Japanese shipping is chiefly attributable to these provisions.

Strength of the Japanese Mercantile Marine System

Japanese vessels and the carrying trade.

The development of maritime industries and that of foreign trade are mutually dependent, sometimes foreign trade taking the lead and maritime industries following, while sometimes the converse is true. In our country, though both maritime enterprise and foreign trade developed rapidly, the former followed the latter. The foreign trade of Japan increased with rapid strides. In 1868 the figures stood at 15,553,473 *yen* for exports and 10,193,072 *yen* for imports, a total of 25,746,545 *yen*; whereas in 1907 the returns showed 451,400,000 *yen* exports and 502,600,000 *yen* imports, aggregate of 954,000,000 *yen*. In such a great development Japanese vessels could not take much share until the regular services to China, Korea, and Russian territory were extended. Thereafter the country's foreign trade grew in a manner plainly influenced by the growth of the Mercantile Marine. According to latest investigations, the Japanese ships engaged in the carrying trade in recent years were as follow:

	Outward.		Homeward.	
	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.
1892	1,035	940,515	1,017	952,103
1896	1,841	1,189,116	1,814	1,158,185
1900	3,845	3,429,460	3,817	3,426,531
1903	5,618	5,233,495	5,544	5,210,423
1908	8,969	8,677,140	8,929	8,720,843

Comparison of Japanese and Foreign Ships

	Japanese Ships.		Foreign Ships.		Per cent. Comparison of Ships.		Per cent. Comparison of Tons.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Jap.	For.	Jap.	For.
1891	3,694	1,850,385	3,302	5,048,343	53	47	27	73
1902	9,472	8,781,162	6,144	14,398,357	61	39	38	62
1908	17,898	16,397,983	7,182	23,950,532	71	29	40	60

Carrying Capacity of Japanese Ships.—The following table shows the share taken in carrying the country's foreign trade by Japanese vessels from 1892–1908 inclusive:

	Yen.
1892	15,677,000
1896	33,722,000
1900	148,385,000
1903	224,000,276
1908	328,081,055

Comparison between the Parts taken by Japanese and Foreign Vessels in carrying the Country's Foreign Trade

	Japanese Ships.		
	Outward. *Yen.*	Homeward. *Yen.*	Totals. *Yen.*
1891	7,126,682	7,661,136	14,787,818
1902	106,620,534	99,370,637	205,991,171
1908	160,466,532	167,614,523	328,081,055
	Foreign Ships.		
	Outward. *Yen.*	Homeward. *Yen.*	Totals. *Yen.*
1891	70,788,945	54,583,762	125,372,707
1902	151,378,496	170,858,119	322,236,615
1908	214,521,191	266,293,995	480,815,186

Steam Vessels entered from Foreign Countries

	Total.		Japanese.	
	No.	Tonnage.	No.	Tonnage.
1892	1,418	1,761,592	401	337,763
1900	5,330	9,606,752	2,645	3,363,657
1907	10,965	20,199,653	6,734	8,770,941
	British.		**American.**	
	No.	Tonnage.	No.	Tonnage.
1892	531	914,639	21	56,499
1900	1,542	3,739,154	135	311,180
1907	2,269	6,267,638	377	1,618,462

Comparison of Japanese and Foreign Vessels in Chinese Ports

	Japanese Ships.		Foreign Ships.	
	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.
1896	546	565,992	33,897	32,662,781
1902	6,898	7,350,513	54,400	46,230,667
1907	29,296	15,598,213	180,636	64,511,211

Comparison between Japanese and Foreign Vessels in Korean Ports

	Japanese Vessels.		Foreign Vessels.	
	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.
1896	580	400,625	273	73,600
1901	2,365	791,106	1,397	174,456
1904	5,485	795,418	1,774	597,055

Japanese Vessels at Hong Kong

	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Percentages of Japanese Vessels and Tonnage as compared with Foreign. Vessels. Per cent.	Tonnage. Per cent.
1896	80	146,315	3	3
1900	314	649,288	9	13
1906	594	1,274,640	7	8

Japanese Vessels which passed the Suez Canal

	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Percentages of Japanese Vessels and Tonnages as compared with Foreign. Vessels. Per cent.	Tonnage. Per cent.
1896	10	42,695	0·29	3·35
1901	61	331,562	1·64	2·11
1908	69	286,456	1·80	2·10

Freight earned by Japanese Ships.—According to the latest investigation (1906) compiled by the Department of Finance, the total amount of freight earned by Japanese vessels was as follows :

	Yen.
Freight on imports	3,467,629
„ „ exports	4,211,267
„ to intermediate ports	3,109,440
Passage money	3,678,520
	14,466,856

STATUS OF THE JAPANESE MERCANTILE MARINE WITH REGARD TO THE WORLD'S COMMERCE

Vessels of various Countries and their respective Tonnages.—It is worth while to consider the position that Japan now holds with regard to other countries and their mercantile marines. Below is a list of steamships, sailing vessels, and total tonnages of the countries which had ships aggregating 500,000 tons or upwards in 1908 :

Nationality.	Ships.	Tonnage.	Proportion per cent.
Great Britain	11,563	18,709,537	45·72
U.S.A.	3,590	4,854,787	11·86
Germany	2,178	4,232,145	10·34
Norway	2,145	1,982,878	4·85
France	1,517	1,883,894	4·60
Japan	2,154	1,306,381	3·19

Nationality.	Ships.	Tonnage.	Proportion per cent.
Italy	1,098	1,285,225	3·14
Russia	1,381	974,517	2·38
Sweden	1,542	904,155	2·21
Holland	1,565	876,620	2·14
Austria-Hungary ..	340	740,509	1·81
Denmark	870	733,790	1·79
Spain	551	701,278	1·71
Greece	423	519,889	1·21

Japan has gone up from eleventh in the list of nations in 1904 to sixth in 1908, and calculating by the number of steamships only, she takes a higher place.

List of Tonnage of various Countries

Nationality.	Steamers' Tonnage.	Proportion per cent.
Great Britain	17,499,542	48·99
Germany	3,839,378	10·75
U.S.A.	3,549,461	9·94
France	1,416,987	3·97
Norway	1,351,647	3·78
Japan	1,140,177	3·19
Italy	903,567	2·53
Holland	841,870	2·36
Russia	755,350	2·11
Austria-Hungary	733,402	2·05
Sweden	732,280	2·05
Spain	677,345	1·90
Denmark	660,582	1·85
Greece	482,055	1·35

In this table Japan ranks sixth. As to steamships of 1000 tons or upwards with a speed of twelve knots or more, Great Britain has 1468 ships; the U.S.A. 248; Germany, 213; France 183; Austria 68; Italy 64; Holland 62; Japan 58. Thus Japan ranks eighth.

Comparison of the Steamship Companies of the World.—The leading steamship companies possessing vessels aggregating 150,000 tons or upwards are as follow:

Nationality.	Names of SS. Co.	Vessels.	Tonnage.
German	Hamburg-Amerikanische	178	844,193
German	Norddeutscher Lloyd	152	681,998
British	British India	111	442,359
British	P. & O.	64	407,454
British	White Star	29	357,427
America	Pittsburg	76	314,662
British	Holt	58	313,655
Japanese	Nippon Yūsén Kaisha	80	307,420
British	Elder, Dempster	106	302,477
French	Messageries Maritimes	68	299,960
British	Ellerman Lines	80	296,830
Italian	Navigatione General Italiana	111	292,070
British	Union Castle	50	268,284
French	Générale Transatlantique	70	258,338
British	Furness, Withy	86	245,569
British	Cunard	25	245,373
German	Hansa	53	239,577
British	Frederick Leyland	37	215,389
British	T. & J. Harrison	42	211,723
German	Hamburg-Sudamerikanische	52	206,418
British	Clan Line	50	206,221
Austrian	Lloyd Austriano	68	202,050

List of Steamers which passed the Suez Canal, 1904 *and* 1908

Nationality.	Ships. 1904.	Tonnage. 1904.	Ships. 1908.	Tonnage. 1908.
British	2,278	10,215,252	2,233	8,302,302
German	494	2,464,493	584	2,310,507
French	261	1,186,844	242	815,120
Dutch	223	770,576	246	743,980
Austro-Hungarian ..	128	562,048	107	387,546
Japanese	53	308,093	69	286,456
Russian	119	500,558	81	251,820
Italian	72	227,331	83	189,543
Danish	11	53,749	34	89,768
Spanish	26	13,276	27	77,974
Norwegian	35	94,426	22	61,901
Swedish	10	23,547	16	49,628
Miscellaneous ..	3,761	16,615,309	3,795	13,633,283

In the twenty-four years between 1884 and 1908 the number of Japanese ships which passed the Suez Canal multiplied nearly fifty times in tonnage.

Future of Japan's Mercantile Marine

Maritime Strength of Japan during the Russo-Japan War.—In 1903, prior to the war, Japan possessed ships with a total displacement of 979,423 tons. In 1904 this figure increased to 1,113,691 tons, a difference of some 134,000 tons, whereof about 120,000 tons represented vessels of 1000 tons or upwards. In 1905 the tonnage increased to over 1,400,000 tons, a difference of some 500,000 tons, as compared with the year 1903. The country's vessels transported an army of nearly a million men and supplied munitions of war for two years without any interruption. This remarkable feat shows the great development of Japan's sea-going power. During the war Japan purchased and chartered foreign vessels of about 230,000 tons and 150,000 tons respectively, while vessels were confiscated amounting to some 140,000 tons. It was considered at that time that these ships would not be wanted after the war, but would remain as tonnage in excess of requirements. This apprehension was not justified by events. On the contrary, the demand for tonnage increased year by year. As an outcome of the war Japan obtained possession of half of Saghalien, half of the East China Railway in Manchuria, and the lease of the Liaotung Peninsula. She also established a protectorate over Korea. For the purposes of the maritime communications which thus became necessary, several regular services had to be established connecting Japan more closely with the acquired peninsula, with Manchuria, and with Korea. It is true that there were services already between Japan, Korea,

The nation's strength after the war.

China, and Russian territory, but they were on too small a scale for Japan's projects, and they had to be more widely extended.

The foreign trades of Japan and her carrying capacity.

Investigating the past history and present condition of Japan's Mercantile Marine with due regard to the growing prosperity of the country, there is no difficulty in finding ample room for an increase in the country's shipping. The vessels engaged in Japan's carrying trade aggregated 9,485,000 tons in 1895, and 27,155,000 tons in 1903. This rapid increase is still going on, indicating the progress of the trade as well as the development of maritime carrying facilities. In 1903, 40 per cent. of the exports and 34 per cent. of the imports were carried by domestic steamers, leaving 60 per cent. of the exports and 66 per cent. of the imports to foreign bottoms. Should the Mercantile Marine of Japan be extended so as to be capable of transporting one-half of her total foreign trade, an increase of some 400,000 tons would not be in excess of demand.

Room for Japanese ships at various ports in the East.

Though Japanese commerce carriers in various Eastern ports, especially in North China, are increasing yearly, still room can be found for more tonnage.

Comparison of Values of Trade to and from Chinese Ports carried by Vessels of various Countries, 1907

Nationality.	Value of Trade. *Taels.*	Percentage.
British	712,398,769	46·29
Chinese (including junks) ..	387,924,248	25·21
Japanese	190,088,955	12·35
German	135,265,286	8·79
French	60,709,536	3·94
Norwegian	21,254,276	1·38
U.S.A.	9,218,021	·60

Comparison of Quantities of Trade to and from Chinese Ports carried by Vessels of various Countries, 1907

Nationality.	Vessels.	Tons.	Percentage.
British	27,495	33,316,618	41·59
Chinese	147,193	16,686,305	20·83
Japanese	29,296	15,598,213	19·47
German	5,864	6,639,767	8·29
French	5,072	4,712,188	5·88
Norwegian ..	1,110	1,067,110	1·33
U.S.A.	549	1,045,899	1·30

Japanese ships plying to and from Chinese ports come next to British and Chinese ships, but the proportion against total tonnage is only 19 per cent., whereas that of British steamers is 41 per cent., and the value of the trade carried by Japanese ships is only 12 per cent., whereas that carried by British and Chinese steamers is 46 per cent. and 25 per cent. respectively. It is a matter for surprise that Japanese ships engaged in the Chinese trade cannot obtain a much larger share than German and French steamers combined, which have to come many thousand miles. But in fact the carrying capacity of Japan's Mercantile Marine is insufficient to transport even one-half of her domestic trade, and therefore cannot extend its strength to Chinese waters. In Tientsin and Chefoo, Japan's vessels rate third in position after British and Chinese ships.

To raise the status of Japan in these waters above the British and Chinese Mercantile Marines, as is the case at Newchwang, needs additional tonnage.

East and South.

If we turn to the commercial conditions in the world at large, the outlook for the Mercantile Marine of Japan is found to be very encouraging.

Development of Chinese resources.

The points upon which various rivals are focussing their attention are, first, Eastern China, and secondly, how to develop the wealth of China as a whole. In the sequel of the Boxer trouble in 1900 and of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904–05, the principle of the open door was established in China, and she is therefore now ready to develop her resources, while her five hundred millions of inhabitants are in a position to purchase manufactures and products from abroad. China ought to be a great market for the world's trade. The Mercantile Marine under the Japanese flag is a factor making for permanent peace in the East, and ought to be able to assert its influence in the trade of China as well as in the commercial development of the South. The Southern Ocean was almost forgotten by the world for a long time, but the Philippine Islands have recovered importance under the improved administration of the American Government, and Australia has of late developed with remarkable rapidity. There is a wide scope in the Southern Ocean for Japanese commerce.

The Panama Canal.

The Panama Canal is expected to be completed in the near future, under the control of the American Government. By its completion a great change will no doubt take place in the trade of the world, especially in the East. According to investigation made by the United States Government, the distances to the leading ports in the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans from America will be shortened by the completion of the canal, as shown in the following table :

From	To San Francisco. Miles.	Yokohama. Miles.	Shanghai. Miles.	Manila. Miles.	Melbourne. Miles.
New York ..	7,947	7,945	8,025	7,975	4,708
New Orleans	8,942	8,942	9,029	8,926	5,709
Liverpool ..	5,806	5,806	5,886	5,806	2,569
Hamburg ..	5,777	5,777	5,857	5,777	2,540
Antwerp ..	5,791	5,791	5,871	5,791	2,554

Thus the distance from America to Yokohama, Shanghai, and the Philippines will be shortened by about 8000 nautical miles. Upon the completion of the Panama Canal it is expected that the trade of the world will be divided into two sections, cargoes bound for places eastward of Singapore will be sent by the Panama route and those destined for places westward of Singapore by the Suez route.

Conditions since the Russo-Japan War.

The shipping statistics showed at the close of the last war a large increase, amounting to no less than 300,000 tons. This supply naturally exceeded the demand, and as a result tens of thousands of tons have been lying idle in our harbours and shipping business has been in a very stagnant condition. But this depression is not limited to Japan, but is embarrassing the whole world, and is a state of things from which there must be a recovery. Meanwhile our powers of shipbuilding are showing remarkable progress. We can now build vessels of 12,000 tons without any difficulty, and Lloyds insure our shipping without any hesitation. In the construction of every kind of battleship advance has been remarkable, and 20,000 tons of sound and superior qualities can now be turned out from our yards. Only in the slowness of our production are we still behind other more advanced nations, in execution we are inferior

to none. The reason for this is to be found in that much of the material has to be imported and the division of labour is not yet carried to the point it might and should be.

Highest point of maritime development.

The Mercantile Marine of Japan is steadily developing, but there still remains much to be accomplished before the highest point of development is reached.

To what extent will the development be carried? The circumstances influencing this problem differ in every country, but the highest point of development in Japan's case may be approximately estimated by comparing the trade and commerce of Great Britain and Japan and their respective populations.

		Population.	Trade. *Yen.*	Steamships. Tons.
1906.	Great Britain	43,659,121	10,688,241,920	16,999,668
,,	Japan ..	48,160,825	912,414,892	1,156,570

It thus appears that, whereas Great Britain has nearly one ton of shipping to every three units of her population and that for each ton of shipping she does a trade of 560 *yen*, Japan has only one ton of shipping for every sixty-nine units of population and for every 925 *yen* of trade. Evidently the Mercantile Marine of Japan has much to accomplish before attaining its highest development. Her people strongly desire that the aggregate tonnage of their country's ships should reach one-half of that of Great Britain's, namely, 8,000,000 tons, and there is every reason to hope that if the existing rate of progress continue, it will not be long before the Japanese tonnage at all events aggregates 2,000,000 tons.

Conclusion

It was fifty-five years prior to Japan's acceding to the open-door policy that the *Charlotte Dundas*, the first steamer of the world, was floated in the Forth and Clyde Canal in 1802, and it was twenty-four years before the open-door policy of Japan that the *Savanna* gave evidence of the capability of steamers to navigate the Atlantic Ocean. In 1862, the third year after the opening of Japan, the side-wheel was replaced by the screw-propeller, and in 1880, twenty-two years after the opening of Japan, Siemens and Martin

invented a new process of manufacturing steel which contributed much to the art of shipbuilding. Even in Europe, ships of 7000 tons or upwards could not be built before 1890. Since the opening of Japan to foreign trade in 1858, her mercantile enterprise has rapidly progressed, until within the short space of forty years it has reached an unexpected degree of prosperity. This is largely due to the fact that she is an island empire, and that her communications with foreign countries are entirely maritime. Situated in the Pacific Ocean, she has the Chinese Empire and Russian territory on her west and north, Australasia and various other islands on her south, and the American continent on her east. Thus her geographical position closely resembles that of Great Britain, and is eminently favourable for maritime enterprise, upon the development of which her prosperity depends. Her Mercantile Marine will no doubt increase rapidly, favoured as she is by her situation. It has been said by the Emperor of Germany that the good fortune and future progress of a State depend upon its maritime energy, and as evidence of the fact we may cite Venice, Genoa, Portugal, Spain, and Holland in the medieval ages, and Great Britain, the United States of America, Germany, and France at the present day. Truly the fortune of a nation depends largely upon its maritime strength. Japan, well favoured by her geographical position in the Pacific Ocean, should spare no effort to make her Mercantile Marine second to none in the world. When maritime prosperity is achieved the wealth and military strength of a nation follow inevitably. To take part in amicable competition on the peaceful waters of the Pacific rather than to enter upon land contests is this empire's choice.

By way of conclusion a table showing the progress of Japanese steam shipping in the past five decades is appended:

	Tons.
At the end of the first ten years (1870) ..	17,952
„ „ second „ (1880) ..	89,309
„ „ third „ (1890) ..	145,692
„ „ fourth „ (1900) ..	863,938
„ „ 1908	1,483,895

XX

JOINT-STOCK ENTERPRISE IN JAPAN

BARON YÉIICHI SHIBUSAWA, PRESIDENT OF THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK

I.—THE INCEPTION OF JOINT-STOCK COMPANIES

Commercial companies before the Restoration.

PRIOR to the Restoration of 1868 Japan was not entirely without commercial companies, by means of which merchants conducted their business. Such, for instance, were the Mitsui-gumi, the Onogumi, and the Shimadagumi. But each of these was formed by members of one and the same family or clan, although they engaged in transactions extending over various districts, in which respect their business presented some differences from that of individual merchants. There were also what were called '*Kumiai*' and '*Nakama*' (literally, associations and fellowships), but these were formed mainly for the purpose of monthly or annual meetings to cultivate social relations and promote the mutual interests of merchants in the same line of trade. There were no true companies whose capital was subscribed by the general public and whose conduct of business was entrusted to the hands of a manager specially appointed for that purpose. In the days of the feudal system the *daimyates* stood isolated from one another; consequently, the financial world was then divided into a number of small districts, and to undertake a common enterprise by raising funds from the whole country was an impossible and unheard-of matter.

The Méiji Restoration.

With the appearance of the American ships at Uraga in 1853, the affairs in Japan began to undergo a thorough change, and when, at last, the restoration of Imperial power to its proper hands was consummated and the isolation of the small financial districts was broken down, the tendency to carry on enterprises

by the company system began to grow, and the organization of companies became a question of time only. The Government, without waiting for their natural development, earnestly encouraged and fostered their formation, for as it suffered from an empty treasury for some considerable time, it became of prime importance to adopt measures for the easy circulation of money and the development of products and industry.

Encouragement by Government.

Accordingly, even while at war in the first year of Méiji (1868), the Government proceeded to establish the *Shōhōshi* (Business Bureau), and in the second year (1869) the *Tsūshōshi* (Commercial Bureau); and then, as organs of these institutions, caused the *Tsūshō Kaisha* (Commercial Companies) and the *Kawasé Kaisha* (Exchange Companies) to be established, as will be seen in the Chapter on Banking (p. 487). Though these were naturally different from those of the present day and ended in failure, yet they must nevertheless be regarded as the pioneer companies in Japan. But whilst the Government thus encouraged the establishment of companies on the one hand, it desired, on the other, to see exchange brokers in general form joint-stock companies and engage in the same business as the Exchange Companies. In 1870–71 the Department of Finance published two books under the titles of 'Explanations about Corporations,' and 'Rules for Organising Corporations,' and distributed them among the provinces with the before-mentioned view. For the compilation and publication of these books, the writer bore the sole responsibility, by order of Mr. Shigénobu Ōkuma (afterwards Count Ōkuma), then Vice-Minister of the Finance Department. At that time the Government recognized the necessity of drafting a Commercial Code, but it was no easy task; so, by publishing these books, it intended to make the people understand the general principles of corporations and thus to educate the spirit of co-operation in enterprise.

Establishment of other companies.

Cotemporaneously with the establishment of the Exchange Companies there arose two companies of different kinds, namely the *Kaisō Kaisha* (Shipping Company) and the *Kaishō Kaisha* (Commercial Company), both of which were promoted in 1869 by Mr. Shirobéi Suita, a clerk of the Mitsuigumi, and on receiving official protection were made subordinate to the

Tsūshōshi. The objects of the *Kaishō Kaisha* were to fix the current prices of paper, sugar, oil, tallow, cotton, manure, and other merchandise in Tōkyō and Ōsaka, and also to effect periodical delivery of these staples; while those of the *Kaisō Kaisha* were to engage in transporting passengers and goods by sea between Tōkyō and Ōsaka.

As the Exchange Companies were on a very small scale and their business was in its infancy compared with the banks of to-day, the *Kaisō Kaisha* had its transactions confined to a limited field, and, owing to the imperfect system of communication and transport, was unable to obtain information as to the demand in various parts of the country. Thus a uniform supply of articles could not be achieved, market prices were often controlled by a few speculators, and there was no possibility of standardizing quotations. Consequently, transactions became fewer, the business of the company declined steadily, and it had finally to discontinue its operations. The business of securing periodical delivery of rice had been in vogue for over two hundred years with the merchants of Ōsaka, and so was not novel, and the *Tsūshō Kaisha* did the same, but as a company with Government permission, and it may thus be deemed the pioneer of the Exchanges for rice, stocks, and other merchandise afterwards established.

The *Kaisō Kaisha* also transacted a small business, and at first employed thirteen ships, five of which it chartered from the Government and eight from certain of the former *daimyō*. In 1871, when the clans were abolished, the Government bought all the ships belonging to the latter and caused the *Yūbin Jōkisén Kaisha* (Mail Steamship Company) to be established with these vessels, thereafter making this company coalesce with the *Kaisō Kaisha*, the object being not only to promote shipping business, but also to transport the rice which was still accepted as payment for taxes. Two other companies came in as competitors about this time, namely the Mitsubishi Steamship Company, which was gradually gaining power, and the Pacific Steamship Company of America, which opened branches at Yokohama, Kōbé, Nagasaki, and Shanghai, and established regular services between these places: competition between the three became by degrees very severe.

In 1874 the Government sent an expedition to Formosa, and the Pacific Steamship Company taking the position of a neutral and refusing to perform any services for Japanese military purposes, the Mitsubishi Steamship Company came forward with great promptitude, offering to do any work required by the Government. Thus the *Yūbin Jōkisén Kaisha*, being outstripped, gradually fell into an unstable condition, and finally had to liquidate. Thereafter the control of shipping business passed into the hands of the Mitsubishi Steamship Company, with a consequential increase in its prestige and authority.

The Tōkyō Railway Company.

The first railway enterprise in Japan was the construction of the line between Tōkyō and Yokohama, which was commenced by the Government after floating a foreign loan in 1870; it was entirely an official undertaking, having nothing to do with a private company. The earliest private railway enterprise was the Tōkyō Railway Company, and it originated thus: in the beginning of the Méiji era, Lord Hachisuka, then staying in England and being deeply impressed by the great convenience of railway transport, wrote to his friends at home advising the construction of railways in Japan. They, approving of the project, applied in 1873 to the Government for permission to organize a company with that end in view. Their first idea was to lay a line between Tōkyō and Aomori, but after several alterations they resolved to endeavour to purchase the Government railway between Tōkyō and Yokohama. The Government, thinking that it would be very beneficial for production and trade if the wealthy nobility took up railway business, and that such investments would insure the safety of the nobles' own moneys, sanctioned the application, and signed the contract in 1876. But cotemporaneously a measure was introduced for dealing with the hereditary pensions of the nobles and *shizoku*, and thereupon some of the former wished to cancel the purchase of the railway. As the writer of this paper had been, at their request, concerned in the enterprise from the beginning, he regretted the cancellation very much, and seriously advised them to persist in carrying out their original plans. But unfortunately he was not listened to, and the contract had hardly been signed than it was cancelled, and the enterprise which had required several years to reach the

point of acceptance was abandoned in a few months. However, Vice-Premier Iwakura later on persuaded the same noblemen to form the Nippon Railway Company, an event which had its origin in the abandonment of the above enterprise. Thus the abortive project for establishing the Tōkyō Railway Company cannot be overlooked in the history of companies in Japan. Moreover, as a result of the non-execution of this scheme, two new enterprises, marine insurance and cotton spinning, were undertaken, as will be explained in a later chapter. So that, although the first private railway enterprise was so thoughtlessly abandoned, equally important factors of civilization were started in its place.

II.—The Development of Companies

(a) *Prior to the China-Japan War*

Ignorance of the people.

In looking back to the time of the Restoration, we are compelled to admit that farmers, merchants, and artisans were then for the most part uneducated and ignorant. On resigning office in 1873 the writer made a representation to the Government, in combination with Mr. Kaoru Inouyé (afterwards Marquis Inouyé), partly in the following words: 'At the present time, the people in Europe and America are studying practical sciences and equipping themselves with important knowledge. They regard it as a great dishonour not to be able to earn a living by ability and industry. Our *shizoku*, on the contrary, know only how to live on the pensions handed down from their ancestors, and they neither study nor aspire to civil or military science. Our farmers know only how to work their hereditary farms, and have no desire to develop the arts of agriculture or sericulture. Our artisans know only how to discuss about their wages and are quite ignorant of machines. Our merchants compete only for a small profit and do not know how to carry on business properly. These things are so, because men do not know how to use their abilities and endowments. Sometimes we hear of a few who are reputed for cleverness, but they turn out to be men that rejoice in corruption, engage in speculation, or monopolize profits. The worst of them ruin their own business and lose their property by cheating, by

fraud, and by committing all sorts of dishonesty. Now it would be easier to expect a cock to crow in its eggshell than to see those advanced at once to the stage of civilization.' It was a broad description of the education of the times.

Necessity of private enterprise.

Coincident with the restoration of the Imperial power came the breaking up of the clans, when every man of ability assembled in the Imperial capital and obtained a position in the Government, where problems of home administration, foreign policy, legislation, military systems, education, and finance were discussed, and was given charge of what he was supposed to be most fitted for. Few were, in consequence, left outside the Government, and only ignorant farmers and merchants occupied the field of industry and commerce. The Government rightly encouraged private enterprise, but when those thus encouraged happened to be men of no ability, what good could be expected. Therefore it became a matter of prime importance to have some enterprise set up on a large scale so as to attract men of ability to it, and to this end there was no better means than to start the system of joint-stock companies. Private enterprises do not confer such high honour as work in the political arena, nor do they produce such a sense of pleasure, but the work of a joint-stock company has some honour, some responsibility, and also some self-interest, so that it is not without attractions for men of ability. At the same time, if by means of joint-stock companies we can secure the prosperity of production and trade, we may thereby expect to promote the wealth and power of a nation. The secret of economy rests in the extended application of this principle, and it is one that the writer has eagerly advocated and has made it his life-long work to carry into practice in the interests of his country. This is the reason why he resigned office at an early stage, and devoted himself entirely to private enterprises.

Encouragement by the Government.

As already explained, the Government endeavoured to encourage private enterprise, and planned for the easy circulation of money by establishing the *Shōhōshi* and the *Tsūshōshi*, and themselves conducted the work of railways, posts, and telegraphs. They also constructed shipbuilding yards and factories for spinning, printing, silk-reeling, woollen stuffs,

paper-making, &c., which factories they themselves operated or handed over to the people as models of new enterprises in order to attract public attention to this kind of work.

The first law enacted concerning private companies, after careful study of American and European institutions, was the Regulations for National Banks, which was afterwards supplemented by Regulations for Banks of various kinds. Thus the first joint-stock companies after Western models in this country were banks, and next came companies connected with shipping, railways, and insurance, to be followed by degrees by various industrial companies.

Difficulties in establishing companies.

The circulation of money in the economic world may be compared to the circulation of blood in the human body: both are equally important to healthy activity. Therefore the Government first paid attention to banking business, and, as a result, in 1873, the First National Bank was established. Hitherto, business in this country had consisted of small transactions, the public being ignorant of the advantages of conducting it on a joint-stock basis. But very few came forward to assist, and the Government had to persuade, nay, almost to order, the Mitsuigumi and the Onogumi to form it; and if these two families had not taken part as principal shareholders, it is extremely doubtful whether the bank could ever have become an accomplished fact. The capital of the bank was at first 2,500,000 *yen*, and of this 2,000,000 *yen* was subscribed by the two families, the rest being offered to the general public. But the latter totalled some thirty-eight only, and the aggregate amount subscribed by them was only 440,800 *yen*. This indicates clearly how little disposition the public in general entertained for a joint-stock company. If it was thus difficult to collect capital, still more so was it to find men of ability to conduct the banking and other businesses. The clerks, who were chosen and sent to the bank by the Mitsuigumi and the Onogumi, simply occupied their posts, but none of them understood their business, and it was entirely due to the pressing necessity of the time that the bank succeeded in opening at all, and then only after overcoming many difficulties and obstacles.

On the promulgation of the Regulations of National Banks

four banks were established, but when after 1874 gold flowed out of the country, they were placed in a difficult position, being unable to maintain the convertibility of their notes. Moreover, in that year the Onogumi became bankrupt, soon to be followed by the Shimadagumi, a panic ensued in the money market, and the progress of private enterprises suddenly came to a standstill.

Rise of various companies.

In 1876 the Regulations for National Banks were revised, and the conversion of notes into currency being allowed, many banks were established in the provinces. After the rebellion in the south-west in 1877, the Government's bank-notes suddenly increased in number, which caused a great rise in the prices of commodities and unusual activity in the market, and new enterprises were undertaken in various fields. The Ashio Copper Mines, a private enterprise in 1871, passed, in 1877, into the hands of the late Mr. Ichibéi Furukawa, and has ever since proved a very prosperous undertaking. The Ōji Paper Factory, the first mill for manufacturing foreign paper in this country, was established in 1872. The Tōkyō Gas Bureau was founded in 1874. The Ishikawajima Shipbuilding Yard was let by the Department of the Navy to Mr. Tomiji Hirano in 1876, and became a private enterprise. The Tōkyō Marine Insurance Company in Japan began its business in 1879. The Tōkyō Tramway Company, now the Electric Tramway Company, was formed in 1880. The Nippon Railway Company was organized in 1881. The Union Transport Company was created to compete with the Mitsubishi Steamship Company in 1883. The Ōsaka Spinning Company began its work in the same year, and set an example in that line of industry. The Yokohama Specie Bank was established in 1880 and the Bank of Japan in 1882, two events which may be said to have opened a new era in the history of the Japanese financial and economic worlds. (See also Chap. XXI, p. 486.)

Business depression.

The Government firmly adopted the policy of redeeming its inconvertible notes after 1880, and, in consequence, the prices of commodities gradually fell and the condition of the economic world underwent a change. Until 1885 trade was depressed, enterprises were suspended, various undertakings fell into a state of stagnation, several banks and companies

became bankrupt, and the whole aspect of affairs was most distressing.

Recovery of business activity.

In 1886 it was decided that the Government notes should be thereafter convertible into silver, and thus the foundation of the convertible note system was established. Business in general now recovered and activity was restored to the commercial world. In a short time there sprung up a number of companies for the promotion of railways, spinning, mining, weaving, electricity, shipbuilding, paper-making, oil-refining, harbour-construction, hemp, indigo, marine products, bricks, artificial manure, leather-tanning, glass-making, engineering works, &c. The prices of stocks went up greatly, and this indicated the prevalence of an enterprising spirit, which was also greatly stimulated by a fall in the rate of interest. The aggregate amount of capital invested in industry, which had been some 50,000,000 *yen* in 1885, grew to over 225,000,000 *yen* in 1890. But as in other parts of the economic world prosperity and decline follow one another, so in Japan a reaction set in, causing a sudden rise in the rate of interest and in the prices of commodities, especially rice and silver; while, on the other hand, an immense excess of imports over exports led to an efflux of gold and tightness of money. The effect was very keenly felt, particularly by the spinning world of Ōsaka, and a panic was feared. Fortunately the Government and the Bank of Japan took prompt measures to relieve the money market, and were able to mitigate the pressure, a great crisis being thus avoided. The year 1891 saw the depression still continuing, but insurance and dockyard companies sprang up, and in 1892 the economic world assumed a revived aspect. Unfortunately, just as new enterprises were about to be organized, the country's relations with China became disturbed.

Reaction.

(*b*) *After the China-Japan War*

The China-Japan War.

The China-Japan War was, for the Japanese, the gravest event they had ever undertaken, and her business men at once took every precaution to place their enterprises on a conservative basis, whilst new undertakings, which had been starting that year in consequence of the easy condition of the

Consequences of the victorious war.

money market, were suddenly brought to a standstill. But when Japan gained victories on land and sea in succession, and finally concluded a treaty of peace with glory to her arms, the enterprises which had been suspended started afresh. These were, in the main, railways, shipping, coal-mining, insurance, shipbuilding, hydraulic electricity, sugar-refining, kerosene, car-manufacturing, &c. Doubtless the receipt of a large amount of indemnity and the glamour of victory disposed the public mind to new enterprises, while, on the other hand, the development of financial organs assisted them to obtain all the necessary capital. The fever rose to a great height, and the prices of shares went up apparently without limit. Naturally, at such a time, many projects were recklessly promoted, and the people in general, thinking that to form a company, whatever its object might be, meant to realize an enormous profit, competed in subscribing to shares of new companies, and numbers of bubble concerns, whose accounts of profit and loss were never reliable, saw the light. But very soon a reaction set in, for money became tight, and companies with weak foundations found it difficult to maintain their position, and many, having essayed various measures of relief, were finally obliged to liquidate. The spirit of enterprise cooled down, and the economic world again experienced great depression. Due measures were again adopted by the Government and the Bank of Japan, so that a panic was averted, but the state of depression continued for several years, and signs of activity did not again show themselves until 1902-03, just prior to the Russo-Japan War.

Statistics of companies.

In order to give the reader a rough idea of the companies established after the China-Japan War, an extract from the returns of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce is here inserted, showing the companies engaged in the various lines of agriculture, industry, commerce, and transport business, their number, the amounts of their capital, and their reserves:

Year.	No. of Companies.	Paid-up Capital. *Yen.*	Reserve Funds. *Yen.*
1895	2,458	174,047,258	—
1896	4,595	397,510,532	75,123,866
1898	7,044	621,676,458	67,580,441

Year.	No. of Companies.	Paid-up Capital. *Yen.*	Reserve Funds. *Yen.*
1900	8,598	779,251,306	101,383,110
1902	8,612	876,763,222	149,177,797
1904	8,913	931,292,146	199,228,032
1906	9,329	1,069,706,083	254,992,738

The above shows striking and continuous progress, in spite of the violent convulsions undergone in the economic world during the period under review.

Effect of the new Commercial Code.

New legislation, or any change in the laws, generally affects, more or less, the business of companies, and this was notably the case upon the coming into operation of a part of the Commercial Code in 1893, and the whole of the revised Code in 1899. Their effect was strongly felt, although company business was thereby placed on a more secure foundation.

Chambers of Commerce.

The Tōkyō Chamber of Commerce, which originated with the City Chamber in the time of the Shōgun's Government, and more than fifty other local chambers have directly and indirectly given great assistance in the development of company business, a fact which the writer considers worthy of special mention. He also firmly believes that the Acts, recently enacted with regard to mortgaging guaranteed debentures of companies, railway mortgaging, factory mortgaging, and mining mortgaging, promise to give great facilities in raising the capital necessary for company business and will materially contribute to promote enterprise.

III.—The Development of the Principal Companies

(*a*) *Shipping*

Steamship companies.

The pioneers of the shipping business after the Restoration were the *Kaisō Kaisha* and the *Yubin Jōkisén Kaisha*, but owing to mismanagement they were soon wound up, and the Mitsubishi Steamship Company obtained sole control of shipping business. The rapidly developing condition of this company's business so pleased certain high officials in the Ministry that they induced the Government to give it more protection, wishing to see it obtain the control of all the coasting trade. Accordingly, it entered into competition with the Pacific

The Mitsubishi Steamship Company.

Mail Steamship Company of America, and soon came into possession of the five steamers which that company had run on regular services between Yokohama, Kōbé, Nagasaki, and Shanghai. The Government bought these vessels for the Japanese company to secure to it the control of all these lines.

In 1877, when the rebellion took place in the south-west, this company rendered great service to the Government, and not only gained large profits, but also managed to obtain subsidies and various special privileges from the State, and its foundations became firmly planted. It not only largely contributed to the development of Japanese shipping business by driving the foreign companies away from the coasting trade, but also did much towards the various enterprises of warehousing, insurance, and shipbuilding. However, monopoly begets arrogance. The company was loudly attacked on all sides, and its monopoly of the lines was criticized as hindering the development of Japanese shipping business. Finally, it was proposed and determined by men in and out of Government to establish the *Kyōdō Unyu Kaisha* as a competitor. The writer was among the promoters of the new scheme, which was to establish the *Kyōdō Unyu Kaisha* by amalgamating the Tōkyō Sailing Ship Company, the Hokkaidō Transport Company, and the Etchū Sailing Ship Company. This took effect in 1883, and of the whole capital of 6,000,000 *yen*, 2,600,000 *yen* was subscribed by the Government, and, as a special favour, the dividend on this was not to exceed two per cent. per annum. In this way the two large companies standing under the Government protection began a competition, which was so severe that both were very soon unable to maintain themselves and seemed likely to fall together. The Government now stepped in, and, after much consideration, negotiations for amalgamation resulted in the formation of the *Nippon Yūsén Kaisha* in 1885. The new company has since then, under liberal subsidies from the Government, extended its lines not only all around Japan, Korea, and China, but as far as Europe, America, India, and Australia, and by yearly developing its business, has become one of the largest shipping companies in the world. During the wars with China and Russia, it supplied ships for the use of the Navy and Army. Besides this company, there are the *Ōsaka*

The Kyōdō Unyu Kaisha.

The Nippon Yūsén Kaisha.

Shōsén Kaisha and the *Tōyō Kisén Kaisha*, which are also large maritime concerns in the shipping world of Japan. The capital of the *Nippon Yūsén Kaisha* is 22,000,000 *yen*, of which total 8,800,000 *yen* was paid up in 1895, and the remainder in 1899. That of the *Ōsaka Shōsén Kaisha* is 16,500,000 *yen*, of which 15,125,000 *yen* had been paid up by the first half of 1907. That of the *Tōyō Kisén Kaisha* is 6,500,000 *yen*, of which 1,625,000 *yen* was paid up in 1897, and in 1907 this was increased to 3,900,000 *yen*. In the same manner other companies increased their capital. (See also Chap. XIX, p. 447.)

The *Ōsaka Shōsén Kaisha*, and the *Tōyō Kisén Kaisha*.

(*b*) *Railway Business*

As has been already explained, although the scheme of establishing the Tōkyō Railway Company, the first railway company in this country, was not carried out, Prince Iwakura, in view of the situation, persuaded the nobles to establish a large railway company, namely the Nippon Railway Company, which was organized in 1881. Under special privileges and subsidies from the Government, this company overcame many difficulties and completed the construction of a line between Tōkyō and Aomori, then gradually bought up the Ryōmō and the Mito railways, constructed the Nikkō line and the coast line to Sendai, and with the large capital of 66,000,000 *yen* (58,200,000 *yen* paid up) rendered great services in Japan's railway business. For several years following the establishment of this company, many private railway enterprises were undertaken, and the Government consequently in 1887 promulgated Regulations for Private Railways with the object of introducing order into the business, and again in 1892 passed the Law relating to Railway Construction, and in 1900 issued Laws relating to Private Railways and Railway Business, which completed the legislation of this nature. Railway construction has in the meantime increased gradually, and though at times impeded by depression in the money market and by the outbreak of war, yet, on the whole, it has progressed satisfactorily. Especially after the China-Japan War, it became one of the great enterprises that attracted the eager attention of capitalists, and, in consequence, the development of private

The Nippon Railway Company.

Railway regulations.

railways far outran that of the Government lines; and between them the systems finally connected all the principal points throughout the country so well that no trouble was experienced in military transportation during the two later wars with foreign Powers.

Development of railway business.

At the end of 1895 the length of the Government lines in operation was 580 miles, while that of the private railways was 1537 miles; but by the end of 1905, the former had extended to 1531 miles, and the latter to 3251. As to building expenses during the same period, those of the Government increased from 43,703,000 *yen* to 174,897,000 *yen*, and those of the private companies from 71,223,000 *yen* to 252,786,000 *yen*. During the same period the number of the private companies increased from twenty-four to thirty-seven, and the aggregate amount of capital increased from 99,228,000 *yen* (71,626,301 *yen* paid up) to 270,166,800 *yen* (223,336,716 *yen* paid up).

Nationalization.

In 1906 the Government submitted to the Diet a bill for nationalizing private railways as one of the most important *post-bellum* measures. It caused heated arguments, which greatly agitated the mind of the public, but at last it passed the Diet, and the lines of the Nippon Railway Company, the Sanyō Railway Company, the Kyūshū Railway Company, the Kansai Railway Company, the Kōbé Railway Company, and most of the other principal ways have been transferred to the Government, and are now conducted under one administration. (See also Chap. XVIII, p. 424.)

Electric railways.

In the meantime, electric railways also made remarkable progress. In 1896 the number of the electric railway companies was three, with an aggregate paid-up capital of 1,135,000 *yen*, and the lines extended to 34 miles. In 1906 the number of companies had increased to nineteen, their paid-up capital to 39,179,000 *yen*, and the lines to 263 miles; and many new enterprises have been undertaken since that time.

(*c*) *Insurance Business*

The Tōkyō Marine Insurance Company.

The first insurance company in this country was the Tōkyō Marine Insurance Company, established in 1879. It was the outcome of the failure of the nobles' scheme to purchase

the Tōkyō-Yokohama railway from the Government. The nobles had signed the contract of purchase and had paid in the sum of 600,000 *yen* as the first instalment. On the cancellation of the contract the money was refunded, and the writer of these notes advised the employment of the fund in starting some new enterprise, and he recommended insurance business as the best, and showed a plan drawn in detail. The advice was adopted, and the company was formed.

Growth of other insurance business.

Since that time various kinds of insurance business have sprung up; such as fire, life, transport, health, conscript, and confidence insurance; and all those are now well utilized throughout the country. Legal matters concerning insurance are dealt with in the Commercial Code, promulgated in 1899, and in the Insurance Business Law of the following year.

Development of insurance companies.

To mention a few points concerning insurance business: in 1895 life insurance companies were nine in number with an aggregate capital of 2,200,000 *yen* (721,000 *yen* paid up), and the amount insured was 44,551,000 *yen*. In 1906 the companies had increased to thirty-two with an aggregate capital of 8,280,000 *yen* (2,728,000 *yen* paid up), and the amount insured was 281,478,000 *yen*. During the same period the fire insurance companies increased from four to eighteen, their aggregate capital from 7,600,000 *yen* (1,799,908 *yen* paid up) to 28,700,000 *yen* (7,521,000 *yen* paid up), and their insured amount from 42,132,000 *yen* to 1,181,000,000 *yen*. As to marine insurance, there was no change except that the Japan Sea and Land Insurance Company had been dissolved and the Japan Marine Insurance Company established. The amount of capital, 6,700,000 *yen* (2,100,000 *yen* paid up), had grown to 9,000,000 *yen* (2,500,000 *yen* paid up), and the amount insured under new policies had increased from 283,504,000 *yen* to over 1,000,000,000 *yen*.

(d) *Spinning Industry*

Encouragement by the Government.

The first person who introduced European weaving machinery into this country was Lord Nariakira Shimazu, head of the old Kagoshima clan, and the origin of the spinning industry dates from 1865. In 1880–81 the Government, fully recognizing the necessity of encouraging this industry,

purchased machinery, and built and let model factories in the provinces of Mikawa, Owari, and Isé. The import of cotton yarn and cloth had been gradually increasing since the time of the Restoration. Especially, after the South-Western Rebellion, the increased volume of paper money and the enhanced prices of commodities tended to a constant growth of imports, so that the balance of foreign trade was lost, and it was thought very necessary to try to restore it. Cotton yarn and cloth, which form materials for daily use, represented a large portion of the country's imports, and it was deemed very important to establish manufactories of these articles in Japan.

The Ōsaka Spinning Company

In 1879 the writer was instrumental in starting the Ōsaka Spinning Company, but it was not until 1883 that its factories were completed and work begun. As this case is typical of others, it may be well to draw attention to the various causes that contributed to this long delay. The people had had no experience in establishing a large factory in this country, and on that account men had to be sent to England to investigate and study all the details of factory work. Again, surveys were made as to utilizing water power in Mikawa, Kii, and Yamashiro, but, the available water not being sufficient, it was decided to adopt steam power, and with a view to convenience in employing hands (male and female), and also to facilities of transport, the factory was ultimately established in Ōsaka. Yet again as regards material, cotton of home production was found by no means suitable or sufficient in quantity, and it became necessary to examine into the real condition of cotton in China, India, and some other Oriental countries, and to make arrangements for its import. At last it was settled to import cotton from America.

Rise of other companies.

As the Ōsaka Spinning Company obtained good results and showed large profits, many enterprises in this line of industry have since been undertaken at Ōsaka and other places. The Miyé Spinning Company, the Settsu Spinning Company, the Hirano Spinning Company, the Kané-ga-Fuchi Spinning Company, and various other companies were started one after another, and enjoyed a full measure of prosperity. But as a consequence products increased so fast that supply often exceeded demand, and to avoid this evil, a market had to be found abroad. The best market was of course China, but

that had been already monopolized by English and Indian yarns, therefore the spinners urged the necessity, if the competition was to be successful, of having cotton yarns free from export duty and raw cotton from import duty, and this the Government and the Diet recognized by abolishing the export duty on cotton yarn in 1894, and the import duty on raw cotton in 1896.

Prior to this time, the spinners, desiring to reduce the expense of transporting cotton, combined to negotiate with the *Nippon Yūsén Kaisha*, and made a contract that, in consideration of being entrusted with all the cotton shipments from India, the company should lower its freight and open a service of steamers to Bombay. This resulted from the visit of Mr. Tata, a Bombay merchant, to Japan. He regretted very much the monopoly enjoyed by the Peninsular and Oriental Steamship Company, and expressed a wish to have a new line opened by the Japanese. The spinners began negotiations with the *Nippon Yūsén Kaisha*, who arranged to open a new line, fixing the freight at twelve rupees per ton against seventeen rupees per ton charged by the P. & O. Steamship Company. A severe rate war was at once commenced, the freight charged by the P. & O. being reduced first to eight rupees and then to one and a half rupees. The P. & O. resorted to these low rates because, knowing that all cotton shipments from Bombay were contracted for with the *Nippon Yūsén Kaisha*, they thought they would not be asked to carry any cargo, and they sought by this surprising reduction to break the league of the Japanese spinners. But, on the other hand, Japanese spinners appreciated that this extraordinary low price was only an inducement, and that it would be raised at once to a high figure if the *Nippon Yūsén Kaisha* closed its line. So the action of the foreign company tended only to strengthen the bond of the league, and it had soon to withdraw from the competition. Thus happily the rate of freight ruled low, the spinners derived great advantages, and further progress was made in shipping business.

Progress of the spinning industry.

The spinning industry has gradually progressed. Comparing its condition in 1895 with that in 1906, the number of factories increased from forty-seven to eighty-three; the aggregate capital from 16,392,000 *yen* to 40,612,000 *yen*; the

number of spindles in daily use from 518,736 to 1,425,406; and the quantity of cotton yarn from 18,437,011 *kwammé* (1 *kwan* = 8¼ lb.) to 46,187,845 *kwammé*. Besides this industry, silk and flax spinning enterprises have gradually progressed in recent years.

Prosperous condition of the export.

Owing to the development of the cotton industry, the condition of the import and export trade in this staple entirely changed. Between 1896 and 1906 the imports decreased from 11,372,000 *yen* to 4,656,000 *yen*, and the exports, on the contrary, increased from 4,029,000 *yen* to 35,303,000 *yen*. When we look back at a total export of 2364 *yen* in 1890, we may easily see what progress has been achieved. At the present time cotton yarns, together with *habutaé* (silk tissue), form the two chief staples of export next to raw silk.

Development of the weaving industry.

It is natural that with the progress of spinning that of weaving also should have greatly developed, as these two industries are very closely connected. Statistics show that in 1895 the cotton piece-goods produced were 63,420,000 pieces (valued at 35,650,469 *yen*) and the silk-cotton piece-goods 3,975,000 pieces (valued at 5,982,376 *yen*), and in 1905 the cotton piece-goods increased to 90,663,000 pieces (value 65,888,510 *yen*) and the silk-cotton piece-goods to 5,315,000 pieces (value 9,424,258 *yen*). But silk piece-goods, flaxen piece-goods, and *obi* piece-goods have showed a rather decreasing tendency in recent years.[1]

(e) *Exchanges*

There were grain exchanges in this country in the time of the Shōgun's Government, but the origin of the exchange as a joint-stock system dates from after the Restoration.

Stock exchanges.

The new Government was at first at variance with regard to the question of licensing the opening of exchanges. One section insisted that exchanges would spread the evils of gambling and speculation in society, and therefore must be strictly prohibited; the other declared that these were necessary economic organs for fixing market prices, as proved by actual

[1] For further particulars, see Chap. XXIII, p. 550.

examples in Western countries. For a time heated arguments passed on both sides, but the Government finally adopted the policy of licensing exchanges. Though Regulations for Exchanges were drafted in 1874, they were considered unsuitable to the condition of the time, and were not put into force until they had undergone revision, according to Western institutions and Japanese customs, in 1878. The first exchange opened under the Regulations was the Tōkyō Exchange, and the second, the Ōsaka Exchange. As the issue of national bonds gradually increased thereafter, with concomitant growth of stocks of banks and companies, the establishment of stock exchanges was a necessity. With regard to grain exchanges, Regulations were issued in 1876, and in 1877 they were established in Tōkyō, Ōsaka, and eleven other places.

Grain exchanges.

After the opening of foreign trade, fluctuations in the gold-price of silver greatly affected Japan's foreign trade, and great evils resulted. In 1877 the price of silver suddenly went up, owing to depreciation of Japan's paper money. The only way to prevent speculative transactions was for the Government to permit the opening of exchanges; so, in 1879, a Foreign Silver Exchange was established at Yokohama. But the Government's superintendence of this exchange was sometimes very strict and at other times very lenient, and this, together with its frequent revision of the Regulations, caused unexpected fluctuations in the market. Much discussion, too, ensued as to organization, whether to have it on the member system after the model of Europe and America.

The Foreign Silver Exchange.

But in 1893 the Government enacted the Law of Exchanges, together with general regulations concerning various kinds of exchanges, and permitted them to be established either on the joint-stock or on the bourse system, according to the condition of the locality and the kind of articles to be dealt in. For a time their establishment became a fashion, although the Government restricted their number and carefully superintended them, as their establishment by small capitalists of weak credit would only tend to excite a speculative spirit among the people, while the exchanges themselves would have to dissolve in the end. In point of fact many did dissolve, and the number of exchanges now in existence is much less than it was. In 1895

The Law of Exchanges.

there were 115 exchanges with an authorized capital aggregating 5,856,000 *yen*, but in 1905 they had decreased to fifty, whereas their capital had increased to 8,392,000 *yen*. Besides these, there are exchanges formed on the membership system, but they are not influential.

IV.—Conclusion

The Russo-Japan War.

Commencing with 1902, the Japanese financial world gradually began to recover from its state of depression and to pass to one of vigour. But business men aimed chiefly at improving enterprises already undertaken, and they had not as yet embarked in many new ones when the horizon clouded and the Russian War commenced. When peace was restored the terms were not entirely satisfactory to the people, and partly owing to their bitter experience just after the China-Japan War, and partly to anxiety as to the future financial policy of the State, business men went carefully and did not dare to engage in new enterprises. Thus no new enterprises being undertaken, the demand for capital decreased; foreign loans being floated, foreign capital flowed in; banking business of various kinds being greatly developed, the circulation of money became easy; and funds being abundant, the rate of interest fell steadily. In such circumstances it was only natural that a spirit of enterprise should be created. In 1906 the market showed signs of activity, and in the latter half of that year the mind of the public turned to shares and bonds, and the business of the exchanges showed unprecedented activity. The mania then was for new enterprises. The fact that the amount subscribed for the shares of the South Manchurian Railway Company exceeded by one thousand times the sum offered to the public, not only was a result of this mania, but also became an incentive, and people vied with one another in promoting new companies and extending old ones. The mania was almost indescribable, for it is shown by statistics that the aggregate capital of the new companies, together with the increased capital of the old ones, was in that year estimated at over 1,600,000,000 *yen*.

Enterprise mania after the war.

Reaction.

Prices, which had gone up higher and higher, suddenly began to fall in the middle of January 1907, and much

alarm was caused in the stock markets. The results were that speculators failed, that bubble companies were dissolved, that weak banks closed their doors, that public spirit was disheartened, and that the banks which survived took warning. But the foundations being strong, the progress of production and trade was not noticeably impeded, and after this process of selection, companies of various kinds are continuing their work steadily and prosperously. Though it is impossible to enumerate here all the companies established since the war, special mention may be made of the South Manchurian Railway Company, which was organized by the co-operation of the Government and the people with a capital of 200,000,000 *yen*, and which stands high among other companies as attracting the attention of the public. As its future management has a close relation to the interest and welfare of this nation, it is well that the people should turn watchful eyes to the operations of this huge company.

The writer has now completed a brief history of the development of companies in Japan; but as to the details of their work, it is impossible to give any description here. Neither is there space to discuss the development of companies under the separate heads of industry, trade, agriculture, forestry, mining, fishing, &c.

That the seeds of companies sown just after the Restoration have thus grown up to enjoy their present prosperity is no doubt largely due to Western institutions, and for this the writer feels a very grateful sentiment towards the European and American nations which stand in the van of civilization.

XXI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF BANKING IN JAPAN

BARON YÉIICHI SHIBUSAWA, PRESIDENT OF THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK

I.—THE MONEY MARKET PRIOR TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIONAL BANKS

Financial organs before the Restoration.

LOOKING backwards at the condition of Japan immediately preceding the Restoration, we find none of the elements of Western civilization, unless it be a scanty knowledge of medicine and gunnery. Ignorance concerning the methods of foreign finance, of banking, or of joint-stock companies was universal, although Japan was not entirely without some financial machinery. There were, for instance, exchange brokers, and official contractors attached to the Shōgun's Government or to the barons, whose business consisted in receiving the tax moneys, paying them to the Government in drafts, financing the barons, exchanging gold, silver, and copper, and discharging any such banking business as was required at that time. Those who engaged in this business were the Mitsuigumi, the Shimadagumi, and the Onogumi. Though, as their principal function, they accommodated the Shōgun's Government and the barons with funds and received deposits of public money, sometimes also making loans to the people, they never undertook the functions of a bank in the circulation of money by lending and discounting. The territories of the feudal lords were at this time entirely separate from one another, so that there was no chance of a general growth of industry and trade; besides, the legislation which prohibited international commerce also prevented the free development of domestic trade. National policy and social education at that time respected *samurai*

and farmers, but despised merchants and artisans. Under such circumstances it was but natural that neither trade, industry, nor financial houses made any development. Such financial agents as existed before the Restoration could not be called bankers, though they may have resembled them in form.

Financial embarrassment.

At the time of the Restoration the Government was much embarrassed by empty coffers, while agricultural and industrial circles suffered severely from the disordered state of things. Thus national finance and economy were both in a perilous condition, and it became a matter of the utmost importance to secure a solid income to fill the treasury vaults, and at the same time to increase the national wealth by encouraging production and trade. For the latter purpose financial houses had to be provided to facilitate the circulation of money, and this could only be accomplished by the establishment of joint-stock companies. But the Japanese had not been accustomed either to the combination of capital or the formation of corporations; they had undertaken every enterprise individually, and the financial businesses which then existed were not in a prosperous condition. Such a state of affairs caused much embarrassment to the officials of the *Shōhōshi* (Business Bureau) in the first year of Méiji (1868), and it was abolished in the following year, and its place taken by the *Tsūshōshi* (Commercial Bureau). The *Shōhōshi* was intended to take charge of national revenues, to encourage industry, and to promote trade and production by lending money at low rates of interest; the *Tsūshōshi* had for its objects the development of home and foreign trade and the increase of Governmental income. Under its control the *Tsūshō Kaisha* (Commercial Companies) were established to engage in home and foreign trade, and the *Kawasé Kaisha* (Exchange Companies) were organized to assist the Commercial Companies and also to facilitate the general circulation of money. These Exchange Companies were formed by wealthy merchants under the Government's advice and insistence, the Mitsuigumi, the Onogumi, and the Shimadagumi, who had been *O-Kawaségumi* [1] in the days of the Shōgun, and other leading rich merchants in Kyōto, Ōsaka, and elsewhere, investing

Exchange Companies.

[1] Or Exchanges belonging to the Shōgunate Government.

capital in establishing them. Being partnerships though not joint-stock companies, they may be said from their objects and business to have been the original banks in our country. They were instituted upon an entirely novel plan, partly after the industrial offices, called '*Bussankata*' or '*Kokusankata*,' which belonged to various *daimyates* before the Restoration, and partly after Western institutions. Their aims were the smooth working of the market, the development of trade, the making of loans, the receipt of deposits, and the handling of exchange operations.

The Government did much towards protecting and encouraging them by lending them capital, and by granting them special privileges to issue *kinkén* (gold notes), *ginkén* (silver notes), *senkén* (copper notes), and *yōginkén* (foreign silver notes), against certain reserve funds required to be set aside, it being the first time a Japanese Government had ever granted to a corporation the privilege of issuing notes.

The Government, in their plight, had to meet their needs by issuing *Dajōkan*[1] notes, but their credit being very low and the people not being accustomed to the use of paper money, they circulated with much difficulty, and a great fall took place in their gold value. Accordingly, they lent the notes to the Exchange Companies, thus assisting them in business on the one hand, and, on the other, aiming at getting them into general circulation through their instrumentality.

The Exchange Companies formed under the protection of the Government were eight in number, being established at Tōkyō, Yokohama, Kyōto, Ōsaka, Kōbé, Ōtsu, Niigata, and Tsuruga; and the aggregate amount of paper which they were allowed to issue under various denominations was 8,649,595 *ryō*.

Cash reserves against the *kinkén*.

Of various kinds of notes, the *kinkén* (gold notes) were issued by all the Exchange Companies and were genuine convertible notes. But as to the amount of cash reserves required against them, there was no regulation fixing a definite proportion. The Government orders in this respect differed, in one case requiring 80 per cent. and in another the whole amount of issue. Hence it is impossible to estimate how much each of these companies set aside as a reserve fund, but it is probable that, when the

[1] Council of State.

dissolution of the companies was drawing near, the Government required them to have the same amount of reserve as of issued notes. The *ginkén* and *senkén* were practically the same thing, only differing in name. Those issued in Tōkyō were called *ginkén*, simply because the unit was silver, while those in Kyōto and Ōsaka were called *senkén* from their copper basis. These two kinds of notes were intended to supplement the insufficiency of smaller currency and copper coins, and both were convertible into the *Dajōkan* notes. But their circulation was greatly impeded by the subsequent issue of the small notes of the *Minbushō* (Home Department).

The issue of the *yōginkén* was an exclusive privilege of the Exchange Company at Yokohama. In the treaty ports, foreign silver coins only were at first made use of in all business transactions, and the foreign banks in those places issued their notes as convenient for carrying and handling. These notes, going freely into circulation, became gradually a kind of trade currency at the open ports. Consequently fluctuations in foreign silver were controlled by foreigners, and these notes being printed in a foreign language were very inconvenient for the Japanese merchants. For this reason the Government permitted the Yokohama Exchange Company to issue *yōginkén* with a view to remove the currency from the control of foreigners, and to suit the convenience of native merchants. The reserve fund against this issue was to consist of gold, foreign silver, and notes of foreign banks. The amount of issue was not fixed, but there is no doubt that the volume of notes actually in circulation was always controlled by the condition of the market.

Failure of Exchange Companies.

Thus the Exchange Companies were intended to work hand in hand with the Commercial Companies for the promotion of production and trade, and for some time they seemed to promise well, but, lacking proper men of ability to manage their affairs, they were not in reality in a good condition. Moreover, the time was one of violent social changes, and the companies made many mistakes; while, to aggravate the situation, they were deprived of their protector, the *Tsūshōshi*, the latter having been abolished in consequence of reforms introduced in the administrative organization of the Government. Thereafter,

the business of the Exchange Companies went from bad to worse, for their expenses exceeded their income and they incurred a considerable amount of debt.

National Banks.

In 1872 the Government promulgated Regulations for National Banks. These prohibited the future issue of paper money except in accordance with the provisions of law, and ordered that all the *kinkén* issued hitherto with Government permission should be at once withdrawn from circulation or converted into gold. This compelled the Exchange Companies to choose between the alternatives of becoming National Banks according to the new law or winding up their business. But one and all were in financial difficulties, and with the solitary exception of one in Yokohama, which changed its organization and became the Second National Bank, they went into liquidation. The dissolution of the Exchange Companies was effected by means of large assistance from the Government, but the conversion of their *kinkén* was not completed till 1876. As to the *yōginkén*, as they had close relations with foreign trade and could not be withdrawn from circulation so suddenly, they were allowed to circulate under the control of the Second National Bank. But when the Bank of Japan was afterwards authorized to issue convertible notes, unification of currency was aimed at, and the circulation of the *yōginkén* was prohibited from May 1885. Their redemption was completed in December 1890.

Indirect benefits of the Exchange Companies.

In spite of all the protection given and the special privileges granted by the Government, the Exchange Companies existed for only four years, and their object failed. Yet the benefits indirectly conferred by their creation were immense, for they introduced into society the principle of a joint-stock company, set an example, and gained experience. A joint-stock company is a great motive force of progress in the financial world, and the writer has been one of the most earnest advocates of propagating this motive force in Japan.

II.—Codification of the Regulations of National Banks

Government notes.

As we have seen, immediately subsequent to the Restoration, and when the Government were in great straits, having no definite way to raise an income, the only expedient was the

issuing of notes. But the four kinds issued by the Government, and others issued by various clans, were of such rough make that there was not only danger of counterfeits, but an utter confusion of currency. The Government thereupon decided to unify the currency by issuing paper money of much finer make and by substituting it for the old notes. Manufactured in Germany, they were issued in 1872, in exchange for the old notes of the Government and of the clans. But even then difficulties did not cease, especially as regards the currency issued by the latter: counterfeiting continued, debased coins were issued by officials, notes were discredited and at one time had a face value of only 40 per cent. compared with gold, there was an insufficiency of precious metal for exchange, and matters got to such a pass that at last the Government had to issue 6 per cent. Government bonds in exchange for the notes. This measure was adopted by the advice of Mr. Shigénobu Ōkuma (afterwards Count Ōkuma), head of the Finance Department. He saw that the financial condition of the time was unfavourable for effecting the conversion of the notes into gold, but that it was advisable to change them into bonds at first, and in due course of time to make the exchange into gold. The amount of the notes thus converted into bonds was about 2,000,000 *yen*, the rest apparently being, for the most part, changed into new paper currency.

Necessity of establishing National Banks.

It can well be imagined what an anxious time it was for the Government, who were becoming more and more impressed with the necessity of establishing National Banks. As early as 1870, Mr. Hirobumi Itō (afterwards Prince Itō), of the Finance Department, memorialized the Government that the proper management of finance and economy was the foundation upon which the State affairs must be conducted, and that unless sound institutions were established for this purpose no good administrative results could be attained. He therefore suggested that he should be sent to America to observe and study financial institutions and their working. His views were at once accepted, and he went to America in October of the same year, and as the result of his observations submitted to the Government the following three propositions: First, the standard of currency should be gold; secondly, bonds should be

issued for the conversion of the notes; thirdly, companies should be established for the purpose of issuing paper money. After mature consideration it was decided to draft Regulations for National Banks.

In 1871 the Members of the Tōkyō Chamber of Commerce sought permission to establish a large bank, with a capital of 7,000,000 *yen*, under the title of the Tōkyō Bank, and with the special privilege of issuing notes. There were also many other applications filed. The Government, however, feared that if they were all established, they would meet the same fate as the Exchange Companies, unless they were governed by suitable regulations. So permission was withheld until the drafting of the Regulations for National Banks, which was done after careful but rapid investigation into the American banking system. These Regulations were promulgated in 1872, and July of the following year saw the establishment of the First National Bank, the present First Bank, of which the writer has always been President.

National Banks Regulations.

The drafting of the National Banks Regulations was done with much thought and care upon principles which embodied two different views. One was that by establishing National Banks after American models, and giving them the privilege of issuing notes against the security of Government bonds, they would attain the double object of re-adjusting the State currency and establishing sound financial organs; the other that the American banks, not having been long in existence, must be considered to be still in an experimental stage, and that if, in imitation of them, inconvertible notes were issued, the objects in view could not be attained, for the only result would be an increase of notes; and that the American national banks, being isolated one from another, would prove defective in regulating the currency. The best plan, according to this view, would be to adopt the gold bank system of England. These differing views caused prolonged and heated discussions in the Ministry. Many councils were held to consider the subject by Mr. Shigénobu Ōkuma, superintending the Finance Department; Mr. Kaoru Inouyé (afterwards Marquis Inouyé), who had charge of the business affairs of that Department; and Mr. Hirobumi Itō, who had just returned from America. After

very lengthy discussion, the two principles were modified and reconciled, both being partially adopted, the basis being that of the American institutions, and the notes issued being convertible into gold. This resolution of the Government was arrived at in 1871, at which time the writer attended the councils officially; and being subsequently appointed to the additional post of Director of the Issue Department and Chief of the Committee for compiling the National Banks Regulations, he drew up a draft upon the basis of the American National Bank Act, introducing modifications whenever necessary. This was afterwards promulgated with the sanction of the Sovereign as the National Banks Regulations.

Gist of Regulations.

The principal features of the Regulations were that each bank was required to pay 60 per cent. of its whole capital to the Government in Government notes, and received in return *Kinsatsu Hikikaé* bonds of an equivalent amount; then to deposit these bonds with the Government, and on this security to receive bank-notes from the latter for use and circulation. On the other hand, the bank was to keep in hand the remainder of its capital, that is, 40 per cent. in gold, as a reserve for the conversion of its notes. Such was the result of the reconciliation of the two principles above mentioned. The banks were not permitted to postpone or refuse the conversion of their notes whenever so required, but must always keep a gold reserve, amounting to two-thirds of their note issue.

As already mentioned, the Government had adopted the policy of issuing bonds for the conversion of *Kinsatsu*, so, along the lines of this policy, they now required the banks to issue their notes upon the security of these bonds held in the hands of the Government.

Limit of capital.

The Regulations limited the amount of the capital of each bank according to the number of the inhabitants of the place where it was to be established. Thus, in a town of over 100,000 people, the amount of capital was to be over 500,000 *yen*; where the population was between 10,000 and 100,000, the capital must be over 200,000 *yen*; and where the population ranged between 3,000 and 10,000, the capital was at least to be 50,000 *yen*.

The Regulations gave to the bank-notes the same efficacy

Bank-notes.

as gold possessed in all monetary transactions, as well as in payment of official salaries, debts, loans, taxes, and excise throughout the country, but not in payment of customs duty and interest on bonds, and made any refusal or hesitation so to treat the notes punishable by law. At the same time, the issue of any kind of notes except in accordance with the above provisions was prohibited. This was in keeping with the Government's resolve to confer the note-issuing power upon the National Banks alone.

Functions of the banks.

The Regulations also defined the principal functions of the banks as consisting in dealing in bills of exchange, exchanging money, taking deposits, making loans, transacting business in shares, bonds, currency, and bullion, and also handling public funds when so required by the Government. They also required the banks to keep a reserve of 25 per cent. at least of all their deposits for ready payment.

By-laws.

Such were the principal points. The Government also issued By-laws for carrying the Regulations into full effect. The promulgation of both Regulations and By-laws took place in 1872.

It will be seen that under the Regulations the banks had the disadvantage of being obliged to keep a large sum of gold on hand as a reserve for the conversion of their notes, but, on the other hand, not only did they receive profit by the circulation of their notes, but also the interest accruing from the bonds deposited with the Government. Further, they were in a position to profit by the use of the deposits made with them and by engaging in general exchange business. Thus banking business offered a bright prospect to capitalists, while, on the other hand, an increase of the banks enabled the Government more quickly to redeem their notes. It is true that bank-notes were to be issued in place of Government notes, but they would bear a different character in the eyes of the public by virtue of their convertibility. On this account, the National Banks were expected to have a very strong financial status, able to meet the urgent needs of merchants and manufacturers, and at the same time gradually to sweep up the convertible notes of the Government, thus contributing to the good of the country. But the original expectation failed to be fully

realized. Within three years only after the establishment of the First National Bank, it was found necessary to revise a very essential point in the Regulations, and to relinquish the convertibility into gold and to adopt the new system of conversion into currency. No one disputed the propriety of convertibility into gold, but the circumstances of the time made it impossible to carry this principle into practice.

Establishment of National Banks.

As soon as possible after the National Banks Regulations were promulgated, there followed the establishment of the First National Bank in Tōkyō, the Second National Bank in Yokohama, the Fourth National Bank in Niigata, and the Fifth National Bank in Ōsaka, all of which began business in less than ten months. The Third National Bank in Ōsaka was licensed by the Government, but owing to dissensions occurring at its shareholders' meeting, it was dissolved without doing any business. The other four now enjoy the honour of being the pioneers on Western lines in the banking history of Japan.

The amounts of capitals, the authorized amounts of notes issued, and the dates of opening business of these banks were as follow:

Place.	Name.	When Opened.	Whole Amount of Capital.	Authorized Amount of Issue.
			Yen.	*Yen.*
Tōkyō	The First National Bank	1873	2,500,000	1,500,000
Yokohama	The Second National Bank	1874	250,000	150,000
Niigata	The Fourth National Bank	1874	200,000	120,000
Ōsaka	The Fifth National Bank	1873	500,000	300,000
Total	.. ..		3,450,000	2,070,000

The First National Bank.

When the writer was in the Finance Department drafting the National Banks Regulations, he advised or rather officially urged the Onogumi and the Mitsuigumi, who then handled Government money, to establish a bank, and the one thus established was the First National Bank.

Credit of the bank-notes.

Upon commencing operations, the first anxiety was to know to what extent the public would place confidence in the notes, although the Regulations asserted their efficacy and explained the strict superintendence and protection the banks were under. Fortunately they appeared to satisfy the public and circulated smoothly, in spite of the unfortunate previous experiences it had had in the case of Government and *daimyate* notes. In 1872-73, although the bank-notes in circulation were as much as from 60,000,000 *yen* to 80,000,000 *yen*, the

people having become gradually accustomed to their use, the circulation progressed, and no difference of value appeared between notes and gold, and few persons sought to exchange notes into gold, though facilities were offered for that purpose. Thus the object of the Regulations seemed likely to be carried out without any difficulty. But the bankers of that time had little or no experience in banking business and did not know the necessity of paying careful attention to the balance of foreign trade with a view to regulating the amount of notes issued. It was also impossible for the notes to maintain their position unless the inconvertible Government notes were redeemed.

Evil consequences of increased issue of notes.

The evils of an inflated issue were not long in coming into evidence. The excess of imports over exports continued year after year, and in 1874 a sudden outflow of gold took place, the notes steadily fell in value, and in the autumn of that year there was an increased demand for conversion of notes into gold. In these circumstances, the greater the volume of bank-notes issued, the faster they were returned for conversion, and every effort to force them into circulation proved abortive. To make matters worse, bankruptcies of leading merchants, including the Onogumi and the Shimadagumi, occurred. These thunderbolts in a clear sky spread inexpressible alarm throughout the financial world, and the consequent excitement strengthened the tendency to obtain conversion.

The families of Ono and Shimada had played a very important part in finance for the Shōgun and various *daimyō* before the Restoration, and even after the Restoration they had very intimate relations with the Government and the public. Naturally, therefore, their bankruptcy had a very serious effect. For many months the circulation of money in both Tōkyō and Ōsaka literally stopped, resulting in a panic whose waves spread far into the provinces. This state of affairs continued till 1876, when the volume of bank-notes gradually decreased, as will be seen from the following table:

Year.	Number of Banks.	Authorized Amount of Issue. *Yen.*	Amount of Notes in Circulation. *Yen.*
1874	3	1,920,000	1,356,979
1876	4	1,350,000	62,456

Depreciation of notes.

The depreciation of the notes began in 1874 and continued steadily for two years. The premium, which in January 1875, on 100 *yen* of gold, in exchange for 100 *yen* in notes, was 0·934 *yen*, rose to 2·766 *yen* in June 1876.

Measure of relief.

Banking business was still in its infancy, and banks were only slowly founded. From 1872, when the National Banks Regulations were enacted, to 1876, when the Regulations were revised, only four came into existence. Thus the Government not only failed in their original object, namely, to regulate their notes, but also found themselves in a difficult position, unable to issue their own notes on account of the great depreciation of such tokens. This rendered necessary the adoption of some measure of relief so as to give activity to banking business. For that purpose the revision of the Regulations became a matter of the first importance.

Currency system.

Let us now glance at the condition of the currency at the time of the Restoration. The Shōgun's Government, whose administration was very faulty, altered the currency frequently, and at every change reduced its purity and weight. No wonder, then, that it went from bad to worse. At the time of the Restoration, evils hitherto hidden came to light, and the climax of disorder was reached. The ratio of gold to silver showed a great difference from that current in Europe and America. It was eight or ten of silver to one of gold, while the Occidental rate was fifteen or sixteen of silver to one of gold. As a matter of course, as soon as foreign trade was opened Japanese gold began to flow out. By the treaty of 1858, the Government permitted the circulation of foreign gold and silver coins weight for weight with Japanese, and in 1868 declared foreign silver to be worth three gold *bu* per dollar. Thereupon foreigners hastened to import foreign silver from Shanghai and Hong Kong, in order first to exchange each dollar into three one-*bu* coins of Japanese silver, and then to change each silver *bu* into a piece of gold. Thus they made enormous profits, and it is incalculable how much gold went out of the country in this way. The reform of the currency system had been from the beginning a most important question with the authorities, and they never lost sight of it even while engaging in the solution of many other problems.

In the first year of Méiji (1868) they made investigations in connection with the reform of minting and coining, and as a result erected a mint in Ōsaka, which began its work in 1871. The new coins were at first to be on a silver standard; but in consideration of a memorial sent in by Mr. Hirobumi Itō, the Ministry changed their view and decided to adopt a gold standard. At the same time they resolved to coin what was called a 'trade dollar,' for the convenience of merchants, and to circulate it in the treaty ports only. Further, they enacted the New Specie Regulations in 1871. It may be said that this was a great reform introduced with the object of removing all the evils incidental to the mixed circulation of various coins, genuine and counterfeit, pure and adulterated, and of placing the currency system on the same footing as that of the civilized nations in Europe and America. But it naturally did not please the foreigners living in the country, and many raised objections. In reply to the Government's notification as to the reform of the currency, the British and other foreign ministers expressed dissatisfaction, stating that the adoption of the gold standard by Japan would hamper her foreign trade, because all other Oriental nations used the silver standard, and the circulation of the trade dollar side by side with foreign silver would only cause confusion in the currency.

The manager of the Oriental Bank sent a letter to State-Councillor Ōkuma, saying that it was a bad policy to listen to the biased opinions of half-informed men and to adopt a gold standard.

The Government, nevertheless, promulgated the New Specie Regulations and firmly adhered to their principle, because they entertained optimistic ideas as to the country's gold resources, and also, in view of the world's tendency towards the gold standard, they aspired to the honour of setting an example to other countries in the Orient. They knew that, though the amount of gold which had already flowed away since the opening of foreign trade was enormous, so also must that be that still remained in the hands of leading merchants and former barons, and they expected that there would be no difficulty in obtaining an increased

production of gold if only mining were developed. Therefore they struck coins according to the New Specie Regulations and continued the work till 1875, turning out 50,338,000 *yen* in gold, 4,863,000 *yen* in one-*yen* silver, and 11,021,000 *yen* in subsidiary silver.

With the abolition of the feudal system there came a cessation of demand for articles which had been in request under feudal institutions and customs, and, in consequence, many merchants and artisans lost their hereditary occupations. On the other hand, with the introduction of Western civilization, the importation of foreign goods gradually increased, so that there was an excess of imports over exports every year, and gold flowed out, especially as a copious issue of inconvertible notes tended to drive it away. The Government could not redeem their notes as they had at first planned, and the bank-notes too failed to maintain their convertibility. In 1878 the Government permitted the general circulation of one-*yen* silver, and this was practically changing the gold standard into a bimetallic standard system. At that time, however, inconvertible notes circulated and few coins were used as media of exchange.

In 1886, when the Government undertook the task of resuming specie payments, they adopted a silver standard; but in 1897 they reverted to the gold standard both in name and practice; and the country has thus come to have a gold monometallic system.

III.—Revision of the National Banks Regulations

Embarrassment to bankers.

As has been already stated, the main object in establishing national banks was to re-adjust the Government notes, and at the same time to facilitate the circulation of money. But owing to the unfavourable condition of foreign trade and finance, gold flowed out of the country in great quantities. No sooner had the four banks issued their notes than they received them back for conversion, and thus they were unable to maintain the system of convertibility. If they had tried to adhere to the Regulations longer, and had followed the same system of convertible notes, they would have simply hastened their own ruin. In the commercial and industrial circles of

that era there was no custom of utilizing banks; the public deposits were very small, and if the banks did not issue their notes, they had no way of putting their capital into circulation. This view is strengthened when we remember that 60 per cent. of their capital was in the form of bonds in the hands of the Government, bearing only 6 per cent. interest, and their circulating capital did not exceed 40 per cent. of their funds. The crisis came in March 1875, when the four banks jointly reported to the Government the embarrassment they were in, as well as the difficulty of maintaining the system of convertible notes, and asked permission henceforward to use currency, that is, Government notes, for the purpose of converting their own paper. On that occasion, the writer also called on the Minister and the director of the Issue Bureau of the Finance Department, and explained that the four banks could not continue business unless the Regulations were revised. It was not a pleasant task to ask for a revision of Regulations which he himself had been engaged in drafting, but it was nevertheless imperative that such a step should be taken.

Relief of the Government.

To permit the conversion of the bank-notes into currency in place of gold was simply to break the back of the National Banks Regulations. No wonder that there ensued a heated discussion over the change. But the condition of the banks necessitated some instant measure of relief. Accordingly, the Government adopted the expedient of ordering the banks to send in their notes and receive in place Government paper. This was done, and by June 1876 the bank-notes remaining in circulation amounted to only some 62,000 *yen*. Thus, in effect, the Government bought back the bonds they had sold to the banks for use as security against issues of bank-notes, and the first attempt to re-adjust the Government notes ended in utter failure.

Revision of the Regulations.

The expedient thus resorted to did not suffice to solve the difficulty of the situation, for so long as the Government's inconvertible notes circulated, it was impossible to make the banks' notes alone convertible. Accordingly the Minister of Finance recognized the necessity of revising the National Banks Regulations, and decided to postpone the re-adjustment

of Government notes, limiting himself to securing the smooth circulation of money. In August 1876 new Regulations for National Banks were promulgated. Their principal features were the conversion of bank-notes into currency, that is, into Government notes, and changes in the percentages of issues and reserves. A bank was required to deposit with the Government 80 per cent. of its capital in bonds, and it might issue notes to the same amount. The reserve for the conversion of these notes was to be 20 per cent. of its capital in currency, and it must always be one-fourth of the notes in circulation. As the reserve for the conversion of bank-notes was, by this revision, changed to Government paper, the banks were no longer required to change their notes. Moreover, the percentage of note issues having been extended, the banks enjoyed much greater facilities. But, on the other hand, this revision frustrated the original object of the Regulations.

Main points of the revision.

The above revision, in addition to its importance for the development of banks and the healthy circulation of money, was prompted by another very forcible reason. The question of commuting the hereditary pensions of the barons and *samurai* had become a subject for profound consideration. When the writer was in the Finance Department, it was already proposed that all the hereditary pensions of the barons and *samurai* should be converted into national bonds. Mr. Itō, who was then in America, also advised the Government to this effect. In 1871, in consequence of the abolition of clans and the establishment of prefectures, the Government had to bear all the debts of the clans. To convert these debts into new national bonds was the idea of the writer at the time. In 1873 the Finance Department decided to issue two kinds of bonds called 'Old Bonds' and 'New Bonds,' and in the following year, that any *shizoku* or *samurai* who wished to surrender their hereditary pensions and receive bonds in place of them, should be given eight years' pension in bonds. Subsequently, in 1874, all hereditary pensions were abolished and '*Kinroku* Bonds' were given in commutation. But the amount to be issued for this purpose reached the enormous amount of 174,000,000 *yen*, and on that account the matter required most careful consideration. If this great quantity of

bonds was issued all at once, it was feared that the balance of demand and supply would be disturbed, and heavy depreciation of their market price would ensue, the owners being subjected to undue loss. Another apprehension was that the barons and *shizoku*, who had been accustomed to live on their pensions, might, by selling these bonds, lose their means of support, in which case it was very probable that they might do something to disturb the peace of society.

This was one of the great problems of the day. The Government thought that by taking bonds in deposit against issues of bank-notes, the price of the bonds could be maintained, and at the same time, by causing the barons and *shizoku* to become shareholders of the banks, the above danger would be averted. Thus to prevent the barons and *shizoku* from falling into difficulties on the one hand, and to encourage the development of financial organs on the other, were the two strong reasons that prompted revision of the National Banks Regulations.

Establishment of numerous National Banks.

The new regulations were successful in encouraging the formation of new undertakings, but many of them were of very small importance, and their foundation was more due to the still existent feudal custom of each locality acting independently of its neighbour.

The following table shows the rapidity of their establishment:

Year. Dec. 31,	Number of Banks.	Amount of Capital. *Yen.*	Amount of Notes in Circulation. *Yen.*
1873	2	3,000,000	852,520
1874	4	3,450,000	802,730
1877	26	22,986,100	13,021,976
1879	151	40,616,100	33,965,282
1882	143	44,206,100	34,385,424

Deposits and loans.

The aggregate amount of deposits in the National Banks at the end of 1873 was 2,867,000 *yen*, which had decreased in 1876 to 2,397,000 *yen*, but in 1879 it increased to 11,794,000 *yen*. The aggregate amount of loans made by the banks at the end of 1873 was 3,354,000 *yen*, which decreased to 2,380,000 *yen* in 1876, but swelled to 35,116,000 *yen* at the end of 1879.

Capital.

A majority of the banks had national bonds as capital, and

only one-quarter of them had their capital in currency. The banks established from the time of the revision of the Regulations in 1876 till June in 1879 were 148 in number, with an aggregate capital of 39,461,100 *yen*. Of this amount only 10,340,000 *yen* was in currency, the rest (29,121,100 *yen*) being in bonds.

Amendment in the Regulations.

This undoubtedly shows that many of the banks were established by noblemen and *shizoku* who had changed their hereditary pensions into bonds. In this way the establishment of a bank became a favourite enterprise, and the number increased so rapidly that the Government, who had at first encouraged the movement, now found it necessary to check it. For it felt that a rapid increase in the issue of bank-notes must cause a sudden change in the prices of commodities and disturb the ordinary condition of the financial world, one consequence being that the banks would find themselves involved in difficulties, and the evils that might arise from such a condition of affairs were unimaginable. Therefore, in 1877, the Government published additional regulations whereby the Minister of Finance was invested with power to limit the aggregate amount of bank-notes issued, to permit or refuse the establishment of new banks, and to order reduction of the amounts of the latter's capital. But as this reduction of the amount of capital had for object nothing but to limit the volume of bank-notes issued, there was no occasion to reduce the capital if the percentage of bank-notes issued could be changed. Hence the Government introduced an amendment into the main Regulations by Ordinance enacted in 1878. This Ordinance defined the power of the Finance Minister with regard to limiting the aggregate amount of bank-notes issuable, giving permission for the establishment of new banks, and directing reduction of their capital. It further directed that the establishment of new banks might be permitted when the percentage of the amount of issuable bank-notes was reduced, and it annulled the Additional Regulations. Thenceforth the amount of bank-notes issued did not reach 80 per cent. of the capital, the maximum volume of bank-notes fixed by the Government being 34,420,880 *yen*.

The Government, being fully aware of the danger in an

Issue of State notes.

increased issue of inconvertible paper, took precautions to limit the aggregate volume of bank-notes also, as above mentioned, but owing to the rebellion in the south-west, they had to meet many expenses and found themselves in much financial embarrassment. Consequently, they gave to the Fifteenth National Bank the privilege of issuing notes beyond the fixed limit, and it issued 16,660,880 *yen* against its capital of 17,826,100 *yen*, the percentage of the issue thus being over 93 per cent. of the capital. Of this amount the Government borrowed 15,000,000 *yen*, and they themselves issued 27,000,000 *yen* of new State notes to meet the war expenditures. This was really an extraordinary measure and may be criticized as very dangerous, but the occasion also was extraordinary. On the outbreak of the rebellion the rebels were very formidable and all the country felt extreme uneasiness, the old barons and *shizoku* becoming very excited and liable to get out of hand. Under these circumstances it would have been impossible to float a large loan or to carry out increased taxation, and this must be the excuse for this expedient. Naturally enough, this sudden increase of notes produced a great effect on the finance and economy of the country. The increase of notes was as follows:

Year. At the End of December	Government Notes.[1] *Yen.*	Bank Notes. *Yen.*	Total. *Yen.*
1875	100,172,436	233,861	100,406,297
1877	105,888,258	13,021,976	118,910,234
1879	130,308,921	33,965,282	164,274,203
1881	118,905,194	34,375,950	153,281,144
1882	109,369,014	34,385,424	143,754,438

Prices of commodities and money.

The issue of inconvertible notes having thus suddenly increased, it is not surprising that their value depreciated and the prices of commodities were enhanced. The greatest depreciation that the notes ever showed was in 1881, when a premium of 83 *sen* was quoted on 1 *yen* of gold and 69 *sen* on silver. The following table will show the prices of various commodities in gold, silver, and notes in alternate years:

[1] Of the Government notes, there were some which, though they had been put aside as reserve notes, were temporarily used by the Finance Department as a matter of convenience.

Year.	Rice per 1 *koku*.		Wheat per 1 *koku*.		Coal per 10,000 *kin*.		Copper per 100 *kin*.		Prices of Specie 1 *yen*.	
	Note.	Silver.	Note.	Silver.	Note.	Silver.	Note.	Silver.	Gold.	Silver.
1876	5·13	5·18	4·06	4·10	40·00	40·44	21·30	21·54	—	·99
1878	6·38	5·81	3·90	3·55	43·00	49·13	19·08	17·36	—	1·10
1880	10·57	7·16	6·78	4·59	42·50	28·77	27·18	18·40	1·58	1·47
1882	8·80	5·61	4·48	2·85	51·50	32·78	28·10	17·89	1·68	1·57

Results of depreciation of paper notes.

From the above it will be noted that the prices of commodities rose immensely, but only against paper, and not against silver. The greatest fall in the price of the notes was experienced in April 1881, when 1 *yen* of silver was worth 1·795 *yen* on an average and 1·815 at its highest. When paper falls in value and commodities rise in price, the owners of notes lose and those of commodities gain; creditors lose and debtors gain; tax receivers lose and tax-payers gain; those who receive fixed incomes, salaries, and wages lose, and those who pay them gain; the rate of interest goes up while bonds and shares fall in price; exports decrease and imports increase. These are the results that accompany an over-issue of inconvertible notes. Though owing to the appreciation of commodities unusual activity was sometimes exhibited in the markets, constant fluctuations in prices tended only to disturb commercial transactions and to make everything extremely risky, whilst the mind of the people was directed to speculative undertakings, and failures and successes came in quick succession. Landowners were glad of the rise in the price of rice, but the lower classes were embarrassed by the difficulty of earning a livelihood. The derangement of the financial world was indescribable, and the adoption of some suitable measure of relief became the most urgent problem of the day. Every statesman, whether in or out of office, turned his attention to the question. Not a day passed without opinions being expressed on the platform and in the press. As the fluctuations in prices were generally led by those of silver and rice, some attributed the appreciation of commodities to the action of dealers in those two articles and severely attacked them. Others thought that the high rate of interest was due to the efflux of gold and to the scarcity of hard money resulting from the loss of balance between exports and imports, and strongly contended against the redemption of the notes. These opinions were fallacies, being founded upon a superficial view of affairs, but they were not without influence for a while on the public

mind. Even to the Government the situation was not clear. With the object of preventing silver and rice from going up in price, they sold out silver coin, and sometimes took part in transactions on the Exchanges, while at other times they hesitated to redeem their notes, hoping to secure better circulation of money. These were certainly not measures suited to the case, and naturally produced no good effect. The cause of the evil was the increased issue of notes, and their not being redeemable; had they been so their value would have recovered, prices would have gone down, the efficacy of capital would have increased, and money would have circulated. Therefore, public opinion now centred on the urgency of redeeming the notes, and their redemption was considered to be the only true measure of relief in the circumstances. Thereupon the Government now took a decisive step.

Measure of relief.

Looking back a little, we find that when the Government issued an additional 27,000,000 *yen* of notes on account of the rebellion in the south-west, they fixed two methods of redemption. One was to change into silver and copper auxiliary coins the smaller notes under half a *yen*, amounting to 27,000,000 *yen*, in fifteen years from 1878 to 1892, and to destroy all the notes thus exchanged; the other was to exchange the notes for *Kinsatsu* bonds at the request of the owners, and to destroy all the notes thus changed. These were no doubt peculiar methods of redemption, but it was the first time the Government indicated methods of redemption simultaneously with the issue of notes.

In 1878 Mr. Shigénobu Ōkuma, Finance Minister, formulated a plan to redeem all notes and bonds in twenty-eight years, and presented an estimate in that sense to the Government; and at the same time created a fund for the reduction of the national debt. In the following year the Government shortened the term of redemption for the above-mentioned 27,000,000 *yen* of notes to eight years, and made all notes under 100 *yen* redeemable instead of small notes only, for they considered it unwise to exchange only small notes into silver and copper auxiliary coins when specie was so scarce. Afterwards, when Mr. Ōkuma became State-Councillor and superintended financial affairs, he paid much attention to note redemption, and

finally proposed the floatation of a foreign loan of 50,000,000 *yen* for that purpose, as well as the enactment of Regulations for the Circulation of Specie; while Mr. Tsunétami Sano (afterwards Count Sano), the Finance Minister, proposed a plan by which a foreign loan of 15,000,000 *yen* was to be floated and used for covering the excess of imports over exports, as well as for encouraging exports, by which means the redemption of 46,000,000 *yen* of paper was to be effected in five years, and the conversion of notes to begin in ten years. But at that time the opinion ruled in officialdom that a foreign loan would be the ruin of the country, and that it was not good policy to convert domestic debts which were without interest and term into debts with interest and term. The plan of floating a foreign loan was therefore rejected. Nor was Mr. Sano's scheme for redeeming notes adopted. It was, however, an urgent question demanding immediate attention, and therefore the Government, in 1880, increased the *saké* brewing tax with a view to raise funds for that purpose. They also revised the Regulations of the *kinroku* bonds, and announced that these bonds were issued for the conversion of Government notes, and that the amount and interest of the bonds would be paid in gold and silver coins. This was an indirect method of converting the Treasury's notes into gold. Not content with these steps, the Government, in November of the same year, promulgated the famous Ordinance, No. 48. To make clear the spirit of this Ordinance a prologue was attached as follows: 'In view of the necessity of curtailing annual expenditures, with the object of obtaining funds for the redemption of notes, and introducing reforms in provincial administration, the following is hereby enacted.'

By this Ordinance the Government enlarged the limit set to the amount of local taxes, imposed in addition to land taxes; enacted that two or three items hitherto paid by the Central Treasury should thereafter be borne by the localities; abolished the Government aids given to engineering works in the prefectures, and enjoined all the departments to strictly economize their expenditures. Such was the earnestness with which the Government endeavoured to redeem the notes that the results appeared in the budget for 1881, raising the sum (3,500,000 *yen*)

of redemption for that year to 7,000,000 *yen*, and showing a decrease of 1,000,000 *yen* in the expenditures of the departments. Yet many outside official ranks were not satisfied with the result, and sharply attacked the authorities. Considering the financial difficulties with which the Government had to contend, however, their work was praiseworthy, and the public in general recognized the fact.

When the work of redemption was in a fair way of being successful, a change took place in the Ministry in October 1881, and Mr. Masayoshi Matsugata (afterwards Marquis Matsugata) was transferred to the post of Finance Minister from that of Minister of Home Affairs.

Minister Matsugata's endeavours.

He regarded it an urgent national policy to establish a system for resuming specie payments, and he endeavoured to attain this object by carrying out two principles side by side, namely, redemption of notes and increase of specie. He applied himself to this task with indefatigable energy, the general lines of his plan being briefly to attract specie from abroad by special rates of discount for bills against export shipments by means of the reserve in the Treasury; to establish, as an organ for taking charge of these matters, a large central bank; to impose new taxes and to raise the rates of the old ones for the purpose of increasing national revenue; to issue unregistered *kinroku* bonds so that they might be transferred to foreigners when applications were made for conversion; to issue exchequer bills in order to avoid the use of notes; and to utilize the national reserve fund by revising the regulations relating to it. He adhered to this policy from beginning to end with such firmness and diligence that the amount of the notes rapidly decreased and that of specie increased: and at last the resumption of specie payments was accomplished. For, while the policy of redeeming the notes was steadily carried on, their value began to recover, the prices of commodities and the rate of interest falling.

Reaction in economic circles.

But though these phenomena were directly contrary to those which occurred previously when the prices of commodities had been going up, the effects were no less disastrous to individual interests as well as to economic circles in general. Business was depressed; enterprises were suspended; factories

were in decay; lamentations about hard times were heard everywhere in cities and villages; and merchants and manufacturers became bankrupt.

Effect on the money markets.

It goes without saying that the bankers also suffered severely. While the prices of commodities were going up, they found their business active, and many of them increased their capital, but when the reaction set in, prices fell, business became dull, the banks could not find any use for their capital, and could not collect their loans because the value of securities fell, so that some were compelled to wind up their business. But the Government firmly adhered to the policy of redeeming the paper currency, and the results were admirable.

Convertible note system.

By 1885 the difference in value between silver and paper had gradually diminished, and the national coffers contained a large amount of silver for the resumption of specie payments. In June of that year the Government proclaimed that the Treasury's notes would be gradually converted into silver, beginning with January 1896, and thus the country was for the first time able to possess a convertible note system.

The Yokohama Specie Bank.

The Yokohama Specie Bank was at first established in accordance with the National Banks Regulations, but it is a large bank of a peculiar nature, having special objects altogether different from those of other banks. Its objects are solely to engage in foreign exchange business, to act as a special financial organ for transactions in foreign trade, and to manage financial affairs abroad for the Government. It planned to start with a capital of 3,000,000 *yen* in silver; to handle all transactions in specie; to engage in exchange business; to buy drafts against shipments; to give monetary facilities to the foreign trade of the country; and, when specie increased, to issue convertible notes on the security of *kinroku* bonds. Hitherto, the money markets in the treaty ports had been controlled by the branch offices there of several foreign banks, and rates of exchange and other commercial matters were under their control, Japanese merchants engaging in foreign trade being consequently at their mercy. The increase of inconvertible notes having caused a steady exodus of specie so that it wellnigh disappeared from the market, it was therefore a matter of urgency to foreign trade and finance to establish a special organ which would take

part in foreign exchange and attract specie. The Government had at this time adopted the policy of limiting the number of National Banks, the last of these institutions to be established being the One Hundred and Fifty-third National Bank, which began business in 1879, all subsequent applications being rejected. Nevertheless, the Yokohama Specie Bank was established, and one-third of its capital was subscribed by the Government, who gave it encouragement and protection in various forms and ways. It began business in February 1880, but failed to secure the privilege of issuing notes.

Its capital.

As above mentioned, the capital of the Specie Bank was intended to be paid in silver, but at that time the difference in value between paper and silver was so great that 100 *yen* of silver was worth over 170 *yen* of notes; and the shareholders found it exceedingly difficult to pay their calls in silver, therefore four-fifths of the amount were ultimately allowed to be paid in paper. The result was 1,400,000 *yen* in silver (1,000,000 *yen* paid in by the Government and 400,000 *yen* by the general subscribers) and 1,600,000 *yen* in notes. The portion of the capital consisting of notes was to be converted into *kinroku* bonds, and when more specie was wanted, silver was to be borrowed from the Government on the security of these bonds. Later on, when both official and private deposits in paper gradually increased, the bank divided its business into two sections, the principal department dealing in specie only, and the secondary department in paper only.

Ups and downs of the bank.

The Government at that time roughly estimated the amount of the specie circulating in the country at more than 100,000,000 *yen*, and purposed making the Yokohama Specie Bank the centre for collecting and distributing the white metal, thinking that by thus opening a way for the easy circulation of specie, hidden hoards of silver would come out and be deposited at the bank. On the other hand, they wished the bank to vigorously encourage the direct export of merchandise, to attract specie from abroad by buying drafts against shipments, and, with its deposits of public moneys, to engage in all kinds of exchange business.

But from 1882, as we have said, the specie value of notes began to recover, and the prices of commodities to fall, and

general business to become very inactive. The Yokohama Specie Bank did not escape the effects, and found itself in such difficulties that some of the shareholders proposed closing the business. Violent disputes arose, and the Government settled the affair by buying up, in May 1883, 6414 shares from the dissenting shareholders. Meanwhile, the estimated losses of the bank had reached the large sum of 1,077,800 *yen*, and it was only by drastic measures that it could be saved. As a first step the directors were changed, and then, in April 1888, an extraordinary meeting of shareholders was held, and a change of organization was resolved upon. This change was very important, but being considered necessary in the circumstances it was at once sanctioned by the Government. The principal points of the change were to alter the silver standard of the capital into a paper standard, and to make good the losses hitherto incurred with the profits arising from the difference in value between silver and paper. The Government, at the request of the bank, bought the silver in the latter's hands at the current price, and continued its support and protection, and through this and the earnest efforts of the new directors, the bank began to regain its position, while silver and paper came to the same value, and the economic world began to show activity. Thereafter the business of the bank progressed.

The Yokohama Specie Bank Regulations.

As the business of the bank gradually extended, its specialities were utilized, so that the National Banks Regulations proved inconvenient, and in consequence, in July 1887, the Government issued the Yokohama Specie Bank Regulations. At present the bank does business with a capital of 24,000,000 *yen*, of which 21,000,000 *yen* is paid up, and the reserve funds amounted to 13,934,861 *yen* at the end of 1906. It has branches, sub-branches, and agencies in important cities and ports all over the world. It leads all other institutions engaging in exchange business in this country, and it renders very important services, not only to the foreign trade of Japan, but also in the foreign financial business of the Government.

Establishment of private banks.

After the revision of the National Banks Regulations, National Banks continued to be established one after another, and their business went on with increasing prosperity.

Happening as this did just after the suppression of the South-Western Rebellion, the prices of commodities went up and unusual activity was exhibited in business, and many considering it a good time for establishing banks, capitalists competed with one another in so doing. But the Government, as already stated, adopted the policy of limiting the number, and, on this account, many schemes were set on foot to establish private banks which did not come under the National Banks Regulations. In the Department of Finance there had been already some talk about drafting regulations for ordinary private banks as early as 1874; therefore, when the Government limited the number of National Banks, it became more than ever necessary to draft and enact such regulations, in order to provide for the superintendence of private banks. But for certain reasons the matter was postponed, and private banks were allowed to come into existence free from any legal protection or superintendence, and from 1880 they rapidly increased in number, and at the same time companies transacting a similar business[1] appeared also. Their combined number was estimated at about 900 in 1883. The first private bank was the Mitsui Bank, established in 1876, and it remained the only one for some three or four years when nearly 200 banks sprang up. The details of this increase may be seen from the following table:

Year.	Private banks.		Companies engaging in similar business.		Total.	
	No.	Capital. *Yen.*	No.	Capital. *Yen.*	No.	Capital. *Yen.*
1878	1	2,000,000	—	—	1	2,000,000
1880	43	7,020,000	274	4,030,904	317	11,050,904
1883	197	18,327,750	699	14,138,333	896	32,466,083

IV.—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BANK OF JAPAN

Lack of connection in the money market.

After the revision of the National Banks Regulations, National Banks were established so rapidly that in a few years there were more than 150 with an aggregate capital of 40,000,000 *yen*; but, as we have seen, private banks as well as companies engaging in similar business also increased remarkably, and as a result the accommodation was sufficient throughout the

[1] By 'companies transacting a similar business' is meant companies who dealt in exchange of bills, exchange of money, deposits, and loans.

country. But each of these banks stood independent and unconnected with the other, and it happened that one bank would have large sums on hand, while others would be badly in want, and rates of interest differed greatly at different places. In short, there were no means of equalizing and regulating the circulation of money. Though this may be said to have been due to the lasting influence of the feudal system, yet it was undoubtedly in part a result of the absence of a central bank, connecting all other banks. At that time the redemption of the inconvertible notes had not been effectually carried out, and the notes of the Government and of the banks circulated together without unification, and the foundations of national finance and economy were not yet sufficiently established. The outlook presented possibilities that inspired much uneasiness, and what measures should be adopted in the circumstances formed matter for careful study for statesmen in and out of the Government.

Revision of the banking system.

Establishment of the Bank of Japan.

While this state of affairs was pending, Mr. Matsugata was, as we have said, appointed to the important post of Finance Minister, and to give effect to his ideas the Government created the Bank of Japan. The objects of its establishment were: first, a central bank, whereof all the banks in the country should be regarded as branches, which should open mutual correspondence, cultivate the spirit of co-operation, and secure the easy circulation of money throughout the land; secondly, to lend capital to other banks at a moderate rate of interest, thus helping to raise their credit and develop their business; thirdly, to engage specially in discounting bills, to quicken the movement of capital, to keep money easy, and to lower the rate of interest; fourthly, to take charge of the receipt and issue of Government moneys, and to utilize these moneys in discounting bills, &c., when there was any surplus; and lastly, to control the collection and distribution of gold by raising and lowering the rate of discount, and, when necessary, to attract gold from abroad. In order to perform the duties above mentioned, it was essential that the bank should be invested with the privilege of issuing convertible notes, and this was what the Government intended from the beginning, but it being a time

The Government's aid to the bank.

in which gold was scarce and notes were at a discount, the period was unfavourable, and this matter was postponed, but the Government assisted the project by subscribing one-half of the capital, viz. 10,000,000 *yen*.

Organization of the bank.

The Bank of Japan was organized mainly on the model of the Bank of Belgium, though much reference and consideration were given to the central banks in other European countries, and the customs and conditions of our own country. The Government issued the Regulations of the Bank of Japan in June 1882, and in October of the same year the bank began business—a great event in our financial and economic history, forming a new era in the banking industry of Japan.

The extent of its business.

Established with such objects, the bank enjoys great privileges and responsibilities. The Government in the Regulations defined the extent of its business, reserved the power of appointing its President and Vice-President, and established strict superintendence over its working. It is entrusted with the receipt and payment of State funds, and from the issued amount of its convertible notes has to loan to the Government a maximum sum of 22,000,000 *yen* without interest. Since its opening its business has steadily developed, and it has greatly improved the economic affairs of the people and the finances of the Government, whilst there is no question that it rendered incomparable services to the State in the management of finance during the Chino-Japanese and the Russo-Japanese Wars. The following will show the development of the bank's business:

Its development.

	End 1883. *Yen.*	1893. *Yen.*	1903. *Yen.*	1905. *Yen.*
Amount of capital (paid up)	4,000,000	10,000,000	30,000,000	30,000,000
Reserve	3,800	6,880,000	16,900,000	18,550,000
Amount of issued notes ..	—	148,663,128	232,920,563	312,790,819
Government deposits ..	4,696,435	1,618,327	12,929,635	438,033,434
Deposits	1,707,951	1,969,578	3,466,934	11,074,362
Loans to the Government	1,000,143	22,000,000	43,000,000	70,000,000
Loans	691,700	10,060,427	7,095,229	10,049,009
Credits	141,000	—	27,777,188	58,822,515
Bills..	575,000	24,563,816	44,310,493	109,184,178
Bonds	1,883,213	19,345,774	47,093,201	50,934,912
Specie currency and bullion	2,264,860	83,643,754	121,333,175	119,885,760

Method of redeeming the bank-notes.

The Bank of Japan being established, it became a matter of importance to change the National Banks, which had the special privilege of issuing notes, into ordinary joint-stock companies; for if this were not done, the object of unifying the

currency could not have been attained. Therefore in 1883 the Government made very important alterations in the National Banks Regulations and laid down a scheme for bank-note redemption, every National Bank being required to deposit with the Bank of Japan, first the funds reserved for the conversion of its notes, and secondly, 2½ per cent. per annum of its note issue out of its annual profits. The Bank of Japan was to employ these funds for purchasing national bonds, the interest accruing from which was to be applied for the redemption of bank-notes. If, in the meantime, any of these bonds were redeemed, other bonds were to be purchased in their place.

When the term of a bank expired and some of its notes were still unredeemed, bonds purchased with the last named of the above funds were to be sold to redeem them. In pursuance of this method, banks were not to be subjected to any heavy burden, and no sudden change was to be produced in the money market, while the object of redeeming notes would be attained. Besides, it was expected that the first of the above funds would be preserved for the banks, while the remainder of the second also would revert to them.

Redemption work.

The Government accordingly ordered the National Banks and the Bank of Japan to engage in the redemption of bank-notes according to this system. But it was soon found that infinite trouble and expense were involved in having over 140 banks with separate accounts of redemption, and so a plan to redeem the notes in common was adopted, and the work was entrusted to the Bank of Japan from November 1883.

Miscalculation.

But meanwhile two unexpected things occurred to defeat the calculations of the Government. The first was an unlooked-for enhancement of the price of national bonds, and consequently the amount of bonds purchasable with the second of the above funds was greatly reduced; the second, a great decrease of interest accruing from the bonds for the redemption of notes, consequent upon the Government's issuing bonds bearing 5 per cent. interest in and after 1887, to replace those of 6 per cent. or more. The National Banks submitted to the Government a statement of these difficulties and petitioned for a postponement of the term for note redemption. Again the

Government had originally estimated that the price of bonds would rise to par in 1887 ; but in fact, in 1886, it rose to over 107 *yen* ; while, on the other hand, they had calculated the rate of interest on bonds to be 7 per cent., whereas on the issue of the consolidated bonds it fell to 5 per cent. Thus there appeared a large shortage in the Government estimate for the bank-note conversion, and the banks would not only fail to recover the remaining funds, but also stood in the position of having to pay a large amount to complete the conversion. Naturally they were much alarmed.

The act of disposing of the National Banks.

The official estimate, however, was simply a standard. For the Government did not guarantee that conversion could be carried out according to this estimate. It had even provided in the orders concerning the conversion that, in case there occurred any shortage in the funds for redemption, owing to a rise in the price of bonds, the bonds bought with the first of the above funds should be sold to make up the deficiency. Hence, thinking it needless to change a policy already in operation merely because of a miscalculation in the estimates, and deeming that the unexpected loss in the funds for redemption would be amply compensated by the rise in the value of the bonds belonging to the banks, the Government firmly persisted in carrying out the scheme for unification of the currency, and in May 1894 submitted a bill to the sixth session of the Imperial Diet concerning the steps to be taken for the continuation or dissolution of the National Banks on the expiration of their terms. But the Diet was dissolved before the bill came up for discussion. The seventh session of the Diet was held at Hiroshima, but as it was a war-time session the bill was not submitted. In January 1895 the bill was introduced in the eighth session. Prior to this, the National Banks had loudly complained about these miscalculations, and were very strenuous in co-operating to urge upon the Government permission for an extension of their terms, and in their endeavours to enlist public opinion in their favour. In consequence two parties were formed, one advocating the continuation of the banks, the other an extension of their terms. These parties argued hotly within and without the Diet. Finally, the House of Representatives passed a bill for

extending the terms of the National Banks, as introduced by some members, and rejected the Government bill for the continuation of the banks' business. The former bill, however, when it came to the House of Peers, was rejected, and failed to become law. It is said that no financial bill has ever provoked such a heated discussion in the Diet.

Subsequently, however, affairs gradually changed for the better, and when the terms of the National Banks were drawing to an end, many approved of the Government policy. The result was that in January 1896 the bill concerning the National Banks on the expiration of their terms was submitted for a third time to the Imperial Diet, and passed both Houses. This new Act fixed the steps to be taken in changing the National Banks into ordinary private banks, or in dissolving them, on the expiration of their terms, and provided that, on the expiration of their terms, if they had any notes still circulating, they must deposit with the Government a suitable amount of money, the Government then undertaking the responsibility of redeeming the notes with such money; that to banks which handed over this money the Government would return the bonds deposited originally against note issues, but in the case of banks which did not make such payment the Government would sell their bonds and use the proceeds for the redemption of their notes; and that banks still continuing their business could borrow such amounts from the Bank of Japan without interest as corresponded to the amount of their notes still in circulation. The Government also promulgated a law concerning the continuation of their business by National Banks as ordinary banks before the maturity of their terms, and a law prohibiting the use of National Bank notes after the 9th of December 1899.

End of the National Banks.

The number of the National Banks established had reached in all 153: and of this number 122 continued business as ordinary banks, 16 disappeared in consequence of amalgamations, 7 closed their business, and only 8 dissolved. Thus the question of disposing of the National Banks was concluded, and in February 1899 not one of these so-called National Banks remained in Japan. During the twenty years of their existence they had, on the whole, done

valuable service in the cause of the finance, production, and trade of the country, and most of them are now continuing their business as ordinary banks and gradually developing more and more, whilst occupying very important positions in the history of the Japanese economic world.

Regulations concerning convertible notes.

The Bank of Japan began its business when a large amount of inconvertible notes had been issued and when their value had depreciated. Hence it could not avail itself of its high privilege of issuing notes. But unless it issued notes, it could not extend its business, and it might entirely fail to attain one of its great objects, viz. the unification of the currency. Therefore Mr. Masayoshi Matsugata, the Minister of Finance, enforced, in the face of many difficulties, the policy of reducing the number of Government notes, and caused a law for the redemption of bank-notes to be enacted and strictly enforced. The result was a gradual decrease of the number of notes in circulation, until in 1884 the notes were worth 1·08 *yen* against 1·00 *yen* of silver. Thus their redemption proceeded fairly towards accomplishment, and the Government, considering that the time to issue convertible notes was come, promulgated regulations concerning them in May 1884 providing that convertible notes should be converted into silver and that a suitable amount of silver must be held for that purpose. But these regulations were not perfectly drawn up as to the limit of the amount of notes issued and the proportion of reserve funds; yet the Government gave orders to the bank, enjoining it to make an experimental issue of notes to the extent of 5,000,000 against a reserve fund of 2,000,000 *yen*, and in May 1885 the Bank of Japan, after having completed all the necessary arrangements, began to issue convertible notes. But the more the notes of the Government and the banks decreased in volume, the more the want of the convertible notes was felt by the economic world. On the other hand, the Government borrowed convertible notes from the Bank of Japan and used them to redeem the Treasury's notes. Consequently, a

Revision of the Regulations.

revision was effected in the Law of Convertible Notes in July 1888, whereby the Government adopted what might be called a policy of free limitation. The bank was thereby privileged (1) to issue convertible notes without limit against a cash reserve,

and also to issue convertible notes against a reserve consisting of securities to the extent of 70,000,000 *yen*; (2) to make issues in excess of the reserve of securities when the condition of the market necessitated such a course, but for this extra issue it had to pay an issue tax of not less than 5 per cent. per annum; (3) to issue 27,000,000 *yen* of the above 70,000,000 *yen*, such issue to be gradual and to correspond to the volume of bank-notes redeemed after January of 1889; and (4) to lend to the Government 22,000,000 *yen* for the redemption of the latter's notes, at an interest of 2 per cent. per annum until 1898, after which no interest would be paid.

Second revision.

The Government again revised the Law of Convertible Notes in 1890, whereby the limit of issue against the securities reserve was extended to 85,000,000 *yen*, and all interest on loans to the Government was removed. These changes were probably due to the Government's recognition of the increased demand for currency arising from the development of foreign trade and various enterprises. In 1897 the Government established a currency system, adopting the gold standard; and, as a result, in March of the same year, revised the Law of Convertible Notes, making the notes convertible into gold instead of silver.

Currency system.

Extension of special privileges of Bank of Japan.

After the Chino-Japanese War the Japanese economic world progressed enormously. Enterprises were undertaken, finance developed, and the population increased. The Government therefore saw the necessity of increasing the volume of currency, and with the approval of the Diet again revised the Law of Convertible Notes in March 1899, and extended the limit of issue against the securities reserve to 120,000,000 *yen*. But while thus extending the special privilege of the Bank of Japan, the Government enacted another measure imposing an issue tax of 1¼ per cent. per annum on the average amount of notes issued monthly.

Abolition of the use of Government notes.

Thus the volume of Government notes and bank-notes gradually decreased, while the issue of convertible notes increased every year, the circulation of money became smooth, and unification of the currency step by step approached accomplishment. By the Law of 1898 the Government abolished the use of Government notes after the 31st of December 1899,

the Law prohibiting the use of bank-notes having been already issued as before mentioned. The following table will show the decreasing volumes of these two kinds of notes and the still unredeemed amounts at the end of 1904:

Year. Dec. 31,	Government Notes. *Yen.*	Bank Notes. *Yen.*
1882	109,369,014	34,385,424
1887	55,815,044	28,604,133
1892	20,828,245	23,890,509
1897	7,451,098	5,024,728
1899	4,125,782	974,999
1904	1,487,982	410,411

The term of the redemption of these two kinds of notes was within five years after the prohibition of their use. So, in December 1904, the notes may be said to have passed out of existence. The annual increase of convertible notes, on the other hand, was very rapid, as may be seen from the following:

Increasing issue of convertible notes.

Year. Dec. 31,	Amount Issued. *Yen.*	Reserve. Specie. *Yen.*	Securities. *Yen.*
1885	3,653,272	3,008,572	644,700
1887	53,469,092	31,594,193	21,874,898
1892	125,843,363	81,158,265	44,685,098
1897	226,229,058	98,261,473	127,967,585
1900	228,570,032	67,349,129	161,220,903
1903	232,920,563	116,962,184	115,958,379
1906	341,766,164	147,202,125	194,564,039

Bank Regulations.

For a long time the Government had appreciated the necessity of enacting regulations for the protection and superintendence of ordinary banks, and when they saw that private banks and the companies engaged in similar business increased yearly, while the National Banks were about to change into ordinary banks, they felt this necessity more keenly, so that finally they enacted the Bank Regulations of 1890, and brought all banks under these Regulations, except those with special privileges, such as the Bank of Japan and the Yokohama Specie Bank. Article 1 of the Regulations declares that any establishment open to the public and engaging in discounting

bills or in exchange business, receiving deposits and making loans, is considered a bank, by whatever title it may be called. At the same time it enacted the Savings Banks Regulations, by which certain restrictions were set on their operations, their directors were made unlimitedly responsible, and they were required to make deposits with the Government for protecting the interests of depositors.

The Savings Banks Regulations.

These two sets of Regulations were put into force from July 1893, and, with more or less revision, are still in operation.

V.—The Money Market subsequent to the Establishment of the Bank of Japan

After the revision of the National Banks Regulations, the amount of bank-notes in circulation suddenly increased when the South-Western Rebellion broke out and the Government had to issue inconvertible notes. The result was a rapid rise in the prices of commodities, activity in business, and unusual prosperity in the market for a while. This state of affairs suddenly changed in 1881, and the steady redemption of notes on the part of the Government caused the prices of commodities to fall and the market to become extremely dull, as has been stated in the last section. Fortunately, at this time of depression there was a large excess of exports over imports, which greatly contributed towards the accumulation of specie.

Vicissitudes of our commerce.

In 1886 the Government began the conversion of notes, a measure which removed the public fear of fluctuations in the value of the currency, and the economic world recovered its activity gradually. Such being the circumstances, the general public now began to turn their attention to the construction of railways and the undertaking of many enterprises of various kinds. Many engaged in speculation, and the prices of stocks shot up rapidly. This state of affairs continued steadily from 1887 to 1889.

In the meantime a large amount of capital had been drawn from the market for railways and other industrial enterprises. Thus the balance of supply and demand being lost, tightness of money was by degrees felt. In addition to this, the rice crop of 1889 was a failure, and in the following

year the price of cereals went up greatly, large quantities of foreign rice also being imported. Moreover, as the American Act for the purchase of silver enhanced the value of the white metal, a violent change took place in foreign exchange, and foreign trade assumed an unusual aspect. These causes combined to give a blow to the market, and a state of panic threatened, the prices of stocks falling rapidly. The Government therefore redeemed a certain amount of the national bonds, extended the limit of the issue of convertible notes, permitted the Bank of Japan to issue notes beyond its legal limit, and opened the way for discounting bills on security of stocks. All these measures served somewhat to mitigate the pressure in the market, but various bubble companies became bankrupt, and for a few years the market remained in a state of depression.

In 1892 business began to revive, the deposits in the banks increased, money became abundant and stocks rose, though industry did not as yet show much activity. The rate of interest fell by degrees, and in June 1893 the average rate of discount was $1\frac{7}{10}$ *sen* per 100 *yen* daily, while the current price of the *Séiri* (Consolidated) Bonds was from 108 *yen* to 110 *yen*. The rate of interest being so low, offered an inducement to the undertaking of various enterprises. From the latter half of that year to 1894, trade and industry showed improved activity, when the outbreak of the China-Japan War checked all progress.

The condition of banks.

The condition of the banks during this period is shown in the following table:

Year.	Bank of Japan.		Specie Banks.		National Banks.	
	No.	Capital paid up. *Yen.*	No.	Capital paid up. *Yen.*	No.	Capital paid up. *Yen.*
1882	1	2,000,000	1	3,000,000	143	44,206,100
1885	1	5,000,000	1	3,000,000	139	44,456,100
1888	1	10,000,000	1	4,500,000	135	46,877,639
1891	1	10,000,000	1	4,500,000	134	48,701,000
1893	1	10,000,000	1	4,500,000	133	48,416,100

Year.	Ordinary Banks.		Quasi-Banks.		Total.	
	No.	Capital paid up. *Yen.*	No.	Capital paid up. *Yen.*	No.	Capital paid up. *Yen.*
1882	169	16,977,800	438	7,931,404	752	74,115,304
1885	218	18,782,200	745	15,407,982	1,104	86,646,282
1888	211	16,761,609	713	14,453,553	1,061	92,592,801
1891	252	19,796,820	678	13,827,434	1,066	96,825,254
1893	628	31,596,748	—	—	763	94,512,848

NOTE.—The remarkable decrease in the number of banks in 1893 is due to the fact that in that year the Bank Regulations were put in force and many quasi-banks discontinued their business.

From the above table it will be seen that, after 1882, the number of banks did not increase so greatly as before; but in 1893 ordinary banks increased greatly, because many companies, which had been engaging in similar business, changed their organization into that of ordinary banks.

VI.—The Development of Banking Business after the China-Japan War

Effects of the China-Japan War.

Though the China-Japan War proved a severe blow to the reviving tendency of the Japanese economic world, yet fortunately it not only came to a speedy end and covered Japan with glory on land and sea, but also gave her an enormous sum in indemnity together with a new territory, so that it afforded opportunities for great innovations both in the finance and economy of the country. Financially, a sudden expansion occurred in national expenditures, owing to the execution of the *post-bellum* undertakings, such as increase of the Navy and the Army, construction and improvement of State railways, and an immense extension of government schemes of various kinds.

Economically, the same thing happened (though the return of the Liaotung Peninsula dispirited the people for a moment), various enterprises were rapidly undertaken in connection with railways, shipping, spinning, weaving, and other industries, and many joint-stock companies sprang up one after another, like the growth of grass in spring after rain. Nor was the business of individual merchants slow in extending, so that the demand for capital was very great for a time. By the receipt of the Chinese indemnity, a considerable sum of specie flowed in; and as at the same time the limit of the issue of the convertible notes of the Bank of Japan was extended, a large volume of money circulated, the prices of commodities rose, and such activity displayed itself in business that a good prospect was offered for monetary transactions. Capitalists therefore established banks here and there, even in small villages, and a highly prosperous condition ruled for a while.

Economic reaction.

But a reaction soon set in. Before the war the demand for capital had continued to increase on account of the growth of enterprise until the average rate of discount in Tōkyō went

up to $2\frac{7}{10}$ *sen* per 100 *yen* a day in August 1894. During the war almost all enterprises were in a state of suspension, yet money was not plentiful, owing to the subscriptions made for war bonds offered to the public. But on the conclusion of the war, the rate went down, and in October 1895 it fell below $2\frac{1}{2}$ *sen*. Moreover, the amount of currency increased, the prices of commodities rose, and the indemnity amounting to 230,000,000 *tael* was expected to come in gradually.

This state of things encouraged the enterprising spirit of the people; but on account of a tradal depression in America exports fell off, while, on the other hand, imports of machinery and materials increased, owing to a sudden development of industrial enterprise. Also large quantities of rice were imported in consequence of failures of the rice crop in 1896-97. Then the prospect of increased customs duties led to the importation of goods in advance, so that the foreign trade of the country lost its balance, and there resulted a great excess of imports over exports. The rate of interest now went up quickly, and in April and May 1898 the average rate in Tōkyō was as high as $3\frac{1}{5}$ *sen*, and the price of the *Séiri* bonds fell to below 90 *yen*. Many of the new companies found it very difficult to collect their subscribed capital and were compelled to dissolve. It was feared that a panic might result, and the bankers and business men adopted strict precautions. Appeals for help were heard on all sides, when Minister Inouyé of the Finance Department used a portion of the Chinese indemnity in taking over the debentures of the Industrial Bank to the extent of 3,740,000 *yen*, and ordered the bank to give financial assistance to companies having good prospects, and also redeemed national bonds amounting to 38,700,000 *yen*. The situation was helped when China made full payment of the indemnity, and the rice crop of 1898 turned out prosperous; thus the circulation of money became smoother, and the dreaded financial panic was averted. In December of the same year the average discount rate was $2\frac{4}{5}$ *sen*, and in September of the next year it fell to 2 *sen* owing to a large export of raw silk, cotton yarns, silk goods, &c. Thus the market seemed about to assume a very favourable aspect when war broke out between England and the Transvaal.

Depression of trade and industry.

A rise in the rate of interest in London and the scheme to adopt the gold standard in India caused gold to flow out of the country. The Bank of Japan, feeling the necessity of protecting its specie reserve, raised its rate of interest, and consequently the money market tightened, trade and industry became dull, and the prices of stocks fell. In May 1900 the North China disturbance took place, and Japanese trade with China was greatly impeded, which added more and more to the depression in trade at home. Many banks and mercantile houses stood in a very difficult position. During the space of time from December 1900 to February 1901, some banks in Kyūshū had to suspend payment, and other banks there and elsewhere suffered runs. In April the money market in Ōsaka fell into a state of alarm, and several banks of weak foundation had to suspend payment. In May some banks in Kyōto also had runs of a violent nature, and the effect seemed likely to spread throughout the country, when it was checked owing to measures taken by the Bank of Japan and other influential banks. Those runs, however, were made only on such banks as conducted irregular business and had not much credit. The depositors in strong banks did not participate in the alarm, so that a panic was fortunately averted.

During the depression sales of goods were obstructed, merchants experienced difficulty, and manufacturers shared the same fate. The banks too had much trouble in doing business on account of delay in collecting their loans, falls in the prices of their securities, and small demand for capital. But the sweeping away of weak banks of little credit may be said to have produced a good effect in strengthening the credit of the banking world.

Revival of business activity.

In 1902 the Anglo-Japanese alliance was announced; the favourable condition of the export trade caused gold to flow into the country, and an increase of deposits in the banks lowered the rate of interest. Besides, the Government floated a loan of 50,000,000 *yen* in London. These circumstances somewhat calmed the spirit of the market, and signs of a revival of activity were seen. But the precaution and conservatism of several years had sunk deep into the minds of business and industrial circles. Moreover, the rice crop was

injured by wind and flood, and a fall in the price of silver obstructed trade with China, and thus no large enterprises were yet undertaken. In spite of this inactivity, however, the producing power of the people greatly developed, capital was accumulated, the deposits in the banks increased, and foreign trade made steady progress. Though superficially there was no marked movement, yet the condition of the economic world was undoubtedly healthy on the whole. In 1903 the price of silver recovered and the obstacles in the way of the Chinese trade were removed, and moreover both silk and rice crops were also very good; consequently the market assumed an aspect of revival, when suddenly our relations with Russia became strained, and the people had again to stand on their guard.

By examining the condition of the banks before and after the China-Japanese War, it will be seen that the development of banking after the war was such as had never taken place previously. The following tables will serve for purposes of comparison:

Condition of Banks after the China-Japan War

Year	Bank of Japan.		Specie Bank.		*National Banks. †Banks with Special Privileges.		Ordinary Banks.		Total.	
At the end of	No.	Capital paid up. Yen.	No.	Capital paid up. Yen.	No.	Capital paid up. Yen.	No.	Capital paid up. Yen.	No.	Capital paid up. Yen.
1893	1	10,000,000	1	4,500,000	*133	48,416,100	628	31,596,748	763	94,512,848
1896	1	22,500,000	1	6,000,000	*121	44,761,770	1,198	94,009,718	1,321	167,271,488
1899	1	30,000,000	1	12,000,000	†46	18,480,365	1,894	225,652,943	1,942	286,133,308
1902	1	30,000,000	1	18,000,000	†50	38,007,234	2,272	286,942,828	2,324	372,950,062
1903	1	30,000,000	1	24,000,000	†50	56,520,000	2,255	416,107,500	2,307	526,627,500

Progress in the Business of Various Banks after the China-Japan War

Year. At the end of	Deposits. Yen.	Loans. Yen.	Discount. Yen.	Negotiable Securities. Yen.	Specie on hand. Yen.	Bills cleared throughout the country. Yen.
1893	115,509,662	178,139,156	—	68,873,429	61,694,304	211,619,532
1896	429,740,190	393,948,854	—	122,650,701	62,909,248	555,834,841
1899	610,252,298	425,349,108	400,613,166	196,114,195	137,014,836	1,722,290,028
1902	711,141,918	559,838,410	391,482,492	214,076,669	152,663,759	2,884,534,600
1903	774,950,324	579,453,404	426,861,841	218,693,980	166,882,677	3,587,611,254

In 1904, when hostilities commenced with Russia, the effect of the previous blow having been already healed, the financial world was already in a healthy condition. Therefore,

in spite of the floatation of an enormous amount of loans and in spite of the increased taxation, money was abundant, the deposits and loans of the banks steadily increased, and banking business went on as smoothly as though it had not felt any effect from the war.

VII.—The Establishment of Banks with Special Privileges

The Japan Hypothec Bank and the Agricultural and Industrial Banks.

In August 1897 the Hypothec Bank, and during 1897–1900 forty-six Agricultural and Industrial Banks were established, one in each Prefecture. These two kinds of banks have for their main object the lending of money for long periods at low interest against the security of landed estates, the money being refunded by yearly instalments, and the encouragement of the progress and development of agriculture and industry. The Hypothec Bank has the special privilege of issuing premium-bearing bonds to the amount of ten times its paid up capital, and it receives a subsidy for ten years from the Government, so as to make good any shortage in declaring a dividend of 5 per cent. per annum on its capital. During the Russo-Japanese War, the Law of Savings Bonds was enacted, and the Hypothec Bank received authority to issue them to the extent of 30,000,000 *yen* in one year, but they were abolished at the close of the war. The Agricultural and Industrial Banks enjoy the special privilege of issuing debentures to the amount of five times their paid-up capital. Besides, the Government distributed about 10,000,000 *yen* among the Prefectural Offices and made them subscribe for shares of the Agricultural and Industrial Banks, and on the shares thus subscribed the banks were exempted from paying dividends for the first fifteen years, being further permitted to carry to their reserve funds the dividends earned in the succeeding five years. The nominal capital of the Hypothec Bank is 10,000,000 *yen* and its paid-up capital is 3,250,000 *yen*, while the aggregate amount of the capital of the Agricultural and Industrial Banks is 28,520,000 *yen*, whereof 28,294,960 *yen* is paid up. Of these two kinds of banks, the one is a central organ, while the others are local; in business operations the one stands in the same close relations with

the others as a head office bears to its local branches, so if all of them do not work in harmony they cannot attain their principal objects.

The Bank of Formosa.

In March 1897 the Act of the Bank of Formosa was enacted, and in September 1899 that bank began business. The objects of this bank are to regulate the currency in Formosa, to handle public moneys, and to deal in general banking business. It is the most important organ for the circulation of money and the development of natural resources in that island. It is granted the special privilege of issuing notes without limit against specie reserves. Besides, it is allowed to issue notes against a reserve of negotiable securities to the extent of 5,000,000 *yen*, and to issue beyond this limit when the condition of the market requires such a step, provided that it pays to the Government an issue tax not less than 5 per cent. per annum. Moreover, the Government subscribed for the shares of the bank to the extent of 1,000,000 *yen*, according to the Law for Subsidizing the Bank of Formosa, and allowed the dividends accruing from these shares for the following five years to be put into the bank's reserve. The Government also consented to a request of the bank and lent it 2,000,000 *yen* in silver, which was to be kept as a redemption reserve fund. At first the currency of Formosa was silver, as a matter of temporary convenience, but as considerable evils arose from fluctuations in the gold price of that metal, the gold standard was ultimately adopted as in the main island, and the silver notes of the bank were made convertible into gold. The capital of the bank is 5,000,000 *yen*, of which 2,000,000 *yen* is paid up.

The Hokkaidō Colonization Bank.

In March 1899 the Government enacted the Law of the Hokkaidō Colonization Bank, and in April 1900 the bank was established. The object of this bank is to supply capital for the colonization of Hokkaidō. Its business is to make long-period loans against landed security at low rates of interest, the loans to be returned by yearly instalments; to make loans on the security of shares and debentures of such companies as are engaged in the colonization of Hokkaidō; to subscribe for the shares of these companies; and to make loans and discount bills on the security of the products of the

island. The special privilege of the bank is to issue debentures to the extent of five times its paid-up capital. Besides, the Government is a shareholder to the amount of 1,000,000 *yen*, and waives the right to receive a dividend for ten years. The bank's nominal capital is 5,000,000 *yen* and its paid-up capital 3,004,375 *yen*.

The Japan Industrial Bank.

In March 1900 the Government enacted the Law of the Japan Industrial Bank, and that bank began business in April 1902. As its object is solely to supply money on movables, its main business consists of making loans on the security of national and local bonds, debentures, and shares of companies; subscribing for these bonds, debentures, and shares; engaging in trust business; discounting guaranteed bills; and making loans to financial corporations as established by law. The bank enjoys the special privilege of issuing debentures to the amount of ten times its paid-up capital, and with the sanction of the Minister controlling the bank, it can issue debentures without regard to the limit when there is occasion to supply money to enterprises of public interest in foreign countries. If the bank is unable to declare a dividend of 5 per cent. the Government grants a subsidy sufficient to make good the shortage for five years. The capital of the bank was at first 10,000,000 *yen*, but, by a revision made in the Law of the Industrial Bank in 1906, the capital was increased to 17,500,000 *yen*, of which 13,750,000 *yen* was paid up. This increase of 7,500,000 *yen* is due to the subscription of English capitalists, and to a desire to establish closer relations between the bank and foreign capitalists, with a view to the better circulation of capital at home and abroad.

Progress of the banks with special privileges.

The banks with special privileges above enumerated have not been in existence for many years yet, but they are making gradual progress in the field of their respective specialities; and the following table will show their rapid progress:

Year.	Japan Hypothee Bank.	Agricultural and Industrial Banks.		Bank of Formosa.	Hokkaidō Colonization Bank.	Japan Industrial Bank.	Total.	
	Capital paid up.	No.	Capital paid up.	Capital paid up.	Capital paid up.	Capital paid up.	No.	Capital paid up.
At the end of	*Yen.*		*Yen.*	*Yen.*	*Yen.*	*Yen.*		*Yen.*
1897	2,500,000	6	575,000	—	—	—	7	3,075,000
1900	2,500,000	46	22,923,485	1,250,000	1,050,000	—	49	27,723,485
1903	3,250,000	46	27,807,500	2,500,000	2,700,000	2,500,000	50	38,757,500
1907	4,250,000	46	28,620,000	3,750,000	3,500,000	16,250,000	50	56,370,000

VIII.—Bankers' Associations

Bankers' associations.

After the revision of the National Banks Regulations, the number of banks suddenly increased, so that in 1877 there were eleven head offices of the National Banks and private banks in Tōkyō alone. Recognizing the necessity of holding bankers' meetings for purposes of consultation as to the conduct of business on mutually beneficent lines, the writer consulted the bankers in Tōkyō on the subject, and with their approval, in July of that year, formed a society called *Takuzén-Kai* (Select Good Society), and this was the first union of bankers in Japan. In 1880, the members having risen to thirty, the society was dissolved, and a new one was formed, namely the present Tōkyō Bankers' Association, whose members have since increased to over sixty.

The principal matters that this Association has accomplished have been:

1. The publication of a bankers' magazine, *Ginkō Tsūshin-roku*, as an organ for bankers throughout the country. This magazine, started in 1885, has effected a gradual improvement in the facilities enjoyed by bankers. The Association has also published many reference books for the use of bankers.
2. The establishment in 1887 of a Clearing House.
3. In 1896 the organization of the Tōkyō Intelligence Bureau.
4. In 1897 the foundation of a library of financial books.
5. In 1899 the formation of the Bankers' Club.

Clearing Houses.

The benefits derived by the Association have resulted in the formation of similar associations in Ōsaka, Kōbé, Yokohama, Kyōto, and Nagoya, whose members now aggregate about 180, and handle over 30 per cent. of the capital of all the banks in the country.

Clearing Houses were established in the various cities in the following order: Ōsaka, Tōkyō, Kōbé, Kyōto, Yokohama, Nagoya. The amounts cleared at these houses will be seen from the following table:

Amounts cleared at the various Clearing Houses

Year.	Tōkyō. Opened 1887. *Yen.*	Ōsaka. Opened 1880. *Yen.*	Kyōto. Opened 1898. *Yen.*	Yokohama. Opened 1900. *Yen.*	Kōbé. Opened 1897. *Yen.*	Nagoya. Opened 1902. *Yen.*	Total. *Yen.*
1880	—	37,457,435	—	—	—	—	37,457,435
1887	1,232,186	24,072,164	—	—	—	—	25,304,350
1892	113,576,595	49,610,071	—	—	—		163,186,666
1897	552,890,212	160,967,475	—	—	27,633,168	—	741,490,855
1902	1,350,791,066	663,659,303	155,957,014	419,386,770	251,656,929	43,083,087	2,884,534,169
1907	3,540,443,449	1,671,729,977	282,631,628	932,220,533	802,133,951	254,676,425	7,483,835,963

IX.—Conclusion

The following table shows the condition of Japanese banks with regard to their number and authorized capital on May 31, 1907:

	No.	Authorized Amount of Capital. *Yen.*
The Bank of Japan	1	30,000,000
The Yokohama Specie Bank	1	24,000,000
The Japan Hypothec Bank	1	10,000,000
The Agricultural and Industrial Banks	46	29,320,000
The Bank of Formosa	1	5,000,000
The Hokkaidō Colonization Bank	1	5,000,000
The Japan Industrial Bank	1	17,500,000
Savings Banks	456	80,258,450
Ordinary Bank	1[1]	1,250,000
Joint-Stock Companies	1,456	345,110,025
	12[1]	4,364,450
Partnerships	68	20,367,850
Limited Partnerships	105	19,741,474
Joint-Stock Partnerships	2	652,000
Individuals	80	5,371,520
	2,232	597,935,769

After the conclusion of peace with Russia, the Japanese took every precaution, as they had had sufficient experience after the Chino-Japanese War, and also as they well appreciated the difficulty of executing *post-bellum* undertakings. But the

[1] Indicates branches, foreign banks.

spirit of new enterprise, nurtured by the war, had to make its appearance sooner or later, and it was greatly encouraged by the abundance of money. So, in 1906, indications of a revival of business showed themselves, and in the latter half of that year the minds of the people turned to new enterprises for a while with feverish violence. Soon a reaction came, as was only natural, and in January 1907 prices of stocks fell suddenly, and many rash speculators experienced disaster. The effect was to dishearten the people and to put the banks again on their guard. But considering the results attained in various lines of industry, and also the outcome of foreign trade, the condition of the financial world was really strong, and is now steadily improving, in spite of temporary depression in the stock market. Therefore the writer firmly believes that, on the whole, there will be great progress in the field of new enterprises and greater development of banking business than there was after the Chino-Japanese War.

The writer's retrospect

Before concluding this essay, the writer cannot refrain from expressing his profound satisfaction at the fact that the small spring of banking business, which had been so insignificant at the time of the Restoration, has, by a gradual process of accretion, become a broad, navigable river, as it is now, and his conviction that this is the result of having followed the example of European and American nations, to which the Japanese are much indebted. Again, the Japanese are very grateful for the valuable services of Mr. Alexander Allan Shand, now a Director of the Paris Bank, London, who came to Japan at the invitation of the Issue Department in 1872, acted as Adviser in banking to that Department, wrote valuable books on banking, instructed young Japanese in that line, and thus paved the way for the development of banking business in the country.

XXII

A RÉSUMÉ OF THE HISTORY OF JAPANESE INDUSTRIES

JUNICHIRŌ SUZUKI (REVISED BY PROFESSOR BUNJI MANO, D.ENG. (JAPAN), AND SÉIICHI TÉJIMA)

I.—THE DEPENDENT PERIOD

Industries in the primitive age.

INSTANCES are rarely met with, in the industrial history of Japan, of articles being manufactured with the primary object of supplying a market, or in order to meet a demand of the general public, although there have been isolated cases of manufactures conducted on a limited scale, in out-of-the-way localities and towns, side by side with agricultural or commercial activity. In such cases, however, both the art and the articles made were limited to satisfying that demand, and can hardly be deemed to have had any share in contributing to the development of Japanese industry. What has been most effective in the evolution and development of Japanese industries—what, in fact, has constituted the main motive force in the progress of arts and manufactures in Japan, has been the patronage of the ruling classes. Again, instances appear to have been even rarer where a division of labour was applied, as at the present day, manufacturers in the past having been under the necessity of playing the manifold rôles of workman, designer and artist, with nothing but their hands and feet, and the most primitive type of machinery to depend upon. The output was consequently very small. Experts engaged in industry were mostly hereditary, the art being transmitted from father to son, or from master to pupil. Under such circumstances there was no freedom in industrial pursuits,

the various branches being monopolized by different families or clans.

Industries in the Imperial Court.

When we turn to the origin of Japanese industries, we cannot but be struck by the fact that besides the three sacred treasures—the Mirror, the Sword, and the Jewels—which are enshrined in the sacred treasure vault at the Isé Shrines, there are also stored agricultural and weaving implements, from which it may be inferred that careful attention was paid by our Sovereigns to the advancement of industries even in those ancient days. It appears to have been customary with each Emperor to preserve these sacred treasures within the precincts of their palaces, until the reign of Emperor Sujin, who was the first to transfer them to Kasanui (92 B.C.). At that time not only the articles required for religious purposes, but also arms, ornaments, apparel, and the necessaries of daily life, were all made at the Emperor's Palace, and there it was that the pioneers of our arts and manufactures sowed the seeds of the future development of industries.

Influence of Korea and China.

At the time when the Emperor Kōtōku reorganized the administration after the model of the Tang dynasty of China (645 A.D.), and abolished the system of hereditary government officials, so that the various administrative posts were assigned to men of merit, the persons engaged in industrial pursuits were known by the name of '*Bé*,' and were distributed among the different Departments of State. In consequence, not only during the very primitive period, but during the reigns of many successive Emperors, the pursuit of industrial enterprise was entirely dependent upon the ruling classes. Subsequently to the Empress-Regent Jingō's expedition to Korea intercourse between the two countries became frequent, and during the reign of Emperor Ōjin one named Achiki came over to Japan with a party of female dressmakers, and one Wani with male and female artisans. Further, a descendant of the Emperor Che-Wang, of the Tsin dynasty of China, became naturalized in Japan, together with the inhabitants of 127 prefectures from the Kingdom of Kudara (283 A.D.), as did Achi, a descendant of the Emperor Ling, of the Han dynasty of China, with those of seventeen prefectures. These immigrations were instrumental in introducing the arts and manufactures of China

into Japan, thus promoting, to no inconsiderable extent, the progress of our industries. The processes of making silk textiles, *Kuréhatori* (lit. Weaving of Wu) and *Ayahatori* (lit. Weaving of Han), was introduced into Japan about this period. In the reign of the Emperor Yūryaku a mission was sent to Kudara, which brought over artisans skilled in porcelain and brocade manufacture (463 A.D.). Experts in silk weaving were also summoned from China by the dispatch of a mission (470 A.D.), and silk weaving and embroidery were greatly encouraged. The Empress herself engaged in sericulture, and gave encouragement to various industries. The origin of such valuable and costly silk textiles as *Taihakusén* brocade, *Shōhakusén* brocade, and *Fujigata* brocade, which were produced during the reign of Emperor Kōtōku, may be traced to this period.

During the reign of the Emperor Ninkén experts in hide tanning were summoned from the Kingdom of Koma to teach their art to the Japanese (493 A.D.), and these originated the leather industry in Japan.

In short, during the first stage of our 'dependent industry,' that is, when Japanese industry was dependent on the ruling classes, the principal object aimed at appears to have been the improvement in our old manufacturing processes, and the making of articles suitable to Japanese taste. Subsequently, when, during the Nara epoch (710–94 A.D.), Buddhism invaded the land with all its splendour, great industrial progress ensued, and when the Empress Gwammyō established her capital at Nara, religion gained complete ascendancy, temples were erected throughout the empire, the colossal image of Buddha was cast, and vast employment was bestowed upon the manufacture of priestly robes, temple furniture and decorations. The propagation of Buddhism had not only the effect of transplanting Chinese methods of manufacture to Japanese soil, but also caused the introduction of various articles of Indian manufacture from India, the land of the origin of Buddhism, as well as manufactures from distant Greece, through China and Korea. Many articles used at Buddhist ceremonials, which are preserved in the temples of Hōryūji and Tōdaiji in Nara, are evidence of the influence of Greek art upon Japanese manufactures.

The Nara epoch.

The Héian period.

Turning our attention to the state of industry during the Héian period (794–1184 A.D.), when the power of the Court nobles was supreme, we find that the scale and mode of architecture underwent a complete change as a result of the Emperor Kwammu, after the removal of his capital to Héian (Kyōto), having modelled his palace and gardens on the style adopted by the Emperors of the Tang dynasty of China. When the Fujiwara family arrogated to themselves the administrative powers, the houses of the members of that family were built in imitation of the *Shishiidén* (Imperial Palace), and their villas modelled on the *Shinsényén* (Imperial Villa). As the members of this family possessed extensive domains in various parts of the empire, and their income was very large, country residences on a magnificent scale were erected by them in various localities noted for natural scenery. Throughout this epoch the upper classes indulged in great extravagance as regards music, dancing, and other forms of amusement, and thus luxurious tastes were developed in articles of apparel and entertainment, and silk manufactures, dyeing, embroidery, and gold lacquer work. Immediately after the Nara period, not only had great improvements been brought about in manufactures, but methods also were changed, distinct and novel features being introduced. Among the most conspicuous industries at this time were gold lacquer work, paper making, and sculpture, the gold lacquer made during this period being known under the name of *Jōdai-mono*, or antique ware. The origin of gold lacquer in Japan is of very ancient date, the art having been practised during the Nara period, in the manufacture of articles for Buddhist temples, and for use at the Imperial Court. It was, however, during the Héian era that the art came to be applied to objects such as swords, bows, inkstone cases, fans, combs, and other articles of female apparel, as well as in house decoration, especially that of the ceilings. Luxurious habits, with their consequent effects upon industries, continued during the long period when the military families of Taira, Minamoto, Hōjō, and Ashikaga became virtual rulers of the empire.

But when Minamoto-no-Yoritomo, founder of the Minamoto Shōgunate, inaugurated his military government at Kamakura

(1184), a complete reaction from the extravagant and luxurious habits of the Taira period set in, and frugality and economy became the motto of the time, the modes of entertainment undergoing complete revolution. During the Taira period the esquires had vied with one another in the ornamentation of their swords, but under the Minamoto *régime* simplicity in taste was more admired, swords of the best workmanship being rather sought for than elegance of exterior ornamentation. Further, in this era, the art of gold lacquer was limited to copying, with slight modifications, models of the Sui and Tang dynasties of China. During the Minamoto period, which synchronized with the Sung dynasty in China, the intercourse between the two countries becoming more frequent, models from the Sung were introduced and applied to our gold lacquer industry. A special feature was thus added to the gold lacquer wares of the Kamakura period, which are now known under that name. The introduction of vermilion designs in relief on lacquer dates from this time, being applied to inkstone boxes, caskets, and Buddhist articles. The Kamakura period.

With the decline of the power of the Hōjō Regents the reins of government passed into the hands of the Emperor at Kyōto, and afterwards into those of the Shōguns of the Ashikaga dynasty (1336), and during the first stage of this period the whole country was convulsed by internal struggles—everything was in a state of confusion, and the industrial craftsmen were scattered all over the country. When, however, Yoshinori, Yoshikatsu, and Yoshimasa came into power, and that of the Ashikaga reached its zenith (in the middle of the fifteenth century), industries revived and flourished. Yoshimasa set up his viceregal residence at Higashiyama, and led a life of luxurious ease in the midst of enchanting scenery ; and it was his custom to invite and entertain the members of the aristocracy there, both Court nobles and military men, displaying to them objects of art, such as scrolls, pictures, and curiosities. He also often held *cha-no-yu* (tea ceremony) parties at his palace, and it was he that first fixed for such entertainments ceremonial rites which serve as models to the present day. He summoned the most skilled experts from all parts of the country, and gave great encouragement to the manufacture of *cha-no-yu* The Ashikaga period.

utensils, gold lacquer wares, lacquer wares, sculpture, and swords. He also imported porcelain, faience, and celadon to be used for the *chà-no-yu* rite, which influenced the Japanese porcelain industry, and gave a stimulus to its development. During the Ashikaga period exclusive privileges were granted to experts, who were domiciled within the domains of Shintō shrines and Buddhist temples. This system was called '*Za*.' By it experts were given a monopoly of manufacturing and selling their wares within certain specified localities, in order to prevent the production of inferior articles.

Characteristics of the Higashiyama period.

The interval covered by the reigns of Yoshimitsu and Yoshimasa, though not more than a century, was therefore very propitious to our industries. The arts and manufactures of the Héian period, which had temporarily declined, were rejuvenated, and those which flourished in the eastern provinces during the reign of the Minamoto Shōguns were transplanted to Kyōto, giving rise to an intermediate school. Moreover, designs and models of articles introduced from China were applied to Japanese manufactures, and a new feature was thereby inaugurated. Products of this era are known as of the Higashiyama period; specimens still extant are held in high esteem.

The next period, namely, that between the middle of the reigns of the Ashikaga Shōguns and the Toyotomi era, when intercourse was first opened with European countries, is also noteworthy for the sending of missions to China and intercourse with the Malay Islands, the result of which was that the arts and manufactures of European countries were introduced into Japan together with those of Occidental settlements in Asia. Not a few among the articles imported at that time served as models for the improvement of our industries, besides revolutionizing the methods of making our weapons of war, and giving a great stimulus to our metal industry. When Nobunaga Oda assumed the virtual powers of state (1574), he extended the system of sending missions to China which had been pursued by the Ashikaga Shōguns, and to that end sea-going vessels of great size were built. Voyages were made to the Malay Islands and Siam, and facilities were granted to Spanish and Portuguese navigators to trade at various seaports in the island

Foreign trade.

The Oda age.

of Kyūshū, and the port of Sakai, in the neighbourhood of Ōsaka, was opened to foreign commerce. Nobunaga also encouraged the porcelain industry in the town of Séto in his native province of Owari, his ambition being to surpass the Chinese in the keramic art. It was he who first introduced the style of Western architecture and fortress construction into Japan, and the *Tenshukaku* (bastion) at the castle of Kiyosu is the first instance of the European system of fortification being adopted.

The Toyotomi age.

Hidéyoshi Toyotomi, when he came into power (1585), adhered to the line of policy pursued by Nobunaga with regard to industries. He issued a proclamation granting the honorary title of 'Foremost in the World' to skilled experts in all branches of industry, the most worthy of mention of which were architecture, gold lacquer work, porcelain, sword making, mask making, turnery, and lacquer work. Upon his completing the pacification of the empire, he built a castle at Ōsaka and palaces at Kyōto and Fushimi, called respectively 'Juraku Mansion' and 'Momoyama Castle.' The new features and improvements thus introduced into our style of architecture are known as the 'Momoyama style' to the present day, new features being introduced in the tiles used, and distinctive designs being adopted in gold lacquer work.

The Momoyama style.

Sword making.

The art of sword making was also greatly encouraged, a distinctly refined and beautiful method of sculpture being developed in the manufacture of sword furniture. Workers in metal now abounded in Kyōto and Fushimi, who were the forerunners of the metal sculptors of Kaga province and the makers of sword ornaments in Yédo, both renowned in the Tokugawa era.

Cha-no-yu.

The manufacture of articles used in the *cha-no-yu* ceremony was still further encouraged, they being regarded in a somewhat similar light to the medals and decorations of the present day, for the veterans of Toyotomi's era considered it more honourable to be rewarded with a *cha-no-yu* vase of noted workmanship for their exploits in the field than to receive territorial domains or decorations. Especially was this the case with the keramic industry. Hitherto, the designs on keramic wares had been mostly of a rich and florid character, but with the prevalence

of the *cha-no-yu* ceremony chaste designs, showing artistic taste, came to be held in esteem. The manufacture of bronze articles was greatly encouraged, and this, again, led to a great improvement in metal casting. The application of gold lacquer to utensils used for the ceremony also assisted that art.

Ship-building.

Hidéyoshi's invasion of Korea, coupled with his encouragement of over-sea navigation, gave a great stimulus to the development of shipbuilding. Chartered vessels, which were granted the special privilege of trading with foreign countries, were built in a mixed style of naval architecture, partly European and partly Japanese, being even provided with cannon for purposes of defence against pirates and possible enemies. They were allowed to trade with Luzon, Annam, Siam, Cambodia, and even as far as India. The dimensions of the ships built at the time were some 54 feet in width and 120 feet in length—leviathans unheard of before in Japan.

Early days of the Tokugawa period.

When Iyéyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa dynasty, established the seat of his military government at Yédo, in 1603, he summoned mechanics and artists, who were scattered in and about Kyōto and Fushimi, to take up their abode at Yédo and engage in branches of industry relating to architecture, articles for ornament and daily use, and implements of war, and there were not a few among the famous experts of the time who answered his summons. But Kyōto had from ancient times been the centre of etiquette and ceremony; strict rules of etiquette were observed there with regard to articles of apparel in daily use, and anything made in contravention of such established rules was regarded as spurious; even when the Tokugawa Shōguns inaugurated a new system, the old forms of etiquette and ceremonial had still to be entirely regulated by the *kugé* (Court nobles) at Kyōto, the *daimyō* (military nobles) not being allowed to have a voice in the matter. The result was that articles of ceremonial, of attire, and any others relating to the old system of etiquette, had to be exclusively made in Kyōto. The geographical position and natural scenery of Kyōto was, in itself, better fitted for the pursuit of such industries, and consequently the craftsmen engaged in them felt little inclination to migrate, some even, when obliged to leave Kyōto, preferring to migrate to the

capital of the *daimyō* of Kaga. This is the reason why, among the descendants of experts patronized by Toyotomi, some were domiciled in Kyōto and its environs, others who emigrated to Kaga served under Lord Mayéda, and a few only who came over to Yédo served under the Tokugawa Shōguns.

When Iyémitsu, third of the dynasty, came into power, he introduced drastic reforms in the system of administration, at the same time giving encouragement to all branches of industry. In 1632 he commenced a series of colossal architectural constructions, for instance Yédo Castle, and the temples at Nikkō and at Shiba (in Yédo). The craftsmen summoned by his predecessors, Iyéyasu and Hidétada, were quite insufficient to meet the requirements of these undertakings, and it became necessary to obtain skilled and competent experts from Kyōto, Fushimi, and other localities for his service. In 1642 the Shōgun's Government issued a proclamation commanding the *daimyō* to provide residences in Yédo, and to repair yearly to the Shōgun's Court from their respective fiefs. Being thus compelled to construct houses in Yédo for their families, the military nobles vied with one another in the magnitude and splendour of their residences and villas. Craftsmen, not only in architecture, but also in other branches of ornamental art, were summoned from the provinces to serve under these *daimyō*, and, being liberally patronized, they became founders of the industries of Yédo. The Kwanyéi and Genroku eras.

At the time of the fifth Shōgun, Tsunayoshi, the whole country had been in a state of undisturbed peace for a number of years; the simple and Spartan habits, characteristic of the *samurai* class, had become almost extinct, and a reactionary period of luxury and indulgence had set in, the former splendours of the Higashiyama era being revived at the Shōgun's palace at Yédo. Together with this change in habits there was also an entire revolution in popular taste, not only as regards articles of apparel and daily use, as well as implements of war, but also in the construction and decoration of houses, the former simple and artistic tastes being replaced by magnificence and splendour, especially in such branches of industry as weaving and dyeing, an entirely new style being introduced in the field of embroidery. The manufactures of this period

are held in high esteem at the present day, and are known as the 'Genroku style.' Not only in articles of dress, but also in gold lacquer wares, lacquer work in general, sculpture, and sword ornaments, this period presents a striking contrast to the Oda and Toyotomi eras, and forms another epoch in the history of Japanese industry, being known under the name of the 'Jōkénindén period,' after the posthumous name of the Shōgun Tsunayoshi.

Encouragement by Yoshimuné.

Yoshimuné, the eighth Shōgun, energetically reformed the various branches of administration, bestowing much encouragement upon industries at the same time, and the *daimyō* also assisted the development of natural resources in their respective domains, especially patronizing industry. All this, however, was insufficient to draw away the industry from Kyōto, for Yédo, the Shōgun's capital, was essentially not an industrial city, though, as a centre of consumption and demand, it far exceeded Kyōto. Moreover, the policy of the Shōgun's government appears to have been directed to encouraging the *daimyō* to inaugurate new industries locally, suitable to their domains, rather than to concentrate industries in such cities as Kyōto and Yédo, the former plan being considered more conducive to the general good. This fact, which had the effect of transforming industry from a purely local into a national affair, must be placed to the credit of the Shōgun's Government of the time.

Last days of the Shōgunate.

The last days of the Shōgunate Government have been dealt with elsewhere. Once the question of the opening up of the country came on the tapis, military and diplomatic matters held the field, and the industries of the country, except those that had to do with the manufacture of arms, entered upon a period of great depression.

II.—The Independent Period

The Restoration.

We have now to consider the state of Japanese industry during the Méiji era, or the years since the Restoration. The industries during this period have been founded mostly on independent lines, the dependent system of the former days having been entirely superseded. With the fall of feudalism and the inauguration of a new *régime* the Méiji Government

effected reforms in old usages, one of the earliest being liberty of trade for the people. The independence of the industrial profession being thus acknowledged, an entirely new era was opened for our industries, a craftsman being now at liberty to select any profession according to his inclination, provided he kept within the limits of law and order. There was no necessity for him to become a member of a trade-guild or union, or to serve any stated number of years as an apprentice. A change from one profession to another might also be freely made, merchants being allowed to become artisans, or agriculturists mechanics. Restraints formerly imposed upon industrial pursuits were abolished, and perfect freedom of action was allowed. Foreign imports, which had been introduced to a most restricted amount in the centuries preceding the Restoration, now advanced with leaps and bounds, and their advent caused great changes in the customs and habits of the Japanese. Occidental styles and fashions came into vogue in the realm of architecture as well as that of articles of apparel. Especially was this the case in 1872, when intense activity was displayed in the introduction of foreign methods. Model factories for silk reeling, spinning, and cement and brick manufacture were established, such as the Tomioka Silk Filature, the Shinmachi Waste Silk Spinning Mill, and others. Experimental factories were set up at Uchi-Yamashita-Chō in the Kōjimachi Ward, and Shin-Ogawa-machi in the Ushigomé Ward of Tōkyō, for the manufacture of soap, printing type, porcelain, faience, and paint. At Taméiké, Akasaka, in Tōkyō, a silk filature, a type manufactory, and a training school for female artisans were set up, in order to investigate and teach new industrial arts and processes. An engineering college (*Kōgakuryō*) on modern lines was established, in which all branches of applied science, such as civil and mechanical engineering, naval architecture, and electrical engineering, were taught.

Effect of foreign exhibitions.

When, in the same year, the Imperial Government gave its sanction to the sending of exhibits to the Great International Exhibition to be held in Vienna, Mr. Shigénobu Ōkuma (afterwards Count), a Minister of State, was appointed President, and Senator Tsunétami Sano (afterwards Count), Vice-President

of the special bureau which was organized on account of the Exhibition. Encouragement was given to producers of art objects and agricultural products to send to the Exhibition, which was held in 1873, and in the following year Vice-President Sano returned to Japan from Europe, bringing back with him samples of piece goods, knitted work, raw materials for dyeing and weaving, and other things, which were exhibited to persons interested in the subject. The mission sent to the Exhibition consisted of over seventy Government officials, and also a German scientist, Dr. Wagner, as adviser, to whom was entrusted the surveillance of a great number of artisans. Some of the most able among the members of the mission were also dispatched to different European countries, to study the various scientific subjects bearing on industry. The result was the introduction of the latest knowledge in all branches, and the importation from abroad of new tools and machines. Again, when the International Exposition for the centenary commemoration of American independence was held at Philadelphia, the Imperial Government took part, in the hope of making known to the nations of the world Japanese arts and manufactures simultaneously with those of the United States. The advantages thus derived were undoubtedly manifold, for while, on the one hand, the exhibitions helped to introduce the latest and most improved appliances used in Western countries into Japan, on the other, with the wide spread of technical education in Japan new industries hitherto unknown there were established. Both the central Imperial Government and the local prefectural governments were most energetic in encouraging new enterprises, and these bore fruit in the opening, in 1877, of an Industrial Exhibition at Uyéno, Tōkyō, the first of the kind ever held in Japan. This sudden and energetic expansion had, on the other hand, the drawback of causing a decline in some of our old industries, which was hardly compensated for by the new ones, which had not as yet had time to become firmly established; but after the repression of the Satsuma rebellion in 1878 a great boom was experienced in industrial circles, enterprises being promoted in all directions. As a result of participation in various international exhibitions held in the great cities of Europe and America, Japanese arts

The first Industrial Exhibition.

and manufactures came to be gradually familiar to the nationalities of the West. A subsidized business, by the name of the '*Kiryū Kōshō Kaisha*,' was established in Tōkyō in 1874, with the special object of exporting Japanese works of art to foreign countries; this company engaged in business with great energy, and materially helped to advertise our gold lacquer wares, metal works, textile fabrics, and keramic products in Western markets.

Government assistance.

The direct result of this new departure was the rejuvenating of old Japanese industries, which had shown signs of decline since the first years of the Méiji era. On the other hand, the Imperial Government took every step necessary for the encouragement of new industries. Model factories were established at considerable expense, samples were brought from foreign countries to serve as samples for Japanese industries, and were also loaned, on application, to the prefectural governments. A meeting of manufacturers was held in order to ventilate the opinions of persons engaged in industry, and regulations for trade associations were issued with the object of harmonizing industrial pursuits and promoting their interests. The system of *crédit mobilier* was inaugurated for the benefit of new enterprises, and spinning mills, established by the Government in Aichi and Hiroshima prefectures, were subsequently sold to the public in order to encourage the development of that industry. The Government induced prefectures to organize local industrial joint exhibitions from time to time, expert judges being commissioned by the central Government in order to encourage material development. Such measures had the salutary effect of rapidly promoting industries which had been inaugurated in the early years of Méiji. The progress thus attained was attested by the Exhibition held in Uyéno Park, in 1885, for the five principal products of Japan.

The Government, having in view the further expansion of new industries and the improvement in old, promulgated, in 1888, regulations relating to patents, designs, and trade-marks, by which patents were granted to persons who invented new and useful tools and machines, or made serviceable improvements in industrial processes, while registration was granted in the case of those who produced new designs, and trade

marks were recognized for the protection of manufactured articles. While the central Government was thus busily engaged in encouraging the development of industries in general, the Imperial Household Department established, in 1890, the institution of Imperial Artists, with the object of encouraging the art industry of Japan. Experts of skill and merit were chosen by Imperial mandate as honorary artists of the Imperial House, such nomination being regarded as a mark of distinction. The Department of Education also established a Fine Art Academy in Uyéno Park, in which both the theory and practice of painting, sculpture, lacquer work, and modelling were taught. This institution, working hand in hand with the technical schools, was largely instrumental in promoting and advancing our industries. Thus, during the period between 1884 and 1893, both the new and the old industries of Japan showed marked development, and industrial enterprises on an extensive scale began to be undertaken on a joint-stock-company basis. After the victorious war with China (1894–95) industrial pursuits in Japan experienced a great boom. A new tendency arose for reorganizing, on a joint-stock basis, industrial concerns which had hitherto been carried on either as individual enterprises or as mere experiments. Moreover, some, entirely new to Japan, were inaugurated on company bases, plants and experts being introduced from abroad. Such industries as cotton spinning, iron works, machine factories, weaving, shipbuilding, *habutaé* manufacture, cotton cloth manufacture, printing, electrical works, brick making, copper and bronze casting, match and straw braid manufacture, &c., were promoted on a company basis, a new era of company floatation being opened in the history of Japanese industry.

Art industry encouraged.

Industrial co-operations.

Taking a general view of the condition of Japanese industries during the period from 1894 to 1903, we find that manufacturers, who had been accustomed to rely entirely upon the Government for support and guidance, came to engage in enterprises on independent lines. At the same time the Government also began to resume the rôle of private enterprise, and to engage in industrial undertakings as one of the means for raising national revenue. Up to this period the manufactured

articles were mostly intended for home consumption, but subsequently they were made with the object of export, either to Oriental or Occidental countries, and to suit the tastes and the changes of fashion in each foreign market. Business men made the tour of the world in order to study the requirements of foreign markets, while others opened a new field for our products in Australia, the Malay Islands, and South America, both of which proceedings tended greatly to extend the over-sea export of our manufactures.

Post-bellum industries.

The restoration of peace after the conclusion of the war between Japan and Russia caused a sudden and intense boom, the prices of bonds and shares rising to an unprecedented height, and the number of new companies promoted being more than a thousand. Several old companies also increased their capital in order to extend their working capacity, whilst the newly promoted ones were either incorporated with other concerns already in working order or were amalgamated for further development. Industrial enterprises on lines similar to the trust system also came into existence for the first time in Japan.

Another feature worthy of special attention was the radical change which took place in the application of motive power. Steam, which alone had been utilized up to that time, was gradually replaced by electric and hydro-electric power, by steam turbines, or by gas engines, for which gas was generated on the spot.

Conclusion.

Looking back over the record of Japanese industries for the past half-century, we find that during the first stage they were conducted entirely under the patronage and guidance of the ruling classes, namely, the central Government in Yédo and the *daimyō* in the provinces, and these enterprises were, as a matter of necessity, on a most limited scale. And no use was made of steam or of electricity, gas or oil engines, as motive power. No factories on such an extensive scale as to be able to meet the demand of the general public were attempted, and nobody dreamt of manipulating apparatus and machinery of every description, and for every variety of manufactures, within a single factory.

Not more than half a century has passed since new industries after European models were planted on Japanese soil, and within

that comparatively short space of time the Japanese nation has not only made immense strides, but has also been able to rejuvenate the old industries, which had been reduced almost to a state of annihilation. Thus the Japanese have succeeded in attaining the rank of the foremost industrial nation in the Orient. What are the underlying causes of this remarkable phenomenon? They are not far to seek, being assuredly the admirably opportune measures adopted by the Imperial Government for the guidance and protection of our national industries, coupled with the indomitable energy with which the people succeeded in assimilating into one harmonious whole the arts and manufactures of the East and West; the nation's burning ambition to benefit by the application of advanced sciences, holding up before them the services which technical education would render to the cause.

Technical education.

Technical education on a systematic basis was inaugurated by the establishment of the Engineering College (*Kōgakuryō*, afterwards changed to *Kōgakkō*, and then to *Kōbu-Daigakkō*) by the Department of Public Works in 1872, and by the reorganization of the Faculty of Applied Sciences in the Tōkyō *Kaiséi Gakkō* (predecessor of the Tōkyō University). At present, as the highest branch of technical education, there are the Faculty of Engineering in the Imperial University of Tōkyō and the Faculty of Science and Engineering in the University of Kyōto. The Tōkyō Artisans College, which was first established in 1881, underwent gradual development, and its status has been elevated to that of Higher Technical School at present. Higher Technical Schools have since been established in the cities of Ōsaka, Kumamoto, Kyōto, and Nagoya by the Government, and besides these there are, at present, thirty-four Technical Schools of secondary grade, and seventy-two Artisans Schools for ordinary technical education throughout the country. According to the latest census, the number of students attending these institutions are as follow: In the Faculty of Engineering at the different Universities, 900; in the Higher Technical Schools, about 2000; and in ordinary Technical Schools, 8000. The thousands of young men who have received technical educations at these institutions, both governmental and private, are now actively engaged in various

branches of industry all over the country—a fact which has doubtless greatly contributed to the present flourishing condition of the industrial world. But the Japanese people must not by any means rest satisfied with the success hitherto gained, but must exert every nerve for the further advancement and development of their industries.

XXIII

JAPANESE INDUSTRIES: WEAVING AND DYEING

JIMBÉI KAWASHIMA, ARTIST TO THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD

Weaving in the mythical age.

THE origin of the manufacture of textile fabrics in Japan may be traced back to very remote ages, for the industry was already in existence several hundred years before the foundation of the Empire. This statement is borne out by the fact that, even in that nebulous age, there were silks, and also woven fabrics, called *usumono*, *nigitaé*, *aratáé*, and *yufu*, while Amatérasu Ōmikami herself practised weaving. Much later, in 283 A.D., in the reign of the Emperor Ōjin, the Prince of Kudara, one of the three separate States forming ancient Korea, sent over to this country a tailoress, Matsugé, by way of tribute. A steady influx of Chinese, who were naturalized, subsequently took place, and these were distributed among various provinces and employed in the work of rearing silkworms and weaving silk cloth. In 470 A.D. the Emperor Yūryaku sent for more Chinese weavers, and in the following year ninety-two groups of naturalized Chinamen were collected and placed under the control of one Hata-no-Sakénokimi, who was charged with the task of developing the weaving industry in the country. A year later an Imperial rescript was promulgated throughout the empire, encouraging the planting of mulberry trees and calling for a tribute of silk and cotton. Moreover, the chiefs of the *Kuréhatori* and *Ayahatori* (class-names given to the naturalized weavers) were made overseers of the weaving industry in general. It is also recorded that the Imperial Consort attended in person to textile weaving. Weaving bureaus were established under the Emperor Kōtōku, which were charged with the task of supervising the

Introduction of the Korean and Chinese art of weaving.

production of textile fabrics. About 590 A.D., Prince Shōtoku, son of the Empress Suiko, a devout disciple of Buddhism in the early days of its introduction, commenced his memorable task of founding magnificent temples, while grand religious ceremonies were frequently held at his instance, circumstances which naturally led to the importation of rich and artistic fabrics from India and China. These were extensively used for decorating temples, and for making robes and various other ceremonial requisites. Some of these are still preserved in the Shōsōin at Nara, and form part of the national treasures; they are so exquisite, both in design and colour, that they may well be prized as masterpieces of the world's art. With the spread of Buddhism and the consequent progress in architecture and various branches of art, the productions of the loom became more and more grandiose and refined. In 711 A.D. a number of *chōbunshi* (teachers of the art of weaving figured fabrics) were distributed among the different provinces by the Empress Gwammyō, in order to teach the people the art of weaving figured brocade (*aya-nishiki*), and the removal of the capital to Kyōto by the Emperor Kwammu in 794 A.D. led to the construction of a new Imperial Palace, which was profusely decorated with different sorts of rich brocades. Stately mansions of the nobles also sprang up everywhere, and the demand for rich fabrics grew at a rapid rate, the weaving business thriving under the patronage of the time. How fine weaving was thus stimulated may be gathered from the fact that, whilst the Government weaving workshops were engaged in the making of brocade and other rich silk stuffs, a prohibitory decree was promulgated throughout the country against the production of coarse textiles.

Buddhism and textile fabrics.

Imperial Household encourages the weaving industry.

But this prosperity was soon to wither under the blight of one civil war after another, retrogressive influences which continued to paralyze the industry till the time of Yoritomo (1147–99), who restored order in the country and established the Shōgunate at Kamakura. During the lull that ensued, weaving recovered its former activity, fabrics being used not only for costumes but also for the decoration of armour. During the Ashikaga Shōgunate, which lasted for nearly two centuries from the middle of the fourteenth century, luxurious

Kamakura epoch.

Ashikaga age.

and extravagant ways took hold of the nation, with the result that the *Cha-no-yu*, or art of tea-making—that source of many of our fine arts—flourished and stimulated a taste for refined and chaste products of art among the people. As a matter of course, this gave rise to an increasing demand for fabrics, Kyōto and the provinces of Nagato and Isé being the principal centres of supply. At the same time, Portuguese and Spanish merchantmen carried to Japan woven goods from Europe, China, India, and the Malay Islands, and these greatly assisted in bringing about various technical improvements in weaving. Subsequently, the country was again involved in the distraction of civil wars, only to be relieved when the Taikō Hidéyoshi (1536–98) came to power, having subjugated all the hostile clans throughout the land. Work on the famous castle of Ōsaka and the magnificent mansion of Juraku was soon started by him, while, on the other hand, several industries that had dwindled into insignificance were resuscitated. As this great warrior and statesman was given to selecting fabrics and objects of fine art as presents for his generals, the industries in general received much encouragement.

Hidéyoshi patronizes the weaving industry.

The establishment of the Tokugawa Shōgunate at Yédo, now Tōkyō, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, laid the foundation of general peace for the country, which continued until just before the Restoration. During this long period feudal lords freely indulged in extravagant habits, vying with each other, for instance, in acquiring, no matter at what cost, the valuable products of Europe and such Asiatic countries as India, Turkey, and Persia, carried to Nagasaki by Dutch traders. Especially during the Genroku era (1688–1703), when the Tokugawa regency attained the zenith of its prosperity, gay and fascinating fashions prevailed among all classes, just as was the case during the reign of Louis XIV of France. This tendency naturally encouraged the manufacture of fine artistic objects. Indeed, the woven and dyed fabrics as well as embroideries turned out in those times still excite universal admiration. Cotemporaneously rites and ceremonials were brought to such perfection that articles required for the purpose were of necessity carried to a state of still greater finish and elaboration. Especially so was this the case with

Tokugawa *régime.*

Age of luxury.

fabrics for priestly robes and dancing-costumes, weavers emulating each other in producing stuffs of as fine quality as possible. With the progress of years, this tendency reached such an alarming pitch that the authorities of the Shōgunate Government deemed it necessary to issue, on several occasions, severe sumptuary regulations with the object of prohibiting luxury and forbidding the use of silk fabrics. These artificial means, however, proved quite powerless before the overwhelming tide of popular taste, so that the weaving industry at Nishijin in Kyōto and several other places continued to thrive.

Prohibition of luxury.

With the advent of the Méiji era a fresh reign of peace began, and the Government, now established on firm bases, consistently followed the policy of encouraging business enterprises, having themselves started several model works. Weaving was one of those which received warm protection and encouragement from the authorities, who have since had their full reward, there being now practically no town of any pretension throughout the country but has its own plantation of mulberry trees and its own looms in ceaseless operation. In addition, various exhibitions, both at home and abroad, as well as the commercial museums established by the Government, assisted the weavers, enabling them to observe the stage of development their industry had attained and to compare each other's manufactures to their mutual benefit. In these favourable circumstances Nishijin acquired greater importance than ever as the weaving centre. The output of figured fabrics, crape, *habutaé*, *tsuzuré-no-nishiki*, &c., turned out there, besides supplying the demand at home, have since the opening of the country to foreign commerce reached as exports considerable figures, while shirtings and cotton flannel are also sent out to the different Oriental countries in no less quantities. Further, although the cotton yarns and cloth, as well as woollen goods imported from abroad since the opening of the country, have reached enormous dimensions, the demand for home fabrics has scarcely been affected. The fact is that the imported cotton cloth, though it can be used as a substitute for the home product, is comparatively weak, and wears out sooner than the other. As for woollen fabrics, they have supplanted cotton rather than silk cloth, so that the latter has continued to enjoy as

Méiji era.

Recent progress.

Exportation and importation of textile fabrics.

active a market as ever. What is still more satisfactory is that, thanks to the adoption of machinery and the ever-increasing skill of our weavers, the shirtings, muslin, and woollen fabrics, now produced in this country, are able successfully to compete with foreign products, the importation of which is decreasing, whilst our exportation is increasing, year by year.

Causes of Development

I will now treat of the causes that have brought about the development of our weaving industry. These are:

1. *National Ceremonials.*—The national ceremonies that bear an important relation to the weaving industry may be broadly divided into two, viz. *Yūshoku* and *Gishiki*. *Yūshoku*, a name originally given to the study of ancient institutions and formalities, means, in its later application, prescribed usages with regard to the dresses worn by their Imperial Majesties and persons on duty at Court or in possession of court rank, as well as the furniture used by them. To speak more exactly, the costumes of officials differed in point of material, colouring, and ornamental figuring, according to their respective ranks, while the woven fabrics used at the Palace, such as the curtains for the Throne and other hangings of the kind, were never allowed to overstep the limits laid down in the regulations. The *Gishiki*, or ceremonials, include State ceremonies observed on the occasion of the Imperial accessions to the Throne, the coronation festival, &c., and minor formalities connected with Imperial excursions, poetical meetings, foot-ball matches, &c. Above all, the marriage ceremony is one which has engaged the most careful attention of all classes of the nation. Thus each ceremonious occasion had its prescribed dresses, and this fact exerted a powerful influence on the development of the art of manufacturing valuable fabrics.

State ceremonials.

2. *Decorations of Temples and Shrines and Priestly Robes.*—From ancient times the Shintō shrines in Japan have had their peculiar decorations, each planned with a view to maintain the dignity of their functions. On the occasions of their annual festivals especially, they were embellished at great cost, while

Religious decorations.

every kind of costly fabric was used for the attire of those who escorted the *mikoshi* (portable tabernacle) through the streets in procession. One of the most typical processions was the Gion festival at Kyōto, in which gobelins from France, imported towards the latter half of the sixteenth century, and many master-works of looms, both domestic and foreign, were lavishly made use of for the decoration of the sacred spears carried by the richly dressed escort of the *mikoshi*. Turning to Buddhism, we see two factors at work, which helped the weaving industry on to prosperity. One was the gradual increase in the number of great temples founded; and the other, the custom that once prevailed among the princes of the Imperial Blood and the sons of the nobles, of being ordained as priests. These facts naturally led to the use of costly fabrics for decoration and ritual. Of all the sacerdotal equipment, for instance, none was set so much store by as the *késa*, or scarf. Weavers were readily paid a large sum of money for a single suit made of fine material interwoven with gold and silver threads.

Dresses for musical dancing.

3. *Music.*—Music had already begun to play a conspicuous part in court ceremonies more than a thousand years ago, and between the middle of the eleventh and twelfth centuries there came into vogue among the people the *Dengaku*, musical and dancing performances. Later, they were superseded by the *Sarugaku* or *Nō* performances. Such high personages as Hidéyoshi appeared in these, and his example was followed by the *daimyō* who held fiefs under him. In these circumstances *Nō* costumes were in great demand among the feudal lords, who purchased them at any cost, and it is known that the more fanciful of them drew their own designs for the dancing garb, and had them specially manufactured at Nishijin. A kind of dramatic play called *Kabuki* then came into being, which, though vulgar as compared with the *Nō*, likewise gave rise to a large demand for rich fabrics, thereby exerting on the weaving industry a marked influence.

Ornamentation of war attire.

4. *Martial Attire.*—The Japanese warriors of old gave expression to their fine sense of art by means of martial attire, and it is no wonder that, when determined to die a heroic death in a manner worthy of being sung of by posterity, they would array themselves as elegantly as possible. Such being the

case, *Yamato-nishiki*, *tsuzuré-no-nishiki* (both a kind of brocade), and other costly fabrics interwoven with gold and silver threads or wrought with embroideries, were extensively used in the ornamentation of armour, helmets, *jinbaori* (a kind of coat worn over the armour), *hitataré* (a long flowing garment), *kariginu* (originally a kind of hunting dress worn by nobles), sword-pouches, banners, &c. But warlike attire was not the sole object of attention on the part of the military, for they dressed themselves gaily on occasions of merry-making.

Tea ceremonials.

5. *Cha-no-yu.*—The *Cha-no-yu*, or the art of tea-making, sprang into prominence about the middle of the fifteenth century and rapidly spread throughout the country. Being originally born of the ascetic conception of the Zen sect of Buddhism, the practice was at first chiefly confined to hermit monks. But it soon found ardent votaries from among the august Imperial princes down to educated and fashionable communities in the country, and this peculiar custom became an indispensable social function. One of the benefits of the art, which recommended itself in a warlike age, was that the tea pavilions could be used for secret councils with less chance of exciting suspicion than any other place. Absence of strict formalities was another advantage of the *Cha-no-yu*, which thus served as a medium of intercourse between the higher and lower classes. Gorgeous and dazzling colouring is not necessarily the essence of fine art. As the adage says, 'Of all figures the circle is the most polygonal.' So it is with the *Cha-no-yu*. Though the practice looks insipid and uninteresting as far as outward appearances go, yet inwardly it has a deep significance. If, again, it seems to be fastidious about trifles, it nevertheless conforms with the established rules of propriety, and is never marred by seeming incongruities. Hence to one uninitiated in the art it is not easy to give an intelligible explanation concerning its intrinsic value. So I shall here simply set down an outline of the effects the *Cha-no-yu* had on costumes, food, and dwellings. To speak first of the last, good specimens of the *Cha-no-yu* architecture are supplied by the Shūgakuin Detached Palace at Kyōto, the Katsura-no-Ochaya, the Kinkakuji and the Ginkakuji built by the Ashikaga Shōgunate, and the Juraku Mansion of Hidéyoshi, as also the gardens attached to

Simplicity the essence of the *Cha-no-yu*.

the residences of court nobles, *daimyō*, and temples. The architecture of these buildings, with their rooms fancifully decorated, their tasteful furniture, and their gardens, with trees, stones, fountains, &c., arranged in artistic style, speak volumes for the high taste with which they were planned. At entertainments of nobles, receptions of guests, and even in the general intercourse of the common people, the tea ceremony was regarded as a mark of friendship. Under these circumstances, the dresses specially worn on the occasion of tea-making, the fine *kakémono*, painted hung scrolls in the *toko-no-ma* or alcove, the covering of the tea-jars, the *fukusa* or silk cloth for wrapping up the utensils, and other fabrics, all bear unmistakable marks of laborious and elaborate design. Consequently even a small piece of some of these fabrics is now not infrequently valued at an incredible sum. Moreover, the fact that these woven stuffs and works of art required by the *Cha-no-yu* were given by the Emperors and Shōgun as prizes for their subjects or presents to their guests, constituted another strong stimulus to the development of the weaving industry. Not a few relics of these fabrics show such refined taste that the weavers of the present day hardly attempt to reproduce them. These masterpieces of the loom owed their existence to various professors of the *Cha-no-yu* who gave directions to the weavers as regards texture, colouring, designs, &c., and many of those stuffs are known to this day by the names of these craftsmen.

Influence of the *Cha-no-yu* on woven fabrics.

6. *Manners and Customs of the Common People.*—These also bore an important relation to the development of the weaving industry. For this there were various reasons. First, even the common people did not neglect to observe rites and ceremonies in their own way, these customs being especially conspicuous in regard to garments then worn. They had full dress, intermediate dress, and informal dress, not to mention the ordinary uses to which their ceremonial garments were put. Even servants attired themselves in a manner befitting the occasion, though naturally in more informal dress. Marriage, as being one of the greatest ceremonies in life, demanded, within a reasonable limit according to one's station in society, an unusual outlay in ornaments and elaborate garments. No

Manners and customs observed by the common people.

particular usage regulated the use of ordinary informal costume, and this absence of etiquette supplied to some circles an excuse for indulging in extravagant and luxurious tastes, and for donning garments made of fabrics vying in costliness and in elaborate design with those of olden times. So also the singing girls and dancing girls, who made it their business to wait on wealthy people on occasions of feasts, dressed so as to brighten the entertainment. These goddesses of gaiety, from professional requirements, had to attire themselves in gorgeous garments, and not infrequently set a fashion to ordinary people. Thus the *Daté* style, popular at the time of Hidéyoshi (Daté was a great *daimyō*, and from his habit of dressing in gorgeous costume the noun *daté*, meaning 'gay appearance,' originated), and the fashions prevailing during the Genroku era (1688–1703) of the Tokugawa Shōgunate, were both characterized, among other features, by resplendent attire, and naturally created a demand for superb fabrics, highly finished in texture and elaborate in design. The *obi*, sashes worn by women, being well fitted for female adornment, always exerted a powerful influence on the production of high-grade fabrics. In olden days the *obi* was very narrow, but it gradually gained in width, the better to answer the purpose of decoration, till to-day it has reached to over a foot. In texture, design, hue, &c., the *obi* demands of weavers most elaborate finish, so that naturally they are led to emulate one another in producing stuffs such as may satisfy the fastidious taste of their patrons.

Government protection of the weaving industry.

7. *Protection by the Government.*—As already described in the preceding part of this chapter, the Imperial Court did much to encourage the art of weaving by various means, such as engaging experts from China, founding weaving shops, and establishing a special office to supervise the weaving industry. Venerable priests or learned scholars, who crossed to China or India with the pious desire of seeking the true doctrines, frequently brought home specimens of superb foreign fabrics which gave a powerful stimulus to the development of the weaving art in Japan. This policy of protection and encouragement was also adopted later by the military regents. Thus, during the sway of the Ashikaga Shōgunate, liberal protection was accorded to industries of all descriptions, and the feudal

daimyō, who held fiefs under that Shōgunate, granted monopolies to approved weavers residing in the respective fiefs, or to proprietors of weaving establishments situated therein, in order to arrest the competition of others. Hidéyoshi conferred titles of honour on master craftsmen, bid them produce art objects in their own respective lines, and very frequently took measures to foster the growth of these arts in the provinces. The Tokugawas, and, in imitation of them, the various *daimyō*, went so far as to establish official weaving shops to furnish models of excellence in the manufacture of raw silk and of woven stuffs, in order, on the one hand, to prevent the production of inferior goods, and on the other, to encourage the development of the industry.

Effects of foreign intercourse.

8. *Opening of the Country to Foreign Intercourse.*—Since the country was thrown open to foreign intercourse, and the various restrictions previously enforced were removed, it has become free for any weaver to produce the figured silk goods that were formerly reserved as a monopoly granted to the Nishijin weavers; and the total abolition of the caste system, and the consequent disappearance of the old strict usages about habiliments proper to special ranks, were followed by the appearance of luxurious manners throughout the country, especially as the scale of living was considerably raised. For, with improved facilities of communication, and travelling made incomparably easier and less expensive, it was natural that fashions prevailing in the principal cities should rapidly reach even remote villages, and that even clowns and rustic maidens should be infected with the manners of the more polished citizens of urban districts. The introduction, too, of Western fashions in clothing, in the style of buildings, and so forth, both to town and country, has in no small degree affected ceremonial and ordinary costumes, and eventually the weaving industry in general.

Origin of the name of Nishijin.

9. *The Weaving Industry at Nishijin.*—The weaving industry at Nishijin, Kyōto, dates from the latter part of the eighth century, but it was from about the middle of the fifteenth that the industry began to be called by its present name. At that period Kyōto was a scene of a protracted fighting, known as the Civil War of Ōnin, between the hostile forces of the Hosokawa and Yamana clans, one of which was encamped in the

eastern and the other in the western part of the city. The Yamana clan occupied the latter, hence the origin of the name *Nishi-Jin*, meaning 'west camp.' From olden days weaving at Nishijin seemed to have been practically directed to producing fabrics to be used in government, and not in ordinary use. The weavers, who were regularly commissioned to supply stuffs to the Imperial Court, were granted titles of honour and were considered as belonging to the regular staff of Court officials. Small wonder that these official weavers did not spare time and labour in their efforts to produce stuffs of masterly workmanship. It was only some three centuries ago that the Nishijin weavers began to turn out goods for the general market. Figured fabrics, as incidentally mentioned before, were a monopoly of these weavers and were forbidden to be made elsewhere.

Characteristics of Nishijin fabrics.

Kyōto, having long enjoyed the honour of being the fountain-head of art in Japan, used to supply other places with art products of various descriptions. Persons occupying exalted rank, the magnates and millionaires of the country, invariably made it a rule to give orders to Kyōto, whenever they wanted valuable textiles, and Kyōto, stimulated and encouraged by this patronage, spared no pains to produce articles of such taste and workmanship as should give satisfaction to its noble and wealthy customers. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the fame of the Nishijin looms should have increased ever since the throwing open of the country to foreign intercourse, and since the weavers have adopted whatever improvements they found in the weaving industry of Europe and America. At present Nishijin produces, as it did formerly, the higher finished fabrics for use at the Imperial Court, besides brocades, satin, figured stuffs of various kinds, silk crapes, *habutaé*, and many others.

Kyōto the centre of fine arts.

10. *Weaving throughout the Country.*—As Japan was originally, as is still the case though to a less extent, an agricultural country, farmers were the dominant class, so far as numbers were concerned. They raised cotton, spun yarns, and wove stuffs, both for their own use and for sale in the market. The woven goods, produced in that way by farmers' wives and daughters, varied much in texture and quality according to

Japan naturally favourable to the weaving industry.

localities, cotton goods being produced in some, and silk goods in others, while still others were noted for linen stuffs. Thus weaving in each district had its own peculiar feature, which is still retained in most cases. To mention some of the famous textile products in various weaving districts, we have silk crape at Nagahama, Shiga Prefecture; various silk and cotton stuffs at Ashikaga in Tochigi Prefecture, and Kiryū and Isézaki in Gumma Prefecture; *kaiki* silk in Yamanashi Prefecture; a thick silk stuff, known as *sendai-hira*, for gentlemen's skirts in Miyagi Prefecture; *yonézawa* silk goods in Yamagata Prefecture; silk and cotton goods at Hachiōji in Tōkyō Prefecture; thick stuff for *obi*, called *Hakata-ori*, in Fukuoka Prefecture; elegant hempen goods, called *jōfu*, in Niigata Prefecture, and *hachijō* silk fabrics in the Hachijō Islands in the Province of Izu. Cotton-silk-mixed goods, that had previously been very much in vogue, have acquired greater popularity with the introduction of foreign-spun yarns, for though they do not stand wear as well as coarser yarns formerly produced at home, they look better in finish.

Famous textile products in various districts.

Weaving factories established with the joint capital of persons interested, and employing a large number of operatives, who use looms of Western style, began to make their appearance throughout the country upon its opening to foreign intercourse. In 1871 International Exhibitions were held in the United States of America and in Austria, greatly to the encouragement of the exhibiting weavers of Kyōto, most of whom had the honour of receiving high awards. This was the first time that the productions of our looms were publicly exhibited in foreign lands. In 1874, when an exhibition was opened in Kyōto, Jacquard looms, Battan looms, *Ayaosi* looms (damask weaving machine), and *hirohaba-kanaosa* (wide-width metallic combs) which were imported from France, were exhibited. These were the first foreign weaving machines that Japan had ever seen. Soon afterwards a weaving school, having for teachers the men who had studied the art in Europe, was started. At present the higher technological schools, which have the study of weaving and dyeing in their curriculum, are the Kyōto Higher Industrial Art School and the Higher Technological Schools in Tōkyō and Ōsaka. Besides, there are

Introduction of foreign looms.

many common weaving and dyeing schools in the most important silk-producing districts of our country. But it must not be concluded that this new innovation has been followed by the disappearance of the domestic spinning industry, for the durability of the latter's goods, as compared with the produce of power looms, has enabled the former to retain a steady market.

All our weaving factories now use as motor power, water, steam, or electricity, and the availability of these agencies, it need hardly be added, has immensely developed the producing capacity of our weaving industry.

Advance on technical side.

Such is, shortly, a description of the origin and development of the weaving industry of Japan. The technical side of this business has been carried to such a standard of excellence that in Kyōto, for instance, magnificent stuffs, measuring as much as twenty to thirty feet in width, can now be turned out. In design, too, the grace of the patterns and the elegance of the colour combinations show thoroughly Japanese taste. To such masterly perfection has this art been carried that any picture can be reproduced in weaving, especially in that kind of weaving for which Kyōto artisans are celebrated, namely, the *tsuzuré-ori*, in which all the chiaroscuro, all the delicacy of touch or boldness of stroke of the original picture, are faithfully reproduced at will with threads, while retaining at the same time the grace peculiar to the *tsuzuré* stuffs. The quantity of thread and other materials required for this art of weaving at present amounts to as much as eleven million catties a year, with the prospect of still further increase.

Dye stuffs.

The dye stuffs formerly used were chiefly the boiled juice of vegetable roots, flowers, and fruits. Since the opening of the country to foreign intercourse the field of dyeing has been immensely widened, while the time required in the process has been shortened. Such being the case, the dyeing repertoire of a high-grade weaver's shop represents all shades of hues, the weavers of Kawashima fabrics in Kyōto, for instance, distinguishing as many as 4000 varieties.

Spinning industry.

Turning to the kindred business of spinning, we find the progress to have been equally remarkable. In 1906 1,425,000 spindles were in operation, and cotton yarns coming from

those spindles amounted to over 46,000,000 *kan* (*kan*= 8·267 lb. avoir.). Japan produced in 1906 over 210,000,000 *yen* worth of woven goods, with operatives numbering above 792,000, and weaving establishments, including individual households engaged in this industry, totalling up to more than 463,000.[1]

The following goods of a similar nature were produced in 1906:

	Amount. *Tan.*	Value. *Yen.*
Habutaé (silk tissues) . .	6,017,000	40,472,000
Kaiki ,, . .	672,000	3,504,000
Crapes	1,555,000	11,969,000
Cotton goods . . .	98,784,000	65,348,000
Cotton flannel . . .	2,961,000	13,726,000

[1] For other statistics see Chap. XX, p. 481.

XXIV

JAPANESE INDUSTRIES: AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY

THE LATE TSUNÉAKI SAKŌ, D.AGR. (JAPAN)

I.—AGRICULTURE

Japanese myths concerning agriculture.

IN order even to outline the present conditions of agriculture in Japan, it is necessary that we should take a brief survey of the history of this industry. Concerning its origin there are many interesting traditions handed down. It is said that Ukémochi-no-kami (the god of food) first planted the rice plant, which sprang out of his own body, in a wet field, and the seeds of millet, panicum, wheat, and beans in a dry field; that there came into existence in like manner cattle, horses, and silkworms; that Amatérasu Ōmikami had some rice seeds planted in *ama-ro-sada-nagata* (heavenly, narrow, and long fields), which yielded in autumn eight sheaves of fine rice with hanging ears; and, finally, that the art of filature was invented and first practised by the same goddess, who held the cocoons in her mouth to moisten them and then spun silk. These legends are characteristic of the aborigines who inhabited the insular and mountainous parts of Japan, and who, as was but natural, obtained their food rather by hunting and fishing than by agriculture. But the Yamato tribe, who peopled the main island, far superior to the others in power and number, lived chiefly on rice, which they raised in irrigated fields in the same way as is usually done in the southern part of Asia. They took comparatively little thought for products of upland farms, and as for stock farming, so common among the northern districts of the continent, they knew nothing of it,

Rice the principal staple.

except as regards breeding and training such domestic animals (oxen and horses) as were necessary to their food-earning labour. In addition to silk spun from the cocoons of silk-worms, the fibres of the paper mulberry and hemp were also made into cloth, as may be easily inferred from the surviving names of ancient stuffs, such as *nigitaé* (fine hemp cloth), *aratáé* (coarse hemp cloth), and *yufu* (paper-mulberry cloth). The time when these very useful plants were first raised in Japan undoubtedly dates very far back, for history tells us that, in the reign of the Emperor Jimmu, some persons belonging to the class of people called *tokibé* were removed from their native place, the district of Oumi (which means twisting and joining the threads of hemp together) in Awa Province, Shikoku, to the *Bandō* (or eastern districts), in order that they might teach the inhabitants there how to raise hemp in their own soil. This immigration resulted in the establishment of two new provinces, *Awa* (named after the newcomers' native province) and *Fusa* (which means hemp).

Irrigation in early days.

In the days when people depended for their food mainly, if not entirely, upon the rice crop raised in wet fields, it is no wonder that irrigation was thought much of, and that any act affecting its proper working, as, for example, drawing off the water kept in a reservoir, or filling up a ditch for conducting water to a rice field, was regarded as penal. To excavate ponds and ditches for irrigation, indeed, formed a most impo rtant Government business in the agricultural districts of the country. Among others the Emperor Nintoku succeeded in greatly improving the system of rice-field irrigation throughout the provinces of Kawachi and Settsu, as well as in constructing an excellent harbour at Naniwa in the latter province; and the populousness of the provinces adjoining Kyōto, the ancient capital, is to be attributed not so much to the attractions of a large and flourishing city as to this great improvement, which made the soil exceedingly fertile.

Farming in olden times.

In the time of the Emperor Ōjin some naturalized Koreans skilled in the art of sericulture were sent by the Government to the various provinces to improve the method of raising the worms as then pursued by the natives. The art developed in consequence, and in a few generations became a most important

part of the business of farming. New methods of cultivating the soil gradually made their way into the insular empire from China and Korea about the same time; and by the seventh century people were using water-wheels for irrigation in various places, milking cows and drinking the milk as a medicine, and keeping bees for honey. The irrigated fields around the capital having been practically perfected, and little room being left for further improvement, the Empress Jitō in the latter part of the seventh century turned her attention exclusively to the cultivation of upland fields, which she greatly encouraged, though her efforts were destined not to meet with so much success as had attended the case of wet fields.

Encouragement of agriculture in early days.

In the period of time generally known by the name of 'Nara Court' (the eighth century) the Government was dependent for its revenue almost entirely upon agriculture. Accordingly the raising of cereals in wet and dry fields, the breeding and rearing of domestic animals, and the planting of mulberry trees for sericulture, were made much of and officially commended to all farmers. Iron-ores were mined to make farming implements, the resulting profits being appropriated to pay the salaries of Government officials, and to place untilled plains under cultivation. All through the Middle Ages the chief aim of farming appears to have been the supply of food for the numerous warriors who established themselves in various parts of the empire, and who were engaged in constant warfare with one another, but who realized that military strength depended for the most part on efficiency in the business of farming. Hence the combatants generally encouraged agriculture, and kept domestic animals from being stolen or destroyed by marauders, and farmers were able to cultivate their fields in comparative peace despite the warlike age in which they lived.

In the time of the Tokugawa Shōgunate several important innovations were introduced in agriculture. Among others a new method (called the *Nimō-Saku*) of cultivating rice in patches irrigated for the purpose, and the establishment of cotton and tea manufactories, are noteworthy. The era of Tembun (the middle of the sixteenth century), when intercourse with Western countries commenced, saw the importation

of seeds of the *haji* tree from which wax is made, the sugar-cane, the tobacco plant, and the sweet potato, although there is little doubt that the development of agriculture in all its branches showed a tendency to decline under the *régime* of the Shōgunate. For the principle of interference was carried to excess in regard to economical activities. Nothing but certain prescribed kinds of crops could be raised by the farmers. Patches of land once registered as irrigated fields were under no circumstances allowed to be used for any other purposes. To make matters worse, the estate of each feudal lord had certain crops raised at his command, without consideration whether or not the soil was suited to their cultivation, whilst the method of cultivating and fertilizing the soil was kept strictly secret in the locality itself. There also existed among the various feudal estates great differences, not only in government, manners, and customs, but also in the development of agriculture. The Ōshū districts, for example, were especially noted for their excellence in sericulture, Aizu for its lacquer, the provinces of Hizén, Higo, Chikuzén, and Chikugo for their vegetable wax, Satsuma and Bungo for their green matting, Sanuki for its cane sugar, and Bingo for its rush matting. Taxes pressed heavily on the farmer, and their imposition was most unequal. Artificial limits, too, were fixed to the multiplication of the population, and goods were not allowed to be transported out of the place where they had been produced. Farmers, who had no opportunity of inspecting other parts of the country, in consequence attached too much importance to the land they lived on, and felt little necessity to better their condition. All these things conspired to prevent the business of farming from making any considerable progress.

Agriculture in the Tokugawa *régime*.

But although agriculture, in the time of the Tokugawa Shōgunate, laboured under so many drawbacks, the peace enjoyed for hundreds of years under the Shōgun's Government could not be altogether unfavourable to agricultural development. Especially was this the case with the planting of seeds in soil best suited to their cultivation, which art of selection may be truly said to have reached a stage of perfection compared with that of other departments of the business of farming as it was then conducted.

Agricultural books in the Tokugawa days.

Towards the middle of the Tokugawa era books on agriculture began to appear, of which the '*Hyakushō Denki*' and the '*Nōgyō Zensho,*' written in the era of Genroku, were the first. Some were widely read: for instance, those written by Eijō Ōkura and Shin-en Satō. It is to be noticed, however, that these early works were nothing more than records of the agricultural affairs found in the various provinces, accompanied by appendices written after the Chinese system. It was not until after a few writers, such as Ōkura and Satō, had exhibited their scientific knowledge derived from European books that modern agriculture began to make progress in the true sense of the word.

The Restoration.

During the short space of the last fifty years many wonderful changes have taken place in the field of agriculture. Shortly before the advent of the Méiji era ownership of land was granted to the people, who were released at the same time from the operation of the edict prohibiting its sale, and the restriction as to crops to be raised in particular places; freedom was given to everyone to follow any trade or business he pleased; and the Government policy of interfering with agriculture was entirely abandoned. All these innovations naturally led to the betterment of the condition of farmers at large. It cannot be denied that, in consequence of the general impoverishment of the agricultural classes who had been kept under for so long a time, some farm products, such as cotton, cane sugar, and indigo, were very much inferior in quality to those imported from foreign countries, and were beaten by the latter in competition; but it is equally undeniable that agriculture was greatly encouraged by the opening of over-sea markets for raw silk, tea, rice, and other staple products of the land.

Government policy of encouraging agriculture in the early years of Méiji.

In the early days after the Restoration the Government policy of encouraging agriculture was to introduce in great haste as many novelties as possible from Europe and America. Foreign roots and seeds were imported in large quantities, farming implements from the West were purchased for trial, experimental stations of agriculture, and model filatures, were established in various places, and vineyards and olive trees were planted. The actual condition of agriculture, however, was not then advanced enough to be benefited by these official

efforts, and not a few of them were dropped before long, in consequence of popular objection to official interference with affairs which chiefly concerned the people and should therefore be left to them. In this way the business of farming remained without improvement for a time, although it was destined to develop rapidly under the influence of the advance of civilization, as well as in obedience to the exigencies of the times.

Application of scientific knowledge.

Of all modern improvements in agriculture the most notable is undoubtedly the scientific knowledge now ready to hand for farmers. The Sapporo Agricultural School was established in Hokkaidō by the Government in 1876, whilst in 1877 a similar institution, the Komaba Agricultural School, was set up in Tōkyō, these being the beginnings of agricultural education in Japan. They have proved of great benefit to the agricultural classes in general. From that time onward agricultural schools of different grades have appeared in succession throughout the country, and their graduates have contributed largely, by scientific research and practical example, to diffuse the methods of applying science to the business of farming throughout the empire.

Table of four important staple products of Japan.

The following table shows the quantities produced of the four most important staple products :

	Rice. *Koku.*[1]	Wheat, Barley, and Rye. *Koku.*[1]	Cocoons. *Koku.*[1]	Sweet Potato. *Kan.*[2]
1877	——	9,620,510	——	——
1882	30,692,327	12,938,752	1,328,035	——
1892	41,429,676	15,951,146	1,480,705	——
1897	——	——	——	662,391,590
1902	36,932,266	18,425,626	2,549,224	712,126,037
1907	49,052,065	22,167,486	2,970,727	798,664,238

Government Institutions for the Encouragement of Agriculture

Government agricultural organs.

Control over the Government business of agriculture is entrusted to the Bureau of Agriculture in the Department of Agriculture and Commerce, and the management of agricultural school affairs to the Bureau of Industrial Sciences in the Department of Education. Attached to the Department of Agriculture and Commerce there are several important institutions, such as the '*Nōji Shikénjo*' (farm where crops are

[1] *Koku* = 5 bushels. [2] *Kan* = 8·267 lb. (avoir.).

raised for trial), the '*Sangyō Kōshūjo*' (place where instruction in sericulture is given), the '*Kiito Kensajo*' (office where raw silk is inspected), the '*Shugyū Bokujō*' (pasture where cattle are kept for breeding purposes), the '*Shuba Bokujō*' (pasture where horses are kept for breeding purposes), the '*Shubajo*' (stud), the '*Jūéki Chōsajō*' (office where animals suspected of being infected are examined). As for the agricultural affairs of the local governments, they are administered by officials belonging to the third section in every prefectural office. The existing system is, indeed, far from meeting the actual demands of the present generation, yet, as the past and the future can be intelligently discussed only through a knowledge of the present, the agricultural organs and institutions of to-day may be briefly described under their several heads, as follow:

Agricultural school education.

The Agricultural College of the Tōkyō Imperial University is the only institution in the empire through which the highest agricultural knowledge is imparted. Of the higher agricultural schools, there are two established by the Government at Sapporo and Morioka, and a private one in Tōkyō. Those lower in grade than middle schools number more than a hundred, besides not a few supplementary schools where elementary instruction in agriculture is given to boys who have completed the course of study in a primary school. Apart from these, there are numerous educational institutions where instruction in the science of agriculture is given ('*Nōji Kōshūjo*') for the benefit of those who devote themselves to farming, to say nothing of popular lectures on the subject, which are constantly delivered throughout the empire. In 1894 the Government enacted a law to the effect that a part of the expenses necessary for the maintenance of agricultural schools and '*Nōji Kōshūjo*' should be defrayed by the State, to the great advantage of agricultural education, which, from that time on, has been growing more and more in importance, the number of schools newly established becoming larger and larger. According to the latest investigation, the number of those who have been educated in agricultural institutions now stands at a quarter of a million.

There are over ten thousand smaller agricultural associations in various cities, towns, and villages, besides forty-five

larger ones in Hokkaidō, as well as in all the prefectures, and more than five hundred district ones, all of which have been established in conformity with the provisions of law and are under the control of the Government. All these institutions are bodies corporate, and each of them has a certain sum of money, within the limit of 150,000 *yen* yearly, granted by the Government in aid of its useful work. The Government policy of encouraging agriculture has been greatly forwarded since the establishment of these associations, and a high degree of improvement in the business of farming has been attained, for their chief aim is self-help. In addition to these legally organized associations there are many agricultural societies established by individuals for the public benefit, some of which have as many as 20,000 members and are of over twenty years' standing.

Agricultural associations.

There are a large number of experimental farms in various parts of the country, of which the most important are the National Experimental Farm in Tōkyō, with its three branch stations, and thirty-nine local farms. In these, various important matters relating to agriculture, such as the planting of seeds in soil suited to their cultivation, the preservation of crops from insects, the trial of farming tools, the breeding and rearing of domestic animals, the preparation of farm produce, the economical ways of preparing raw silk, the selection and supply of young seedlings to be transplanted, &c., have been carefully studied, with such excellent results that the yield of the crops now increases year by year and their quality is improved to a considerable degree. In the case of the prefectural experimental farms there is a provision for granting them a certain measure of State aid.

Experimental farming.

There is an experimental garden in the prefecture of Shizuoka, a branch of the Tōkyō National Experimental Farm, where various kinds of foreign vegetables and fruit trees, as well as native ones, are on trial cultivation. Many of the local experimental farms now possess similar gardens. In proportion to the growing demand for foreign food and drink they have gradually increased in number, some engaging in grape cultivation for making wine on a very large scale. Manufactories of other kinds of wine are also met with in various

Experimental gardening.

parts of the country, of which the Experimental Brewery under the control of the Department of Finance is one of the most conspicuous.

Itinerant teachers of agriculture.

Prefectural and district associations of agriculturists have a number of experts attached to them who visit them and give instruction in all departments. These itinerant teachers of agriculture, of whom those attached to corporate bodies are treated as civil officials by the Government, go round the places under their charge, teaching the farmers how to improve their work and directing them in practical processes. In this way, whenever experiments on Government farms prove successful, they are carried into practice amongst the agricultural classes at large.

Improvement in sericulture and filature.

The Government establishment, in Tōkyō and Kyōto, of the '*Sangyō Kōshūjo*' (place where instruction in raising silkworms and reeling silk is given) is to be regarded as a first attempt at improvement in sericulture and filature. These *kōshūjo* serve the purpose of schools for men and women who want to become experts with a view to becoming inspectors of sericulture and silk manufactures. The Government has exerted itself to enhance the importance of the *kōshūjo*, having early perceived that raw silk must in the future be one of the staple products of the country, the natural features being specially suitable for its culture. Besides those established and supported by the Government, the number of sericultural schools or *kōshūjo* belonging to the various local associations of agriculturists is now very large, so that there need not now be anyone in the empire ignorant of this industry, in which almost every farmer in the land, from the southern extremity of Formosa to Hokkaidō in the north, may be said to be engaged. The quantity of raw silk produced in this way increases year after year, and its quality shows commensurate improvement.

Raw-silk inspection.

In 1896 the Government established, after long and deliberate consideration, a complete system of regulations as to the inspection of raw silk for export, with a view to benefit those at home who were engaged in foreign trade as well as those beyond the sea who purchased the article. The original and the net weight, the knottiness, the strength, and the tension

of raw silk, its fineness after being reeled a second time, the loss of quantity caused by reeling, &c., are strictly examined before the article is allowed to be sent abroad, in an office set up for the purpose at the port of Yokohama, the only market for raw silk. The goods found faultless in this way are certificated by the inspectors belonging to the office. The inspection grows stricter year by year, and it was recently ordered that no raw silk brought to Yokohama for export may be placed upon the market without being first inspected at the above office in the above manner.

Improvement in tea manufacture.

The tea manufactory attached to the National Experimental Farm has for years been cultivating tea plants, exerting itself to find out the best mode of preparing the leaves and the most economical way of dealing in the manufactured article, as well as many other points essential to success. All these efforts are, of course, by way of experiment, but so excellent is the result that many practical improvements have been effected, all tending to enhance the tea-manufacturing business in the future. This is especially the case with machinery, where several new inventions of great value have been introduced, by means of which not only time, money, and labour needed in production are saved, but the quality of the goods is bettered to a very high degree. The various local experimental farms and other associations of a similar nature are also assisting to promote the industry.

Improvement in breeding domestic animals.

Amongst Japanese domestic animals, cattle and horses are, naturally, most cared for by the Government, which has done and is doing everything in its power to effect improvements in their breed. Besides Government pastures in which the choicest cows and oxen are kept for breeding purposes, Government officials are sent yearly to Europe and America to purchase prize cattle there, so that the native strains may be improved and the agriculturists may be supplied with them. It is the same with stud horses, which are being constantly imported from foreign lands and kept in Government pastures. The stallions raised there are hired out for breeding purposes to farmers at large, through the nine Government studs established at different convenient places in the empire, to each of which they have been distributed for the purpose.

The Government is now contemplating an increase in the number of both studs and pastures.

This work of improving the breed has been eagerly taken up, especially in Hokkaidō and some of the prefectures, where more public stock-farms are established than elsewhere. In the several extensive tracts of pasture land belonging to the Imperial household, cattle and horses of fine quality are raised, and a number of them are disposed of yearly to farmers for the betterment of the stock. Their Government has lately formulated a plan for the effectual examination of stud horses and cattle and for eliminating those which are not up to a recognized standard.

Swine breeding.

As regards swine, the choicest breeds, which are mostly foreign importations, are raised in large numbers at the pastures under the direct control of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce. There are also not a few public and private establishments of a similar kind in the various parts of the country. In this way the growing demand of the public for pork is supplied, and the preparation of bacon and salted pork is now becoming a considerable industry.

Guilds of farmers.

To do away with the abuses prevailing in agricultural circles throughout the country, and to promote farming interests, it is necessary that those belonging to each of the various departments of farming business should organize themselves into unions or societies for mutual help. With this in view, the Government lately published a set of regulations for the organization of co-operative guilds or societies of persons engaged in agriculture, and the result has been the appearance of more than a thousand of such unions, established in conformity with the law by tea-growers and breeders of domestic animals, especially cattle and horses. Each of these unions is usually limited to one district or town, so far as its membership is concerned; but not infrequently several of them under the jurisdiction of the same prefecture, or all existing throughout the empire, combine together, that they may act more uniformly and to the greater advantage of agriculture.

Supply of capital.

To carry on the agricultural work of the country with success, it is absolutely necessary that there should exist

financial establishments for the supply of capital. These indispensables are to be found at present in the Japan Industrial Bank (see *ante*, p. 529), established and maintained under the special protection of the Government, and forty-six agricultural and industrial banks in the various provinces. All these institutions transact the business of lending money on trust to agriculturists associated on joint responsibility, or on the security of fixed property, for a prolonged term and at a low rate of interest. In Hokkaidō there is a similar establishment, called the Hokkaidō Colonization Bank, which is under the protective care of the Government.

Corporations of lower-class farmers.

But by far the greater number of the farmers are so poor, and carry on their work on such a small scale, that they can hardly aspire to obtaining credit from these sources; and it being absolutely necessary for the promotion of the agricultural interests of the country that the lower-class farmers should be induced to unite together in joint-stock corporations and be enabled in that way to conduct their affairs on a larger scale and much more profitably than hitherto, in 1900 the Government published a law concerning the organization of such corporations which should be extensively engaged in raising farm produce or in buying and selling on credit. In spite of the fact that only a few years have elapsed since the promulgation of the law, the number of the unions established under the edict has now reached 1400, of which 571 have members numbering over 45,000; the funds actually possessed, the money laid by for future use, the amounts of loans, the proceeds of sales, and the money spent in purchases standing respectively at 1,000,000, 100,000, 1,700,000, 1,200,000 and 110,000 *yen*.

Preservation of crops from injury.

The preservation of crops from insects and other pests has been carefully studied in the Government experimental farms and other similar establishments, and the result has been embodied in a law to be observed by all farmers. In 1898 small insects called *unka* attacked the rice crops in such vast numbers that the autumn crop was reduced much below the average. Special attention was at once paid to their extinction, and with such good results that the recurrence of the pest is improbable. As regards the contagious diseases of silkworms, the Government has made regulations

ensuring the examination of the eggs, and means are constantly being taken and discoveries made to prevent the spread of infection. Other regulations have been promulgated for prevention of diseases among domestic animals, especially store cattle. The Government further regulates by law the sale of artificial fertilizers, the demand for which is constantly increasing owing to the general advancement of science in agriculture, and which are, in consequence, counterfeited not infrequently to the great damage of the crops.

Regulation of cultivated fields.

Before any considerable improvement can be effected in agriculture the areas and boundaries of farms must be reorganized, for at present these are not only most irregular but too limited in extent. So, too (if possible), the footpaths on the dikes of rice-fields and the ditches conducting water to them must be straightened ; pieces of land lying waste between one farm and another must be broken up and turned to account, irrigation bettered, and wet soils drained. The Government has, indeed, passed regulations for the replanning of irregularly shaped farms, but these have been in force for a short time only, and have not yet been obeyed by many belonging to the agricultural classes, though their provisions are specially favourable to them.

Relation of Agriculture to the Nation and to National Wealth

Special importance of agriculture to the nation.

The wealth and power of Japan having from ancient times been dependent chiefly upon agriculture, its encouragement has consequently always been one of prime importance, but it is unfortunately the case that, whilst in recent years commercial and industrial works have come into existence in great numbers, and are now making wonderful progress, little has been done for agriculture. And yet without it the country cannot prosper, for it is the agricultural classes that supply the food of the nation, and the army with the strongest and most robust recruits; and society can be properly developed and ameliorated only through the invigorating influence of agricultural life. How much Japan is dependent upon her agriculturists may be seen from the following statistics :

The number of houses in Japan (with the exception of

those in four prefectures) is 7,876,494, of which 4,976,205, or more than 63 per cent., are farmhouses. Number of farm-houses.

The value of cultivated lands in Japan is roughly estimated at 5,000,000,000 *yen*, though their fiscal value amounts to only some 1,250,000,000 *yen*. To this sum of real land values much other minor capital has to be added, and the whole amounts to nearly 6,000,000,000 *yen*, which enormous amount of capital is actually employed by the agricultural classes of our country. Such a value is not approached in either commerce or industry. The largest capital is engaged in agriculture.

Agricultural products yearly amount, at the lowest estimate, to over 1,000,000,000 *yen* in value, of which 570,000,000 are the proceeds of the crops of irrigated fields, 280,000,000 of those of upland farms, 110,000,000 of sericulture, 15,000,000 of tea manufacture, and 44,000,000 of stock farming. There is no other kind of produce at present which exceeds that sum. Agricultural products.

The larger part of the raw materials for manufacturing clothes and ornaments, as well as of the articles of food and drink consumed daily by the fifty million inhabitants of the insular empire, is produced by those of the people who devote themselves to farming, only a few agricultural products, such as cotton, sugar, wool, &c., being imported from foreign countries in any large quantity. Tobacco, leather, and some other things are, in part, imported from abroad, but they are insignificant in amount as compared with those produced at home. The value of imported agricultural products and those in the form of manufactured goods yearly amounts to 150,000,000 *yen*, so that each person in our country has to pay for these imports not more than three *yen* a year. National demand for products.

The men and women who are engaged in making agricultural products into food, drink, clothing, and other necessaries, or in preparing them to become materials for industry, or in manufacturing, selling, or transporting them, are almost innumerable; and the profits of all these persons, as well as the wide circulation of money caused by the employment of the large capital necessary for carrying on all these works, are incapable of estimate. Domestic trade depends upon agriculture.

Japan's commercial and industrial centres, numbering 63 cities and 1138 towns, not only rely for materials upon

Agricultural class the leading purchasers of manufactured articles.

the farm produce of the villages, 11,801 in number, but can prosper only by supplying commodities in demand by, and selling manufactured goods to, the inhabitants of these villages. In short, the prosperity of the cities and towns is undoubtedly due to the fact that the rural people, consisting of more than 63 per cent. of the whole population, are the customers or consumers of the articles manufactured and sold by the urban folk. Hence it is that the condition of trade and industry in the cities and towns throughout the country fares well or ill according to the nation's crops being plentiful or scarce, for upon this depends the purchasing power of the agricultural classes.

The most important exports.

Of twenty-three kinds of articles the yearly exports of which averaged in 1907 over 1,000,000 *yen* in value, ten belong to agricultural products, either raw or manufactured. Raw silk, amounting in value to some 117,000,000 *yen*, *habutaé* 29,000,000 *yen*, and cotton yarns, which have been made of material imported from abroad, 30,000,000 *yen*, are the most valuable of all the exports. Then come mineral products, of which the greatest in value are coal and copper, the former amounting to 19,000,000 and the latter to 29,000,000 *yen*; 12,600,000 *yen* worth of manufactured tea is exported. Besides these there are five staples of manufactured agricultural products: namely rice, 3,600,000 *yen* in value; coarse silk thread and hemp, amounting to 6,200,000 *yen* in all; figured straw matting to the amount of 5,700,000, silk handkerchiefs representing 5,200,000, and straw braid to the value of 5,000,000 *yen*. Of all the other kinds of exports, only matches amounting to 9,400,000 *yen*, and camphor to 5,000,000, can be compared in value with these kinds of farm produce. The total sum of money the ten agricultural staples bring in yearly is more than 63·6 per cent. of that accruing from the twenty-three kinds of exports put together, and 52·5 per cent. of that from all the articles exported from our country. This clearly shows that agricultural products, both raw and manufactured, form the most important section of our exports. In the first year of the war with Russia, when the export trade made wonderful development as compared with that of previous years, raw

silk, and articles made of it, were exported in incomparably large quantity, the value being estimated at 43·8 per cent. of all the exports of the year.

The agricultural class defrays most of the public expenses.

According to a table showing the account of actual receipts in the national budget for 1908, all the taxes collected by the Government amounted to 299,000,000 *yen*, of which 85,000,000 *yen* was paid by farmers as land tax. In addition to such a large contribution towards the public purse, they had also to pay other direct and indirect taxes, such as income tax, the tax on spirituous liquors, the consumption sugar tax, &c., while at the same time they paid about 78 per cent. of the prefectural taxes for the same year, amounting to 49,973,000 *yen*, and about 91 per cent. of the taxes of towns and villages, aggregating 42,681,000 *yen*.

Agriculture and the War with Russia

Agriculture and the war.

Japan would indeed have fared badly in this deplorable struggle had she been without ample provision at her back in the shape of unlimited supplies of agricultural products, and it was indeed fortunate that our agricultural classes were able to supply their brethren at the front not only with the finest recruits, but with such an abundance of food as precluded the authorities from feeling any anxiety on that score.

Patriotism of the farmers.

But the trials, losses, and injuries the farmers had to go through in Japan during the early part of the war with Russia, that is in 1904, were indeed hard and sometimes terrible. Young men were obliged to leave their farms by hundreds and thousands and go to the front to fight for their country ; horses employed in cultivating the fields were requisitioned in vast numbers and appropriated for military use ; oxen kept for the same agricultural purpose were butchered and used for soldiers' food. Nitrogenized fertilizers, such as bean-cake, imported till then from Manchuria, and fish-manure from the Russian territory in Asia, respectively to the annual amounts of 8,000,000 and 15,000,000 *yen* in value, both of which were valued for special efficacy, were prevented by the war from being brought to Japan and advantageously applied there to cultivation. Railways and steamers were mostly appropriated

for military uses, and thus the transportation of manure for distribution among farmers throughout the country was greatly retarded. Above all, the capital which would otherwise have been used for promoting agricultural works was largely reduced, owing to the heavy drain upon the agricultural classes by new and increased taxes, subscribing for military loan bonds issued by the Government to raise money necessary for carrying on the war, and responding to various kinds of contributions for patriotic purposes. But, in spite of all these trials, the farmers of Japan remained as loyal as ever to their Sovereign and country. The patriotic cry of 'any sacrifice for the sake of the country in danger' was heard on all sides in the rural regions. Those left at home, that is old men, women, and even children, exerted themselves according to their ability to make up for the loss of labour caused by the levy of their sons, husbands, and fathers for the public service; and withal they worked so composedly that they appeared as if they were not aware that a great and disastrous war was raging in which their nearest and dearest were engaged. Especially to their credit was it that those who had heretofore made little of Government regulations as to the improvement of agricultural affairs now began to show themselves ready to obey every instruction of the authorities, and the result was the introduction of many practical innovations and improvements. This single-hearted and ardent love of country was not without reward.

Help of Providence.

In the first year of the war there was a harvest such as had never been seen before for its bounty, the rice gathered in amounting to 51,000,000 *koku*, an increase of 21·5 per cent. as compared with 42,000,000 *koku*, the quantity reaped in an average year. Scarcely less abundant were wheat and silk cocoons. We may indeed say that all these blessings were sent by Heaven as a return for their loyalty, although it must be remembered, at the same time, that divine protection could hardly have been of any avail but for the great elasticity shown by our agricultural classes. Because they helped themselves they were helped by Heaven.

In addition to these great services rendered to their country, they contributed much towards defraying the war expenses. They paid, directly and indirectly, the largest portion of the

Agricultural class and expenses of the war.

newly levied taxes, for the land tax alone may be roughly estimated at more than one-third of the whole amount of the annual receipts of the Government, 42,800,000 *yen* having been specially collected above the usual rate. Nor were they behind others in subscribing to the public loan bonds, which the Government issued to the amount of 500,000,000 *yen* to defray the expenses of the war. Although no statistical tables exist showing the exact proportion of their subscriptions, there is little doubt that they bore a fair proportion to that of other classes.

Future expansion of our agriculture.

The condition of agriculture in Japan at the time of the war being such, it may reasonably be expected that it will appreciably improve so soon as its dire effects disappear. For the good habits of diligence and frugality acquired by the farmers during that period, and the practical improvements effected in the management of agricultural affairs, cannot but bear fruit. We must follow the example of France in the years following her great defeat by Germany. She had to pay an indemnity of 5,000,000,000 francs; but she was not discouraged, and was soon on the way to a fuller development of her national resources. Such an admirable example, afforded as it was by a nation defeated in war, deserves to be followed by Japan, who, though victorious, yet has much to do to regain the huge amount spent in the struggle.

The Future of Agriculture in Japan

Room for future improvements.

Many are of opinion that agriculture, which has from time immemorial been the principal pursuit of the people of Japan and has therefore been fully developed in all its branches, can have no improvement in the future, but no error is graver. Serious questions undoubtedly loom in the future. For instance, one of the strongest tendencies of the present age in Japan is the concentration of labour in the cities and towns. This, if left to itself, will most seriously affect her agricultural interests in the near future. If, on the contrary, it is turned to account, it will contribute not a little to improvement in the business of farming. In other words, if we adjust all the insufficiently cultivated fields, perfect the existing system of

irrigation and drainage, improve the art of raising whatever crop is best adapted to the soil, and apply the power of domestic animals and machines to farm work as much as possible—in short, if we do all in our power to act according to the exigency of the times, there is no reason why the three most important agricultural staples of the country, rice, wheat, and sericulture, should not be increased to the following amount:

	Yen.
Rice	214,000,000
Wheat	144,000,000
Silk	25,500,000
Total	383,500,000

Tracts of land still uncultivated.

Besides these possible improvements in the production of the farms now in existence, there are vast tracts of land not yet prepared for cultivation. According to investigations made by officials charged with the duty of making surveys, the land already brought under cultivation is 4,960,000 *chō* in area, while that to be reclaimed in future may be estimated at over 4,560,000 *chō*. These vast waste lands may be reclaimed and made into flourishing farms in various ways. Irrigating or draining in some cases, facilitating intercourse and transport in others, applying scientific knowledge or capital to yet others—all these may be necessary before they can be of any value. Of the lands thus reclaimed, some may be most advantageously employed as stock farms, while others may be found especially suitable to the cultivation of garden products. At all events, all of them are sure to be made the best of. These wildernesses, of which not a few are even now being brought under cultivation, should then yield crops annually to the amount of more than 450,000,000 *yen* in value, if the yield of a farm one *chō* (2½ acres) in area be estimated at 100 *yen*.

Thus not only the cultivated lands of Japan will be doubled in extent if new lands are reclaimed, but there is good reason to believe that even the existing farms can be improved still further by applying scientific knowledge to their cultivation and investing a large amount of capital. Agriculture will then be able to support double the present number of inhabitants

and still have a sufficiency left wherewith to supply industry with raw materials in abundance; and the labour of the large nation thus supported will assuredly transform the increased output of raw material into national wealth. Therefore the future of agriculture in Japan may be said to be full of hope and promise.

II.—Forestry

Forestry in ancient days.

The earliest historical record of forestry in the Empire of Japan is that relating to Susano-o-no-Mikoto, who, in mythical days, had Japan cedars, *hinoki* (*Chamæcyparis obtusa*), and camphor trees planted with a view to building palaces and ships in after years from the timber they would furnish. Even in the days of such remoteness arboriculture seems to have been made much of, and the luxuriant and beautiful growth of trees in forests now met with almost everywhere throughout the country is undoubtedly the result of the scrupulous care with which they have been protected from ancient times.

For forest trees have never been allowed to be recklessly cut down: to fell timber in mountains and forests there were three classes of woodmen under the control of the *Imibé* (a government office), who alone could engage in the work. To protect the forests, laws were established by the provincial governors as well as by the central Government, to the effect that no trees should be cut down without special permission. For the same purpose shrines were erected in the forests to keep them sacred; at other times they were appropriated for use as places where timber was to be hewn only for building shrines and ships, as sanctuaries for deer and boar, or by which the supply of a river should be fed. In the reign of the Emperor Ōjin, superintendents of forests were appointed by Imperial order in various provinces, and placed under the general control of an Imperial prince.

Forestry in and after the Middle Ages.

The erection, in and after the Middle Ages, of Buddhist temples among mountains noted for beauty and grandeur also had much to do with the preservation of forests. Foresters, in the modern sense of the word, began at that time to be officially appointed to see that trees were not recklessly cut

down, and the work of forestry was taken up for the first time by the Government in a systematic way. Naturally, in the long period in the Middle Ages when war, fire, and pillage ravaged the country from end to end, the rights of forestry would hardly be respected, and one side or another might burn down its opponent's forests for strategical reasons. But even in these troublous times we are told that shrines were respected, hunting grounds preserved, the irrigation of rice-fields was maintained, and not infrequently the work of the foresters was protected. An example of this is recorded in the person of Motochika Chōsokabé during the war in the era of Tembun (middle of the sixteenth century). Notwithstanding the pressure of military affairs, he took special pains to improve the condition of forestry, to which he had always paid attention, prohibiting the felling without permission of cedars (*hinoki*), camphor trees, pine trees, or other useful woods, and encouraging at the same time the planting of saplings in the place of old trees. Another example is found in Kyūhaku Ōtani, a retainer of Norimasa Uyésugi, governor of the eight provinces to the east of the Hakoné mountains. Experienced in the work of increasing production, he exerted himself with success to make a number of pine forests by planting young seedlings in three districts, viz. Nitta, Yamada, and Ora, in the province of Kōzuké.

Forestry in the Tokugawa *régime.*

When Tokugawa Iyéyasu had firmly established the system of feudalism, he conferred the Kiso mountains, noted for their dense forests, upon the head of the Owari clan, one of his sons, and the Kumano mountains and forests upon the lord of Kishū Province, another son. During the Tokugawa Shōgunate forests were managed by the *hayashi-bugyō* (commissioners of forestry), who were under the authority of commissioners of finance (*kanjō bugyō*), while, as for forests belonging to the Shōgun, matters relating to them were entrusted to the *daikan* (governors of small domains under the direct control of the house of Tokugawa), who had subordinate officials called *tédai* and *tétsuké* to oversee the felling of timber or the planting of saplings to replace the trees cut down. Officials were dispatched from time to time to the various parts of the country to direct the people in planting young trees and to see to the condition

of the forests. In those days forests were divided into four classes: namely, Government forests, forests belonging to shrines and temples, forests owned in common, and forests in private possession. Punishment of offences against forest regulations was rigidly inflicted, and varied according to the gravity of the offence, those found guilty of the gravest being expelled from their dwelling-places; even minor offences were punished by imprisonment with hard labour.

It will be easily seen from this that the forests were taken great care of by the Shōgun's Government, so that whenever we happen to look at the noble and gigantic trees in a Government forest and see how much they contribute to the beauty of the landscape, we cannot but feel grateful towards our rulers and predecessors who left behind them such a precious gift for posterity.

In the beginning of the era of Méiji the forest laws, which had been in force until then, became inoperative, and many a forest was left in consequence to be devastated and despoiled. But any chance of such a national calamity could not be countenanced, and both the Government and the people promptly turned their attention to preventing it. This was effected, first, by the classification of forests into those owned by the Government and those in private possession; then the Bureau of Forestry was reorganized, and under its jurisdiction all forests were divided into a certain number of districts; and lastly, officers for examining forest trees, schools where the science of forestry was taught, and exhibitions for mutual improvement in forestry were established throughout the country. These were followed by the publication of regulations, such as those relating to the public sale of Government forests and their products; those concerning precautions to be taken against fires in forests and on moors; those as to the disposal, in special cases, of forests and moors owned by the Government, and their products, &c. All the Government forests in the prefectures of Shizuoka, Yamanashi, Kanagawa, Aichi, and Gifu, as well as those on the Kiso mountains, were assigned as the Emperor's property, and the taxes on land paid by those inhabiting forests where the felling of trees was prohibited were remitted by law. In fact, the changes effected

In the Méiji era.

at that time for their betterment were so many that they cannot easily be enumerated. Still more important is the fact that the Government authorities are now availing themselves of modern scientific knowledge introduced from Europe. In 1897 a law was enacted and published concerning forestry which contained full provisions for the superintendence, preservation, and police supervision of forests both in public and private possession, and it embodied penalties for offences against the regulations. In 1899 another law was passed dealing with the management of the forests and fields owned by the Government and the disposal of their products. This law has codified and made clear all the rights and obligations. A further Forestry Law was promulgated in 1907. The work of forestry has quickly responded to these laws, and is rapidly contributing to the wealth of the nation, as well as preserving the land against natural calamities.

The present management of forestry.

With the exception of Hokkaidō and Formosa, all the provinces in the empire are under the jurisdiction of the Minister of State for Agriculture and Commerce, as far as affairs relating to forestry are concerned, and one bureau of that Department is specially allocated to them. The direct control of forests, however, is entrusted to governors of prefectures, in accordance with the provisions of the law promulgated in 1897. As for forestry in Hokkaidō and Formosa, it is under the authority of the Minister of State for Home Affairs, while all matters relating to it are managed respectively by the chiefs of local offices in these islands.

The Government forests and lands under the jurisdiction of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce are managed according to the provisions of the law of 1899. According to the Imperial ordinance issued in 1903, it has been provided that the whole country shall be divided into 10 large forestry districts, with district offices, 270 sub-offices, and 1259 small offices. These various offices naturally call for a large number of officials to conduct the general and technical business, and these have been increased, especially as regards scientific experts, by an Imperial rescript issued in 1905.

Officials in charge.

The forests belonging to the Emperor are superintended by

the Bureau of Imperial Domains under the general control of the Minister of the Imperial Household. Imperial forests.

The work of education in the science of forestry is taken entire charge of by the Minister of the Educational Department. The highest education is now given at the Imperial University, whose graduates are duly qualified for higher administrative or technical officials. An intermediate course of study is given at the Morioka Higher Agricultural and Dendrological School and the Sapporo Agricultural School. In addition to these there are seventeen schools established by prefectures, counties, towns, or villages, where young men are instructed in elementary knowledge of agriculture and forestry. Education in the science of forestry.

There are also some dozen private schools, as, for instance, the Great Japan Dendrological Association and the Hokkaidō Association, for persons engaged in the work of forestry. These aim at improving the present condition of forestry, and many of them are supported at local expense. Dendrological associations.

Relations of Forestry to the Nation and to National Wealth

As the Empire of Japan is exceedingly mountainous, there is a wide area of land covered by forests which have to be protected and preserved as a security against natural calamities such as floods, or as a national resource. According to statistical tables prepared by the Department of Agriculture and Commerce in 1907, the forests and plains throughout the country are about 22,000,000 *chō*[1] in area, thus constituting some 60 per cent. of the extent of the whole empire. Separated into different ownerships the figures are as follow: Area of forests.

	Chō.
Government forests	10,000,000 (approximately)
(Of the above, 7,222,518 *chō* are under the jurisdiction of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce, the remainder being under that of the Home Office.)	
Those belonging to the Emperor	2,109,099
Those in public or private possession or belonging to shrines and temples ..	7,991,796

[1] The forests in the Loochoo Islands, Formosa, the Shichitō Islands off the coast of Izu, and the Ogasawara Islands are excluded from these figures.

Waste lands.

Besides these forests there are extensive tracts of unreclaimed land nearly akin to forests, and which are either capable of being turned into pasturage or forests. Wastes in the provinces of Ōshū and Ushū in the northern part of the empire have the extensive area of 1,904,896 *chō*, and produce timber in abundance. Their ownerships are as follow:

	Chō.
Owned by the Government	436,457
Belonging to the Emperor	137,578
In public or private possession, or belonging to shrines and temples ..	1,330,861

Distribution of forests and fields.

Forests are to be found almost everywhere throughout the country, from Hokkaidō in the north to Formosa in the south. They are, however, not uniformly distributed, being most numerous in the central mountainous provinces and the cold region in the north. Consequently the various districts differ widely from one another in enjoyment of the advantages thus afforded. Such inequality is, of course, due primarily to difference of local characteristics, but it depends largely, at the same time, upon economical conditions. In the islands of Shikoku and Kyūshū and the south-western part of the main island, for example, many of the forests have been cleared of trees so as to prepare them for cultivation, owing to the fact that the inhabitants there have increased both in numbers and knowledge so much that the demand for agricultural products is continuously on the increase. The following figures show the areas of all the forests in Japan per head of the inhabitants:

	Chō.
Hokkaidō	6·0
Aomori, Akita	1·5
Hiroshima, Kagoshima	0·3
Kōchi	0·4
Kumamoto	0·2

Various kinds of timber trees.

The varieties of trees found in the forests are no less than eight hundred in number. Of these the most useful are the *hinoki* (*Chamæcyparis obtusa*), the Japan cedar, the pine, the

fir, the *toga* (*Tsuga sieboldi*), the *todomatsu* (a kind of pine), the *ézomatsu* (*Picea ajanensis*), the *kéyaki* (*Zelkowa ocuminata*), the *kashi* (*Quercus*), the chestnut, the *nara* (a kind of oak), and others, numbering about fifty in all.

The percentages of forests classified according to kinds of trees are as follow:

Forests of trees with lanceolate leaves	21
Those of trees with spatulate leaves	25
Those with both kinds of trees	45
Miscellaneous	9

The timber trees now of full age are so many that there is already more than enough timber to supply all the demands of building, charcoal, firewood, and industrial purposes.

Value and quantity of timber felled during 1903.

According to the statistical table prepared by the Department of Agriculture and Commerce, the quantity and value of timber felled in each of the various kinds of forests were as follow for 1903:

Government Forests

Timber felled for—

Building and other similar purposes.		Firewood and charcoal.	
Quantity. *Shakujimé.*[1]	Value. *Yen.*	Quantity. *Tana.*[2]	Value. *Yen.*
1,897,152	1,106,727	734,499	496,916
Bubun Forests			
146,113	128,639	5,112	4,891
Imperial Forests			
780,662	590,788	120,687	89,354
Forests belonging to shrines and temples, and those in public and private possession			
20,629,725	31,045,294	16,036,510	20,858,459
Total	32,871,448	Total	21,449,620

[1] A *shakujimé* is twelve times a cubic *shaku*.
[2] A *tana* is six times a cubic *shaku*.

Value of forest products.

Thus it is seen that the quantity of timber felled in forests of the empire during 1903 amounted in value to the large sum of 54,321,068 *yen*. A great part of this was used at home to supply commercial, industrial, and mining wants, but not a little was exported to foreign countries in the form of timber and manufactured goods. In 1904 railway-sleepers, boards, very thin tablets called *kyōgi*, *kyōgi sanada*, matches, mushrooms (called *shiitaké*), and camphor were exported to the amount of some 20,000,000 *yen* in value. According to the annually prepared statistics of forests, the whole land value of the forests actually in private possession on the 1st of January 1904 was more than 24,795,000 *yen*, including forests on the islands of Hokkaidō and the Loochoo Islands. Though this value was fixed by law and was a very low estimate, yet the tax on the land amounted to the sum of over 818,000 *yen*.

Forestry and hydrological engineering.

The chain of steep mountains running along the centre of the country to which we have already referred forms its backbone, in which almost all the rivers have their sources, and flow down on either side to the sea, winding through cultivated and uncultivated land. As the streams are usually short in length, most of them are very rapid and often overflow their banks, to the great injury of property. This is, however, largely due to the great number of head-springs formed in mountains and forests. Hence it is that an enormous sum of money has been annually spent in hydrological engineering. The expenses incurred in this way, and defrayed both by the central Government and local communes, in 1900 and 1901 amounted respectively to 13,004,387 and 9,690,814 *yen*; and the damages caused by floods in 1902, including the expenses necessary for restoring property to its former condition, were calculated at about 29,130,000 *yen*. Such outlay should be curtailed to a considerable extent if forestry is properly managed. Upon the actual condition of forestry, therefore, depends in many important respects the safety of the land. To meet this there is a provision in the forest law for classifying in one group all forests preserved as protection against damages caused by floods or other natural calamities, such as gales, tidal waves, &c.

Preserved forests.

The number and area of these, as distinguished from those used for supplying the wants of the people, are as follow :

	Number.	Area. *Chō.*
Forests preserved for averting injury from natural calamities ..	202,485	757,378
Forests for supplying the wants of the public	20,919,829	20,666,269

Forestry and the War with Russia

Influence of economical conditions upon the work of forestry.

The influence of economical conditions upon the work of forestry differs from their influence upon commerce or industry, for the circulation of capital cannot be so brisk in the former as in the latter, and timber can be kept in store for a comparatively long time. Demand and supply in case of timber are affected to a large extent by the state of business and communications, and planting of young trees depends for its success upon the cost of labour and the price of commodities. It cannot be affirmed, therefore, that the economical condition of our country just before and after the great war with Russia had nothing to do with affairs relating to forestry.

In 1901 the circulation of money was not good on account of tradal depression; and from that time onwards it grew worse, till, in the latter half of 1903, when there was every appearance of a war breaking out before long between Russia and Japan, and consequently trade became depressed, the extreme point of dulness in the money market was reached. In February 1904 the war began, and the country was so strongly urged to be frugal and save against the future, that not only was nothing new in commerce or industry started, but every industry already in existence tended more and more to decline. Such a state of things could not fail to extend its influence to forestry, and the market for timber practically ceased. Again, most of the ships and railways were appropriated for the transportation of troops and stores, to the no small prejudice of the exchange of commodities in the business world. The connection between the places where timber was cut and those where it was needed was practically severed; it consequently fell so much in price, and the market for it in Tōkyō, Ōsaka, and some other important places became so small, that buying and selling virtually ceased. Fortunately, however, the depression did not last long. When our navy

had succeeded in gaining the control of the sea, the trade with China and Korea was restored to its former condition, and the minds of the people having become accustomed to war, all the economical activities began to revive. Among others, the market for timber suddenly improved, and prices gradually rose, owing to the fact that wood was largely needed to make boxes used in packing articles for military use, to build barracks and other erections for the army, and to supply charcoal for the troops. The activity may be inferred from the fact that a tax specially levied at the time (amounting to 800,000 *yen*) was paid by the private forest owners. The work of planting saplings in the Government forests was retarded by the war, during which all the conveyances were appropriated for the State's use and a great number of labourers were called out for service; but among private owners it has never ceased to progress for some years past.

Planting saplings in the Government forests.

Value of export forest products.

The following table shows the values of the most important exports produced in forests:

Kinds of exports.	Oct. 1903–Sept. 1904. *Yen.*	Year 1907. *Yen.*
Railway sleepers	883,180	3,581,143
Boards for tea boxes ..	539,144	531,160
Wood for matches	213,223	Not ascertainable
Wood for match-boxes ..	89,393	,,
Various other timber.. ..	1,210,055	,,
Bamboo	300,429	,,
Matches exported to Korea and China	4,552,576	9,446,532
Matches exported to other foreign countries	4,898,970	
Mushrooms (*shiitaké*) to Korea and China	418,761	1,067,527
Mushrooms (*shiitaké*) to other foreign countries	872,706	
Camphor to Korea and China	2,392	5,026,858
Camphor to other foreign countries	2,909,461	
Camphor oil	206,736	

Kinds of exports.	Oct. 1903–Sept. 1904. *Yen.*	Year 1907. *Yen.*
Gall-nuts	199,985	Not ascertainable
Charcoal	167,560	395,967
Shavings for packing purposes	23,133	Not ascertainable
Flat braid made of very thin pieces of wood	1,128,054	884,205

Although the actual condition of forestry in Japan is as described above, if we look below the surface we shall find that the management of affairs relating to forestry is not at present all it should be. Instruction in the science of forestry makes no great progress, being carried on only in accordance with old practices, and there is much to be learned before it can be of any great use in benefiting the country. Fortunately, however, scientific knowledge has already begun to be practically applied, and if this is thoroughly done there is no reason why forestry should not be one of the principal resources of the empire.

Further development of forestry.

XXV

JAPANESE INDUSTRIES: MARINE PRODUCTS

BARON TAMOTSU MURATA

Japan's geographical features and inhabitants.

JAPAN consists of innumerable islands and islets, stretching from south to north, with a coast-line of 19,000 miles. Cut off from the Asiatic continent by the Sea of Japan on the west, washed by the Pacific Ocean on the east, where a cold and warm current run from north and south respectively, it is thus surrounded on all sides by seas. It has, for the most part, a very mild temperature, a very productive soil, and seas wonderfully rich in aquatic tribes. No less than 700 different kinds of aquatic products have been classified at the Marine Biological Station at Miura, Sagami, and of these at least 400 are of prime importance to our fisheries.

With coast-lines of such length, harbours, bays, gulfs, rivers, streams, and lakes are many, each affording good fishing. Passing their lives on these waters, our ancestors were emboldened to venture further and further from land, sometimes to the extent of a hundred miles or more. As they were 'children of the water,' so their descendants are born sailors. It is no wonder, then, that many of our soldiers, who pursued the avocation of seamen, betook themselves, when in Manchuria at the time of the last war, to fishing for amusement between the battles, to the surprise of foreign war-correspondents. Nor is it any greater wonder that, thus accustomed to the deep seas, the Japanese are always at home upon them, and it is this familiarity which, when trained, makes them such good men-of-war's men. Thus we see that, while Western countries, when in search of efficient sailors, have often to enlist foreigners, Japan has as many as she needs, always ready

to obey her call. Nothing is perfected in a hurry, and no one could have expected Japan to win recent naval contests on the sea, had not her sailors been trained for victory by centuries of servitude on its bosom.

Amongst Japan's many appellations is one wherein she is called the 'Land of *Mizuho*,' or the 'country with rich crops of rice.' This old title is evidence that our ancestors lived mostly by farming, the land producing for them rice and vegetables, and the waters furnishing them with fish. They ate but little meat, their chief food being fish and vegetables. This is proved by the excavations in the shell-mounds which are found in many districts of Japan. The offerings of fish made to the gods and spirits of ancestors are of course traceable to the diet of primitive man.

Modern development of fishery.

Feudalism made everything provincial, and our fisheries were no exception to the rule. Every province of the country had its special way of fishing, and it was only upon the merging of the whole empire into one that development and improvement worthy of the name could take place. What these have been I propose to show, dividing the period into two stages, namely from 1854 to 1878, and from 1879 onwards.

During the first stage our fishermen did little but retain the methods handed down from a remote past, for the country was still in a state of upheaval, its general institutions being neglected, and fisheries, like many other branches of industry, having a revolutionary stage of their own. Although the Restoration proved the dawn of a new day for the fisheries of Japan, our fishermen, unwilling, or unable, to get rid of old customs, clung to their time-honoured experiences, and would have nothing to do with new theories. Nor could the Imperial Government, busily engaged in the work of political and financial reorganization, pay any attention to the industry.

Later, however, with the importation and perfecting of implements of fishery, fishermen have become less conservative in their ways, and local governments stretching out helping hands, matters have improved, until, in recent years, Japanese fishermen have begun to fish far out on Korean seas, in the north beyond the coasts of Saghalien, in the Sea of Okhotsk,

and even in more remote regions of the South seas. In fact, quite a revolution has taken place in this great enterprise.

Fishery regulations.

During the Tokugawa *régime* Japan had neither fishery institutions nor regulations, except certain orders or notifications now and then given by the Government. The only regulations, if they could be so called, were judgments given judicially in quarrels which often occurred between the fishermen of different fiefs. The closed-door policy of the Shōgunate, which strictly prohibited seaworthy ships to be built, naturally put an end to the sea-going adventure, and feudalism made the sailors and fishermen of every clan conservative and selfish, although there were some feudal lords who protected and encouraged the fishery of their vassals with gifts of rice, money, or other form of assistance, and even counted it as one of the main businesses of their clans, especially that of whale-fishing. The first legislation concerning fishery was by the Government in 1875, after the policy was adopted of protecting or controlling it, for the purpose of increasing marine products, until fishery regulations, which had been felt to be necessary and had been much discussed for many years, were issued in 1901. According to these the fishermen of the country became officially entitled to the rights they had long enjoyed in the matter of fishing.

In 1868 an Industrial Bureau was established to look after agriculture, forestry, and fishery throughout the country, but it was not until 1885 that a Marine Bureau was started, in the Department of Agriculture and Commerce, and not until 1893 that the Marine Products Examination Office came into existence to investigate and examine everything appertaining to fishery, such as marine animals and plants, fishing tackle, fishing boats, statistics, &c. The Marine Products Examination Committee consisted of some dozen men of learning and experience, but the office has been lately abolished, and its work transferred to the Marine Bureau.

Marine associations.

Associations have done much towards the progress of Japanese fishery. In 1880 those who took an interest in it organized the '*Suisansha*,' or Marine Products Society, in Tōkyō, but when they felt it necessary to make thorough

scientific investigations and to establish communications with the local societies and associations, they organized in 1882 the 'Japan Marine Products Association.' It is now the greatest and most powerful institution of the kind in Japan. At its start the new association had two hundred members, with H.I.H. Prince Higashi-Fushimi as president. The Training School of Fishery, established in January 1889 as a section of the Association, educated special students sent to it by the Department in charge, till the Department itself undertook the work in 1897. During these eight years the school sent out four hundred graduates, who are now holding important positions in the fisheries of Japan. The development of this powerful association has inspired the organization of many other associations and societies in the provinces, which in turn have contributed much to the diffusion of pisciculture in Japan.

Marine exhibitions.

The Marine Product School has prospered year after year, and numerous students are receiving instruction there. Many other schools of fishery have been established, lectures having been given on fishery, and experiments and examinations made in the provinces. Further, the central Government gives yearly subsidies to these undertakings, while the local governments have greatly increased their expenditure on fishery, their total outlays on this account, which were only about 30,000 *yen* in 1895, being recorded as about 380,000 *yen* in 1903.

Many causes have helped the advancement of our fisheries, exhibitions being certainly one of the most potent. The first in Japan was opened in Tōkyō in 1883, while World Marine Exhibitions were held in Berlin in 1880, and in London in 1882. All these have done much towards the improvement of every branch of the industry.

Coastwise fishery.

Even the coastwise fishery of Japan could not escape the all-paralyzing grasp of feudalism, for no improvement could be more than local, and each small province could only progress by its own endeavour, quite independently of its neighbour. But as internal communications came to be opened up after the Restoration, fishing could be no longer a monopoly of provincial localities, and every improvement and discovery

was soon known throughout the empire. In consequence, fishermen multiplied to the number of 700,000, fishing boats and ships increased year by year, and fishing grounds were exploited farther off the coasts. The use of better fishing tackle improved; in particular, the introduction of the purse net, modelled after an American type, caused the old methods of trawling to be radically changed. A rough estimate valued the catch of our fisheries at 12,720,000 *yen* in 1893, and at 54,670,000 *yen* in 1906. The real take was probably twice as much, for not only was the yearly catch of Hokkaidō alone—where the least accuracy is to be expected—reported to have been no less than 1,500,000 *yen*, but our fishermen were not at all accurate in the reports of their catches.

Deep-sea fishery.

It is but natural that the development of coastwise fishery should lead fishermen to venture beyond the boundaries of their own coasts. Japanese fishermen, restrained by the influence of the closed-door policy of the Shōgunate, could not and dared not venture far to sea, and it was not until the Government offered, in 1897, a bounty to encourage such enterprise, that deep-sea fishing came to be of any importance. Now there are over thirty ships and eight hundred men engaged in the work.

Foreign fisheries.

Our fishermen formerly rarely went farther than Korea, Russian Saghalien, and the Maritime Provinces of Siberia, but they are now often found fishing in the waters of Australia, Thursday Island, and even as far as Canada. In the Korean seas alone there are at present over 9000 fishermen working, mostly from the south-western part of the country, with 2000 fishing boats and a yearly take of 3,000,000 *yen*.

Our Saghalien fisheries are of ancient date. In 1903 there were 30 merchants, 99 fishing districts, 4000 fishermen, engaged on their own account, and 3200 Japanese fishermen employed by Russians, besides innumerable individual fishermen going to the Maritime Provinces of Russian Siberia. Our commerce with Russian Asia is greatly helped by these Saghalien fishermen, for they export from Japan rice, salt, tea, coal, vegetables, fruit, ropes, and mats for bags, and import into their native country coal-oil, fish-manure, salted fish, &c., to the amount in 1903 of 2,230,000 *yen* and of

8,260,000 *yen* respectively. Since Southern Saghalien was ceded to Japan in 1905 the fisheries there have been placed on a sound basis—the result being a catch in 1907 valued at 6,500,000 *yen*.

The fisheries at Thursday Island in Australia are of much later origin, having only been established some thirty years ago. The first Japanese to go there was a diver who won great favour in the eyes of the Europeans at the place by his wonderful skill in finding mother-of-pearl. Other Japanese soon followed him, and with them began our fishery of pearls and trepang on the island, but the Government of Australia afterwards prohibited the immigration of Japanese, and our fishermen have therefore decreased considerably in number.

Salmon is the fish chiefly exploited by Japanese in Canada. It was the famous take on the Skeena River in 1888 that took them thither. Although a law has been issued that no one may obtain a fishing licence unless one be a Canadian, or a naturalized foreigner who has been engaged in fishing for over three years on the Frazer River, there are now more than 200 fishing vessels belonging to licensed Japanese fishermen there.

Under the Pelagic Fishery Encouragement Law, by which bounties are given, sealing schooners have increased, and in 1907 their catch amounted to about 436,000 *yen*. Japanese fishermen also now go as far as the Philippines.

Marine products manufacture.

The utilization of marine products naturally follows the progress of fishery, for the two always go in company. So long as our fishery was under the thrall of feudalism, the manufacture of marine products was carried on simply for the benefit of particular provinces. Even manufactures of marine products which were to be exported to China or other foreign countries could not be otherwise than influenced by local partiality, but exhibitions have done a great deal towards doing away with this provincialism; and although we have as yet no large factories for the manufacture of marine products where mechanical power is applied, there are many steam machines used for the treatment of shells and for canning, which are two of the most important marine products manufactured in Japan. Canning was first introduced into Japan

in 1877, and experiments were made for over ten years in Nagasaki and Hokkaidō, but without any visible success; when, however, the China-Japan War broke out and the demand for tinned food suddenly increased, graduates of the Marine Products Training School were sent throughout the country to prepare it in order to meet this pressing need.

Other foreign manufactures of marine products, such as smoked and salted fish, have also been carefully examined and imitated, and the drying and salting of fish have been much improved in recent years. But, of all home demands for manufactured marine products, that for dried bonito stands first.

The various manufactures of marine products may be broadly classified into those for food, for medicine, for manure, and for industrial use. Of these the most important is, of course, that for food, which is prepared chiefly by drying, salting, boiling, canning, and smoking. Marine products are also dried and pressed into manure, fish-oil, or paste, or into such medicines as cod-liver oil and iodine, while shells and scales furnish ornaments. The amount of manufactured marine products is now estimated at the yearly sum of 33,500,000 *yen*.

Exports.

We export no less than 9,000,000 *yen* worth of marine products, which mostly go to China. Our first intercourse with China began hundreds of years ago, and for fully two hundred years past marine products have been our chief exports thither. Nagasaki was the only trading port during the Tokugawa dynasty, and nobody could safely trade with any foreigners except through the Goods Office there established. The Restoration did away with this hindrance, and there is at present hardly any fish, sea-weed, or other marine product prepared for food which is not exported to China. The chief exports of marine products to Europe and America are fish-oil, agar-agar, and shells, mostly to be used in industries, for we do not yet export any large quantity of marine products prepared for food. But to show how rapid has been the increase in our foreign exports of marine products in recent years, we give the figures for the total exports of 1868 and 1907, which were respectively 560,000 *yen* and 8,978,000 *yen* in value.

Imports.

The importation of foreign marine products was at first very small, but salted fish,[1] dried sardine for manure, sea-weed for paste, turtle-shells and other shells, and canned fish increased yearly, so that we imported over 3,960,000 *yen* worth in 1903 against 16,000 *yen* in 1868. But this increase of imports is chiefly owing to the increasing prosperity of our fishermen in the waters of Russian Asia and Korea and other foreign seas, as well as to the fact that our trade with East India and Australia is now advancing rapidly.

Protection and culture of aquatic products.

Japan has cultivated sea-weed, oysters, carp, gold-fish, &c., from of old, but these could not be otherwise than particular to certain provinces, and it was only through the development of fishery in the Méiji era that the culture of these products has become prevalent throughout the country. Formerly there was no distinction made in the culture of the eel, the *bora* (*Mugil cephalotus*), and the carp, they being kept and raised in the same pond, and by the same methods. Even the snapping turtle, the flesh of which was much prized, was entirely left to natural culture. But all this is now changed; each is reared in a particular way according to its nature. The artificial production of pearls, which is a monopoly, is certainly one of the greatest discoveries ever made in the scientific or industrial world.

The raising of aquatic products, like all other branches of fishery, has made and is making remarkable progress, and many specialists are devoting their lives to scientifically studying their culture.

Salt manufacture.

Salt manufacture in Japan dates from a very early period of our history, at least 2000 years ago. In Japan salt is generally taken from brine, and there are two ways of making it. One depends entirely upon sun, the other upon artificial heat. The people in Formosa make their salt in the former method, but in Japan proper the latter is used. The total amount of salt manufactured in Japan was recorded in 1891 to be 5,500,000 *koku*, 4,070,000 *yen* in value, while the record of 1906 gives 5,578,142 *koku*, value 9,718,062 *yen*. Those engaged in this industry number 100,000.

The Government monopolized the salt manufacture in

[1] 1907—salted salmon and trout, 540,000 *yen*.

Formosa when the island was ceded to Japan, but in Japan proper the monopolization was effected only a few years ago.

Conclusion.

Japan undoubtedly possesses inexhaustible marine treasures. Japanese waters, fresh [1] or salt, teem with them, but they will reveal themselves only to scientific research. To our great regret, no scientific investigations have been so far made, and even the figures I have elsewhere given with regard to marine products are too rough to be accurate. The shoals of fish and groves of sea-weed, of which our seas are full, are already more than sufficient to support the population of 50,000,000 souls, a surplus remaining for export to foreign countries. Even our salt, which people use abundantly, and even carelessly, shows itself to be more than enough, and far from being exhausted. So immeasurable are the marine products that the Japanese seas can place at our disposal, that I may confidently say that three times the figures I have given would not be over-stating the real amount of aquatic products Japan can produce.

The following table shows the chief marine products in the year 1906 :

	Raw
	Yen.
Sardine	4,861,000
Katsuo (Bonito)	5,303,000
Mackerel	1,876,000
Maguro (Tunny)	1,551,000
Buri (Yellow Tail)	2,828,000
Tai (Pagrus)	3,790,000
Karei (Flat Fish)	1,347,000
King Fish	1,066,000
Horse Mackerel	1,094,000
Grey Mullet	988,000
Salmon	799,000
Carp	492,000
Eel	904,000

[1] The principal fresh-water fish are the *masu* (*Onchorhynchus perryi*), *ayu* (*Mecoglossus altivetis*)—a diminutive salmon, *iwana* (*Salmo pluvius*), *ugui* (*Senciscus nakuensis*), *funa* (*Carassius auratus*), the *koi* (*Cyprinus carpio*)—the aristocrat of fish according to the Japanese, and the *dojo*—an eel which frequents the ditches of rice-fields.

	Yen.
Sea Ear	648,000
Cuttle and Squid	2,902,000
Prawns	1,415,000
Miscellaneous	22,823,000
Total, including units under 1000 ..	54,673,844

Manufactured

	Yen.
Cuttle and Squid (dried)	3,440,000
Sardine (dried)	3,324,000
Bonito ,, ...	5,095,000
Prawns ,, ...	816,000
Herring ,, ...	888,000
Sardine (manure)	531,000
Fish Guano..	4,643,000
Miscellaneous	14,802,000
Total, including units under 1000 ...	33,543,281

For further particulars as to Marine Zoology, see Vol. II, Chap. XIV, p. 274, under 'Zoology.'

XXVI

JAPANESE INDUSTRIES: MINING

THE LATE JUNKICHI FURUKAWA

THE presence of almost every kind of mineral in Japan and the marked improvement in their extraction of late years have drawn the attention of almost every quarter of the globe to this source of some of our riches. Although we cannot as yet boast of the large amount of our annual output, or of the universal application of modern methods to our mines, still it will, I believe, be interesting to my readers to set out with some fulness our leading mineral products and the means employed to win them. Our empire has now become a large exporter, and has achieved this successful result mainly by her own efforts, of itself a noteworthy and interesting feature.

MINERAL RESOURCES OF JAPAN

The Empire of Japan lies between the parallels of 21° and 55° North, and consists of the Islands of Honshū (very long and mountainous), Hokkaidō, Shikoku, Kyūshū, Formosa, and the southern half of Saghalien, besides many smaller ones. Each has its own special conformation, and contains rich deposits of minerals.

As to the geological structure, crystalline schists, forming the axis of Japan, run from south-west to north-east. They crop out at one end in Hyūga Province in Kyūshū, and extend to Shikoku, where the chain separates into two, going east and west. They run to Honshū, and having crossed the Kii and Isé, again crop out in Shinano and the eastern parts of the northern extremity of Honshū; in Hokkaidō they run in the direction of south to north. These crystalline schists form the basis of the

structure of Japan, and upon them lie rocks of every age, with igneous rocks sometimes protruding through them. Among these, those having intimate relation with mining are tertiary sandstone, granite, and liparite.

The geology of the country being very complicated, the species of minerals are also numerous, but unfortunately precious stones worthy the notice of the world are not among them, although beautiful and gigantic crystals of antimony, twined crystals of quartz, topaz, and agate from Ōmi and Mino, and many other rare minerals are not scarce. Metallic productions, such as gold, silver, copper, tin, lead, zinc, antimony, and iron, and non-metallic such as coal, petroleum, and sulphur, are abundant.

Gold.—There are three modes in which gold occurs in Japan. The first is in quartz veins, in schists and paleozoic rocks, which are found in the vicinity of the River Yoshino in Shikoku, and in the district of Késén in Rikuchū Province. The second, and most important, is seen in quartz veins in volcanic rocks, as in Satsuma, Ōsumi, Chikugo, Sado, Ikuno, Handa, and Formosa. The third is placer gold, which is found in Hokkaidō and many other places. The gold ores in our country are plentiful, but at present the output of gold is not large, owing to the comparatively recent introduction of modern methods of working and the lack of large capitalists; but a great increase of production is certain in the near future.

Silver.—Silver is chiefly found in volcanic rocks, especially in tuff, in the form of sulphides, and is generally associated with gold, copper, lead, and zinc. The principal silver mines are those of Sado, Ikuno, Innai, Tsubaki, Kosaka, Ponshikaribétsu, and Kamioka.

Copper.—This occupies the most important position among the mineral products of Japan. There are two kinds of deposits. The first is the bed of crystalline schists or paleozoic sedimentary rocks, where its thickness often reaches to seven or eight feet. This deposit is regular in structure, but its percentage of mineral is generally low, and at its highest grade is only eight or nine per cent., while the lowest is two or three per cent. Famous mines producing this ore are as follow: the Besshi in Iyo, the Hibira and Makiminé in Hyūga, the Itsuki in

Higo, one near the River Yoshino in Kii, the Kuné in Tōtōmi, and the Ina in Shinano.

The second kind occurs as a vein in tuff and some other volcanic rocks. Its good ore contains from one to thirty per cent. copper. Ashio stands first in this class of deposit, and nearly all mines in Sanindō and the head of Honshū are of the same nature.

Lead.—This occurs as sulphides in tuff and other volcanic rocks. The sulphides contain more or less silver. The principal deposits are those of Kamioka in Hida, Hosokura in Rikuchū, and Ponshikaribétsu in Hokkaidō.

Zinc.—This occurs as zinc blends in many veins, generally with other metallic sulphides, but there are not as yet any noteworthy reduction works of this ore in our country.

Antimony.—This is chiefly produced in Ichinokawa in Iyo, Kano in Nagato, and, more or less, in the provinces of Yamato and Higo.

Iron.—This occurs in large quantities both as sulphides and oxides, but the former is not used, and the latter is mainly worked for reduction purposes. The principal oxides are magnetite, hematite, and limonite.

Magnetite occurs as contact deposits between granites and paleozoic sedimentary rocks. The largest deposit of the kind is at Kamaishi in Rikuchū, and next come those of Mimasaka, Aki, Izumo, Iwami, Buzén, and Bungo. This ore is also found in many other places, but they are mostly located far from the sea-coast, and there is much lack of transport. The future development of iron in Japan is largely dependent upon increase in the means of transport.

Hematite occurs in the same state as magnetite, but it is also found in veins in volcanic and sedimentary rocks. The largest deposits are at Akadani and Kamo in Échigo, Senninsan in Rikuchū, and Aoné in Rikuzén.

Limonite, formed from the alteration of iron pyrites, is also found in many places. The leading deposit is at Yanahara in Mimasaka. It also occurs in several places as bog-iron, formed from the precipitation of mineral water.

Coal.—There are two kinds of coal, anthracite and bituminous. Amakusa anthracite is excellent in quality and

resembles somewhat that of Cardiff. Anthracite produced from Nagato is also good. It is also found in Kii.

The leading coal-fields of bituminous mineral are located in the districts of Kyūshū, Hokkaidō, and Iwaki. They all occur in tertiary strata, and generally their quality compares with the best brown coal. The coals from Kyūshū and Hokkaidō are both good and resemble each other, but Iwaki coal is inferior to them. The Miiké and Chiku-Hō coal-fields in Kyūshū are the most famous, and in Hokkaidō the Ishikari coal-field is of importance. In Honshū, Iwaki, and Hitachi coal-fields are well known.

Petroleum.—Petroleum has recently become one of the most important mineral products in our country. The oil-bearing strata all belong to tertiary rocks, with the exception of some special cases, and their geological ages are the same as those of Baku, Galicia, and California. The strata extend from Hokkaidō to Formosa, but the principal oil-field at present is in Échigo, which yields the greater part of the oil production of our country, that of Tōtōmi coming next. Those of Hokkaidō, Uzén, Ugo, Shinano, and Formosa are not yet important.

Sulphur.—As is natural in a country where numerous volcanic mountains exist, large sulphur deposits are found in the neighbourhood of craters, and considerable quantities are obtained annually from Hokkaidō, Ugo, Rikuzén, Shinano, Higo, and Ōsumi.

The Mining Industries of the Empire

In writing the history of mining in Japan, I should deal with the events that have occurred during the last fifty years, but, as a matter of fact, the development of mining industry commenced only thirty years ago. Before that time no noteworthy progress had been made for two or three hundred years. It is much to be regretted that it has not kept pace with other affairs, which have undergone great change during the half-century that has sped by since the opening of the country.

Ancient times.

It does not fall within the scope of this paper to trace matters back to ancient times, nor do I wish to do so, but it is clear, as proved by many records and household utensils, that our

country has always produced gold, silver, copper, iron, and several kinds of precious stones. Gold and copper were regarded as the most important metals, and both have largely influenced commerce and industry as well as foreign trade since the Middle Ages. In the reign of the Emperor Mommu, some twelve hundred years ago, it is said that the Emperor ordered a certain person of Oshimi-gōri in Yamato to mine at Tsushima for gold. Fifty years later the Empress Kōkén accepted a tribute of gold from the province of Mutsu. In the time of Hidéyoshi Toyotomi, the Sado gold mine had already been worked. According to Marco Polo, Japan was full of gold ores, and it is believed that the first object of Columbus sailing westward was to obtain our gold and silver. At any rate, it is clear that Japan was a large and continuous exporter of gold in the Middle Ages. An old record shows the export of gold and silver to European countries and China to have reached the following considerable totals:

Exported gold and silver.

Gold.—Total: 31,380 *kan* (1 *kan* = 8⅓ lb. avoirdupois). Period: for 164 years prior to 1766. Destination: Spain, Portugal, China, and Holland. Average export per year: 191 *kan*.

Silver.—Total: 1,123,000 *kan*. Period: the same as above. Destination: China and Holland. Average export per year: 6851 *kan*.

Copper.

Copper has occupied a most important position, both from an economical and commercial standpoint, in our country. Copper seems to have been worked from very early times, for we find many mirrors, swords, and arms made of it, and it was also cast into coins for use throughout the country. Copper was the material mainly employed in the statues of the Buddha and for Buddhist utensils, and it is said that the gigantic statue of the Buddha at Nara was cast from copper collected from all parts of the country. As to the export of copper, although it has flowed out for a long time, the quantity at first was not so large as that of gold and silver, which practically controlled the foreign trade, while copper remained only as one of the important articles of export. When gold and silver were over-exported, the Government tried to check their exodus and to restore the balance of trade by replacing a part of them with copper.

In 1685 the Trading Law was reformed, and travelling vessels were limited in numbers in consequence of that policy. Copper then became the most important export to China and Holland, but whenever there was a shortage of supply, exportation was checked and the balance kept. According to the new laws, in 1715 the total amount of copper to be exported in one year to China and Holland was limited to 4,500,000 *kin* (1 *kin* = 1⅓ lb. avoir.). This was the policy pursued in foreign trade, and from this we can easily understand the state of things at that time. Afterwards *tawaramono*, or baled goods, such as *iriko* (dried sea-slug) and *hoshiawabi* (dried sea-ear), were exported to supplement the deficiency of copper when its production lessened. Japan thus supplied copper to China, Korea, the Straits Settlements, India, and certain European countries, such as Holland, Spain, Portugal, until the copper-mining industry declined.

In view of these facts, the trade before 1668 at Nagasaki is called by some historians 'the Age of Silver Trading,' the years 1668–1685 'the Age of Gold Trading,' and the days after that time 'the Age of Copper Trading.' These names pretty well indicate the real state of the trade in early days.

After the Restoration (1868) the Government paid special attention to the development of commerce and industry, and opened a new epoch for our mining, employing foreign engineers and experts and introducing Western science and the art of mining.

Foreign experts engaged by the Japanese.

I give below the names of the foreigners engaged at that time to aid our mining works: Mr. Godfrey (English), Chief Mining Engineer at the Mining Bureau in the Engineering Department; Messrs. Gower (English), Goignet (French), Janin (American), Netto (German), Martin (English), and Potter (English), mining engineers at various mines.

Besides the above, a few Frenchmen and Germans were employed. Blake and Pumpelly, both Americans, had been engaged by the Shōgunate so far back as 1862; they commenced the geological survey of Hokkaidō, and it was Pumpelly who first taught our miners the method of using explosives for breaking rocks. Nor must we forget the name of B. S. Lyman in connection with our geological survey;

he came to Japan by request of the Colonization Government of Hokkaidō in 1873 upon the recommendation of the Washington Government, and assisted at the geological survey of Hokkaidō, where he gave information on coal, petroleum, iron, placer gold, and other minerals occurring. He next served in the Department of Home Affairs and then in the Engineering Department. While thus employed he made investigations as to the oil-wells in Échigo and other places. He also examined the coal-fields in Kyūshū and the iron deposits in Kamaishi, as well as many other important minerals in our country. This was the beginning of geological work in Japan. Monroe, who came with Lyman as assistant, explored the placer gold and other minerals in Hokkaidō, and was afterwards professor of geology in the Tōkyō University, where he obtained many good results. From this it is clear that our country acquired the science and art of mining from the efforts of Anglo-Saxons—English and American.

Mining administration and education of engineers.

In the beginning of the Méiji era our Government vigorously essayed several means to develop the mining industry, and in 1871 established the Engineering Seminary ('*Kōgaku Ryō*') in the Engineering Department, for the education of mining engineers, but in 1877 it closed it, and established the Imperial College of Engineering ('*Kōbu-Daigakkō*'), which imparted a higher education relating to mining and metallurgy. This college was also subsequently closed, its students being transferred to the Imperial University, where still higher education was taught. In addition to the above, the Government, desiring quicker graduation for mining students, built several special schools. At that time ten important mines, namely Sado, Miiké, Ikuno, Takashima, Ani, Innai, Kamaishi, Nakakosaka, Ōkatsura, and Kosaka, were worked by the Government itself to obtain quick development, but after having been fairly started, they were transferred to the hands of private persons. Nowadays all mines, except some few of iron and coal which serve special objects, are in private hands. In 1873 the Government issued the 'Mining Law of Japan,' in which many amendments have since been made, until finally, in 1890, a new Mining Law, coming into force from the 1st of June 1892, was enacted. Our mining industry, however, continued to progress in such a remarkable degree that

this soon became inefficient, and in 1905 a further mining law was enacted, which, it is not too much to say, is amongst the most complete of its kind in the world.

Application of water power to mines.

One thing is especially noticeable in Japanese mining, namely, the close relationship between the development of mining and the application of water power. Thus, in 1890, the total power used throughout the country, both of steam and water, was only 5300 H.P., but in 1902 it was 122,000 H.P., showing an increase of twenty-three times in thirteen years. Hydro-electric power was first introduced at the Ashio Copper Mine in 1890, and thereafter at several other mines in the country. Originally our mines were all shallow workings, some of them being even carried along the surface only. But it soon became clear that to obtain an unlimited supply of rich ores, deep borings must be made, and, if obtainable, water power was the most convenient to use for that purpose. Fortunately our country is very hilly and mountainous, so that we can obtain everywhere streams of large volume and strength of water. The future of our mining work will probably depend upon this water power.

Present Condition of the Mining Industry

The fame of our mining industry seems to be due to Japan being the largest coal and copper producer and exporter in the Far East, and though the production of iron is not abundant in our country, the iron foundry at Wakamatsu is noted for its large scale and the completeness of its working. The statistics of Japan for the year 1903 and 1906 are as follow :

Amount of Minerals Produced

Name.	1903. Quantity. *Momme.*[1]	1903. Value. *Yen.*	1906. Quantity. *Momme.*	1906. Value. *Yen.*
Gold	835,847	4,179,235	726,743	3,633,715
Silver	15,627,245	1,969,033	20,985,741	3,439,143
Copper	55,312,343	17,202,139	64,191,051	30,079,926
Lead	2,875,601	204,168	4,687,823	496,909
Tin	31,886	19,833	44,651	32,792 (1904)[2]
Pig Iron	7,809,351	976,169	20,732,063	2,717,973 (1904)
Cast Iron	367,205	27,908	367,205	27,908 (1904)
Wrought Iron	497,642	167,705	226,292	76,351 (1904)
Steel	342,185	93,759	11,627,073	2,177,751 (1904)
Iron Pyrites	4,298,932	25,794	13,413,882	93,995

[1] *Momme* = 2·411 dwt. (troy).

[2] The statistics for 1906 of the minerals against which the year 1904 is placed are not procurable.

Amount of Minerals Produced—cont.

Name.	1903. Quantity.	1903. Value.	1906. Quantity.	1906. Value.
	Kin.[1]	*Yen.*	*Kin.*	*Yen.*
Copperas	141,790	1,276	1,039,700	12,486 (1904)
Red Ochre	97,420	2,227	88,720	1,153 (1904)
Arsenic	10,431	855	5,900	454 (1904)
Mercury	343	435	622	808 (1904)
Antimony	977,228	107,828	503,990	228,626
„ pure	722,174	90,994	535,582	69,625 (1904)
„ sulphite ..	255,054	16,834	172,976	12,108 (1904)
Manganese	9,344,482	37,378	21,402,302	513,665
	French ton.		French ton.	
Coal	10,088,845	28,978,122	12,980,103	63,144,000
Coke	46,649	88,820	44,491	94,766 (1904)
Lignite	49,862	68,461	48,268	67,575 (1904)
	Koku.		*Koku.*	
Petroleum	1,065,116	2,819,362	1,378,397	3,145,502
	Kin.		*Kin.*	
Sulphur	38,123,175	571,848	47,220,421	613,865
Graphite	189,603	21,994	309,678	35,303 (1904)
Phosphor	318,084	1,202	21,875	1,619 (1904)
	Kwan.		*Kwan.*	
Asphalt	95,000	950	154,000	1,450 (1904)
Total		57,478,406		108,397,838

Production in Formosa, 1906

Gold	379,000 *mommé.*
Coal	171,990,000 *kin.*
Sulphur	1,334,000 „

N.B.—Besides the outputs of pig-iron and steel in this table, there were 12,891 tons (French ton) of pig-iron and 42,264 tons (French ton) of steel produced at the Government Iron Works in 1904.

Mineral Productions of the Leading Mines
1904

Name of Mine.	Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Lead.	Iron.	Value.
	Kan.	*Kan.*	*Kin.*			*Yen.*
Ushio, Kagoshima	116,293	43,409	—	—	—	587,626
Sado, Niigata ..	83,767	837,605	19,303	—	—	544,232
Yamagano, Kagoshima	75,109	85,234	—	—	—	387,644
Innai, Akita ..	21,908	2,430,875	—	—	—	454,651
Ikuno, Hyōgo ..	54,590	1,387,438	1,322,052	—	—	913,869
Kamioka, Gifu ..	—	977,268	28,362	1,645,436	—	248,671
Bonshikaribétsu, Hokkaidō ..	5,216	756,216	—	—	—	133,440
Tsubaki, Akita ..	—	754,821	—	—	—	108,163
Ashio, Tochigi ..	—	—	10,965,861	—	—	3,682,336
Beesshi, Ehimé ..	—	—	8,203,410	—	—	2,754,705
Kosaka, Akita ..	39,310	3,101,046	6,063,549	309,118	—	2,699,375
Osaruzawa, Akita	1,083	—	2,028,097	—	—	686,450
Ani, Akita ..	655	302	1,701,872	—	—	575,673
Makiminé, Miyazaki	—	—	1,557,227	—	—	522,917
Hibira, Miyazaki	—	—	1,521,254	—	—	510,837
Kamaishi, Iwaté	—	—		—	7,106,454	923,839
Sennin, Iwaté ..	—	—	—	—	807,037	133,418

[1] *Kin* = 1·322 lb. (avoir.).

Mineral Productions of the Leading Mines—cont.

1904

	Sulphur. *Kin.*	Coal. French ton.	Petroleum. *Koku.*	Value. *Yen.*
Yamagata, Kobui, Hokkaidō..	10,047,011	—	—	120,564
Oshino, Kobui, Hokkaidō ..	6,028,789	—	—	102,489
Iwaoto, Hokkaidō	3,810,646	—	—	51,825
Tsurugizan, Iwatè	3,374,316	—	—	46,196
Miikè, Fukuoka	—	1,252,235	—	3,491,464
Tagawa, Fukuoka	—	474,269	—	1,438,143
Yubari, Hokkaidō	—	469,123	—	2,149,124
Méiji, Fukuoka	—	448,545	—	1,106,931
Shinnyū, Fukuoka	—	440,953	—	1,059,201
Ōnoura, Fukuoka	—	418,671	—	1,022,944
Katsuno, Fukuoka	—	415,710	—	983,619
Ōtsuji, Fukuoka	—	271,715	—	489,286
Takashima, Nagasaki	—	231,429	—	919,586
Namazuta, Fukuoka	—	224,873	—	555,162
Horonai, Hokkaidō	—	194,929	—	868,988
Sorachi, Hokkaidō	—	167,790	—	767,350
Nishiyama, Niigata	—	—	276,288	820,576
Higashiyama, Niigata	—	—	217,391	992,991
Niizu, Niigata	—	—	168,004	329,288

1905

Yamagata, Kobui, Hokkaidō ..	8,656,541	—	—	103,792
Oshino, Kobui, Hokkaidō ..	4,473,528	—	—	78,730
Iwaoto, Hokkaidō	3,228,377	—	—	44,197
Tsurugizan, Iwatè	4,600,898	—	—	64,358
Miikè, Fukuoka	—	1,106,604	—	3,455,544
Tagawa, Fukuoka	—	458,231	—	1,429,156
Yubari, Hokkaidō	—	463,874	—	2,597,847
Méiji, Fukuoka	—	454,285	—	1,152,864
Shinnyū, Fukuoka	—	408,398	—	1,057,042
Ōnoura, Fukuoka	—	364,401	—	949,231
Katsuno, Fukuoka	—	348,589	—	860,093
Ōtsuji, Fukuoka	—	261,749	—	482,569
Takashima, Nagasaki	—	199,259	—	932,240
Namazuta, Fukuoka	—	229,076	—	561,845
Horonai, Hokkaidō	—	214,532	—	1,163,540
Sorachi, Hokkaidō	—	153,742	—	806,445
Nishiyama, Niigata	—	—	317,402	783,440
Higashiyama, Niigata	—	—	226,562	841,153
Niizu, Niigata	—	—	149,294	345 057

The gradual increase of mineral production in Japan may be seen from the following comparative table:

Comparative Table of Chief Mineral Products

	1906.	1894.	1884.	1874.
	Momme.	*Kan.*	*Kan.*	*Kan.*
Gold	726,743	209,509	73,233	25,952
Silver ..	20,985,741	19,209,527	6,107,047	728,063
	Kin.	*Kin.*	*Kin.*	*Kin.*
Copper ..	64,191,051	33,186,229	14,814,313	3,516,281
Lead	4,687,823	2,375,927	144,938	101,231
Tin	—	64,381	46,625	22,338
	Kan.	*Kan.*	*Kan.*	*Kan.*
Iron	13,413,882	5,182,463	3,162,788	1,301,920
Iron Pyrites ..	9,591,302	1,374,256	—	—
	Kin.	*Kin.*	*Kin.*	*Kin.*
Copperas ..	—	1,504,792	633,500	807,400
Arsenic ..	—	8,964	126,469	9,831
Antimony ..	503,990	2,618,551	2,461,549	—
Manganese ..	21,402,302	22,240,739	208,100	95,000

Comparative Table of Chief Mineral Products—cont.

	1906.	1894.	1884.	1874.
	French ton.	French ton.	French ton.	French ton.
Coal	12,980,103	4,302,280	1,139,937	207,893
	Koku.	*Koku.*	*Koku.*	*Koku.*
Petroleum ..	1,378,397	151,986	6,216	3,079
	Kin.	*Kin.*	*Kin.*	*Kin.*
Sulphur ..	47,220,421	31,257,166	7,132,203	968,075
Graphite ..	—	1,815,000	4,075	—

In order to show the scope of our mining conditions, the areas of prospecting places and claims, the number of miners, their wages, and the motive power expended are given below.

Area of Prospecting Places and Claims

Year.	Prospecting Places.	Claims.
	Tsubo.	*Tsubo.*
1898	1,652,228,849	495,849,293
1902	2,480,928,646	788,156,282
1906	1,132,869,752	876,696,293

Total Number of Miners in Each Year

Year.	Total.	Metal Mines.	Coal Fields.	Others.
1897	160,539	71,988	82,529	6,022
1900	131,011	54,805	70,508	5,698
1906	187,922	73,751	106,589	7,582

Amount of Daily Wages of Miners in Each Year

Year.	Metal Mines.			Coal Fields.			Non-Metallic Mines.		
	Men.	Women.	Infants.	Men.	Women.	Infants.	Men.	Women.	Infants.
	Rin.[1]	*Rin.*	*Rin.*	*Rin.*	*Rin.*	*Rin.*	*Rin.*	*Rin.*	*Rin.*
1898 ..	339	157	110	477	281	155	363	221	—
1900 ..	379	181	119	488	281	160	417	224	—
1902 ..	419	193	118	504	290	177	476	207	—

Exports and imports of mineral productions.

The above show the mining condition of the empire. Matters before the Restoration, and even immediately afterwards, were, as I have already mentioned, insignificant, but coal, copper, sulphur, &c., were continuously exported, as the following table shows :

[1] One *rin*—the one-thousandth part of a *yen* (two shillings).

Early Exports of Copper, Coal, and Sulphur.

1868	Coal	15,584	tons
1873	„	47,172	„
1868	Copper	685,766	*kin*
1873	„	2,876,142	„
1868	Sulphur	196,675	„
1873	„	1,113,749	„

The following table shows that the increase of exports has kept pace with the development of the mining industry:

Exports

	1894.		1884.		1874.	
	Quantity. *Kin.*	Value. *Yen.*	Quantity. *Kin.*	Value. *Yen.*	Quantity. *Kin.*	Value. *Yen.*
Copper ..	25,404,092	4,900,756	8,637,981	1,386,800	3,414,800	550,390
Antimony	2,682,813	254,261	1,648,591	73,848	—	—
Manganese	29,341,892	198,810	—	—	—	—
	French ton.		French ton.		French ton.	
Coal ..	1,714,739	6,578,462	519,290	1,809,932	117,600	555,341
	Kin.		*Kin.*		*Kin.*	
Sulphur ..	21,103,646	244,541	5,527,758	66,645	2,163,294	35,555

Lastly, the following tables show imports and exports of our principal minerals:

Exports

	Copper.		Antimony.	
	Quantity. French ton.	Value. *Yen.*	Quantity. French ton.	Value. *Yen.*
1899	21,804	11,383,358	1,046	206,516
1901	21,991	13,904,610	279	78,491
1903	27,615	14,906,034	1,753	388,628
1907	——	29,262,693	——	——

	Manganese.		Coal.		Sulphur.	
	Quantity. French ton.	Value. *Yen.*	Quantity. French ton.	Value. *Yen.*	Quantity. French ton.	Value. *Yen.*
1899 ..	9,395	152,688	2,507,515	15,164,867	16,684	574,868
1901 ..	8,953	187,177	2,945,593	17,542,273	17,928	661,879
1903 ..	3,343	77,893	3,460,928	19,260,505	25,528	947,225
1907 ..	——	——	——	19,052,886	——	1,091,389

Imports

	Lead.		Tin.		Mercury.	
	Quantity. French ton.	Value. *Yen.*	Quantity. French ton.	Value. *Yen.*	Quantity. Pound.	Value. *Yen.*
1899 ..	3,804	523,899	366	361,287	203,958	219,013
1901 ..	6,976	994,803	471	530,243	189,808	218,613
1903 ..	5,735	703,391	438	544,767	224,989	254,612
1907 ..	——	853,098	—	1,393,999	——	——

	Zinc.		Iron.		Petroleum.	
	Quantity. French ton.	Value. *Yen.*	Quantity. French ton.	Value. *Yen.*	Quantity. Barrel.	Value. *Yen.*
1899 ..	4,980	1,311,147	103,561	8,174,776	1,248,139	7,918,149
1901 ..	4,321	930,759	124,221	9,093,198	1,642,771	14,943,401
1903 ..	6,651	1,150,834	145,730	10,678,244	1,423,338	11,455,696
1907 ..	——	1,906,648	——	——	——	14,324,800

Mining Regulations and Mining Proprietors

Regulations and laws.

It may be of interest in concluding this paper to say a word about the mining regulations of the empire and the status of mine-owners working under this law.

As I have already mentioned, the development of our mining is yet in its infancy, and there is nothing special to record concerning it in the early part of the present era, except in the case of one or two governmental works, which for a few years after the Restoration were worked by the Government itself. Among these were:

Gold and silver mines: Sado, Ikuno, Kosaka, Ōkatsura, Innai.

Copper mines: Ani.

Coal mines: Miiké, Takashima, Aburato.

Iron mines: Nakakosaka, Kamaishi.

At that time, although the right of mining had been granted to individuals, their works were insignificant, and the only large ones were either those of the Government or those worked by the feudal lords; for although the former gave zealous encouragement, very few individuals took it up, perhaps because there were no fixed rules governing the privilege. In consequence the Government, in 1873, enacted the Mining Regulations, which were the first of the kind in our country. The provisions were taken mostly from the Spanish mining law, and were compiled by Mr. Godfrey and the officers of the Mining Bureau in the Engineering Department. Under these regulations, the right of an individual to work mines was still narrowly limited, and his operations were under Government guidance and inspection. Considered from to-day's standpoint, this may seem to have been over-interference, but probably it was necessary under the conditions then existing. Owing to the changes of the times and general development this law became unsuitable, and the Government in 1890 compiled a new mining law, '*Kōgyō-Jōréi*,' which was put into force in 1892. This gave the right of mining to individuals, and anybody in the empire can now work mines. The remarkable progress of our mining works between 1892 and 1905 originated from this new law, although, as time went by, the

law was found to have still some defects. Thus those who had once obtained the privilege of prospecting could occupy the land for an unlimited period, without undertaking any real work. Consequently the Government, with the approval of Parliament, enacted another law, '*Kōgyō-Hō*,' which was put into force in 1905. This not only prevents the practices above mentioned, but also provides for the better safety of miners, and gives more facilities to miners to lodge complaints with the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, or the Court of Administrative Litigation.

Mr. Ōshima.

Not a few scholars as well as business men have devoted themselves to the industry. The late Mr. Takatō Ōshima especially may be named. He was the director of the '*Nippon Kōgyō Kai*' (Mining Society of Japan), and always kept the progress of the mining industry to the fore, both when in and out of power; he was also instrumental in importing the newest machinery and other applications of modern science: indeed, his life may be said to constitute a history of the development of Japan's mining industry.

The Sumitomo.

Of private individuals who have had really close connection with the mining industry of the empire, the most notable are the Sumitomo family. The Besshi Copper Mine was discovered in 1690 by an ancestor of this family, and the output of that mine grew to 2,500,000 *kin* within eight years of its being worked. It declined somewhat in the beginning of the Méiji era, and its output decreased to 500,000 *kin* a year, but the family continued the work with great perseverance and the utmost energy, and before long the mine recovered its prosperity and made remarkable progress, becoming one of the largest copper mines in this country, next in rank to the Ashio Copper Mine, with which I am connected. At present the Fujita Company is one of the largest mining operators, and both the Kosaka Copper Mine and the Formosa Gold Mine of that company are the most considerable of their kind in Japan. The Miiké Coal Mine of the Mitsui Company, and the Sado and Ikuno (both silver and gold) Mines of the Mitsubishi Company are also leading mines in Japan. Among private promoters of mining enterprise immediately after the Restoration we must count Onogumi, that firm being one of the six concerns of marked influence

Fujita, Mitsui, Mitsubishi, and others.

at the time. It owned fifty-seven mines, gold, copper, and iron, besides carrying on a foreign trade in silk and other business.

Ichibéi Furukawa

My father, Ichibéi Furukawa, was one of the officials of that company, but after its unfortunate bankruptcy he engaged in mining business on his own account. The first mine he worked was the Kusakura Copper Mine, in 1875, and amongst others established by him were:

Copper mines: Ashio, Kuné, Ani, Kusakura, Nagamatsu, Furōkura, Mizusawa. Silver mine: Innai. Coal mines: Several collieries in Kyūshū. Reduction works: Honjo. Coke manufactory: Fukagawa.

The policy which he followed in conducting his business was to carry on continuous development, and to that end he consecrated all the profits obtained from his works. Besides this, he employed his faculties and gains in importing modern machines and every new application of modern science. Exigencies of space prohibits mention of the machines and processes introduced by him, but his large plant for preventing mineral poison at Ashio has no equal in the world.

Kerosene industry.

The kerosene industry in Japan is quite a recent business, and is worked by newly established companies only. But in recording the history of kerosene mining, we must notice Shiuzō Ishizaka, a man of Échigo, who imported modern machines from America and applied them at several wells; in fact, this industry may be said to have been created and developed by him. In Échigo, the principal oil district in Japan, the two companies, '*Nippon Sékiyu Kaisha*' and '*Takarada Sékiyu Kaisha*,' which were established in 1888 and 1893 respectively, have adopted the latest methods, including oil-boring machines from America. The production in 1906 was 1,065,116 *koku*, as against 1,378,397 in 1903.

Coal mining.

Our coal mining, though not a recent business, has been brought to its present flourishing condition by the adoption of new systems of workings and the application of new machinery by means of the ample investments of large capitalists and firms. The leading firm in Hokkaidō is the Hokkaidō Colliery Railway Company. In Kyūshū, the coal mines belonging to the '*Mitsui Kōzan Gōméi Kaisha*,' the '*Mitsubishi Gōshi Kaisha*,' and Messrs. Tasuké Kaijima, Kéiichirō Yasukawa, Kōtarō

Hiraoka and Tokujirō Nakano and myself include the greater part. Mine operators have not only done much for the improvement and development of the industry, but have also largely increased the facilities of transport and communication on land and on sea in Hokkaidō and Kyūshū.

Speaking generally, the early guidance and encouragement of the Government on the one hand, and the advice of scientific men on the other, caused our mine-owners to readily apply the modern science and methods of Western countries, and these have been the chief factors in the growth of our mining industry.

For further particulars as to the Geology of Japan, see Vol. II, Chap. XIV, p. 279, under 'Geology.'

XXVII

THE FOREIGN TRADE OF JAPAN AND ITS FUTURE PROSPECTS

TAKASHI MASUDA, TŌKYŌ CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Forecast as to Japan's future.

How often are we told that first impressions are the correct ones? Such assuredly was the case as regards those of one of the first Americans who visited Japan, and who is reported as having given as his earliest impression, 'Should the country arrive at the stage of breaking off its inherited customs with regard to the general trade of the world, it is bound to become a nation of as great prosperity in the East as England is in the West.' Impressions such as these must have served as a moving cause of America's fleet being dispatched in 1853 to Japan. Be that as it may, the prophecy has proved to be correct, and Perry with his ships is now regarded as having been a godsend in disguise.

The political and social reforms, the increase of national power, the progress of the people, the firm establishment of national defences since that visit have already been dealt with in these pages, and it now only behoves me to say something as to the progress and development of trade and commerce, which have been as astonishing as that of everything else.

Four stages of Japan's foreign trade.

A survey of Japan's foreign trade will be easiest treated of if we regard it under the following headings:

1st. That of the period before the opening of its ports to foreign trade, *i.e.* the time of the Tokugawa Administration.

2nd. That of the period of its commencement, during which treaties with foreign nations were concluded and ports were opened for trade, a period covering a space of ten years after the Restoration of 1868.

3rd. That of the period during which the monetary system was adjusted and financial organizations re-created.

4th. That of the period during which commerce, injuriously affected by sudden fluctuations in the relative value of gold and silver prior to the China-Japan War, was restored to a normal state by the solid establishment of the gold standard.

JAPAN'S FOREIGN TRADE UNDER THE TOKUGAWA RÉGIME

'Closed door' policy.

Although during the Tokugawa *régime* the Government, deviating from its policy of seclusion, gave to Dutch ships the privilege of loading cargoes at the port of Nagasaki, it was subjected to such restrictions that the resulting transactions were of too limited an extent to be designated foreign trade.

Even if many other ports had been open, it would have been impossible for general trade to flourish, for, in pursuance of its hereditary policy of seclusion, the Government prohibited both the building of large ships and navigation in foreign seas, and pronounced as illegal all trading intercourse with foreigners. This naturally tended to make the people regard foreign trade as something pertaining to treason, and many instances might be cited of the dangers which threatened the pioneers of our over-sea commerce even after the opening of treaty ports. It was particularly unfortunate that, as it neared its accomplishment, the political movement for abolishing the feudal system coincided with the upholding of the 'closed door' policy, so that an anti-foreign feeling predominated throughout the nation. This led to the perpetration of horrible crimes: statesmen of the Tokugawa Government, who concluded the treaties for the open ports, being assassinated; foreigners being assaulted on the open highways, and their houses being set on fire. Even Japanese who ventured to hold intercourse with foreigners for trading purposes were murdered as knaves betraying the nation, and others saved their lives only by giving material monetary assistance to the anti-foreign parties.

The feudal system and seclusion policy.

The feudal system of the Tokugawa Government served to exaggerate the ills of the policy of seclusion, for under it the empire was divided into three hundred independent fiefs, each ruled by its own feudal lord. These lords naturally endeavoured

to prevent all domiciliary changes as well as the removal of property from one fief to another, and in extreme cases they decreed that even the staple food-stuffs of the people, such as rice and other grain, must not be transported beyond the boundaries of their own dominions, and there resulted occasionally the curious phenomenon of one fief suffering from famine while its neighbour was rejoicing in superfluity. Thus, under the Tokugawa Administration, Japan was subjected to the pressure of a double policy of seclusion, namely, the adherence of the fiefs to a *régime* of seclusion among themselves, and the maintenance by the whole empire of a policy of seclusion towards the world at large. Moreover, the primary producers of national wealth, namely merchants, farmers, and artisans, suffered under very heavy burdens, for they were precluded from enjoying the harvest of their own hard-earned efforts, and any attempt to raise their scale of living was liable to be regarded by the authorities as unpardonable extravagance, and generally resulted in the confiscation of their property. Even private rights were not respected by the feudal officials, who arrogated the right to participate in the private monetary transactions of the people. In this way, not only was there no guarantee of the safety of life or property, but the varied industrial occupations of the people were strictly controlled by a so-called 'patent system,' which restricted these occupations to a certain number of persons who enjoyed the privileges under patent, so that no one, unless thus equipped, could carry on any business whatever. Free competition was of course almost completely annihilated, and it was impossible to hope either for any advance of the national industries or for the faintest progress of foreign trade.

Perry's perseverance.

Perry needed much strength of purpose to enable him to shatter this policy of seclusion. Had he abandoned the attempt on encountering the stern refusal of the Tokugawa Government, there would have resulted great misfortune for Japan. But fortunately his earnest persuasion and insistent demands induced the Tokugawa Government to sign a 'Treaty of Amity and Commerce between Japan and the United States of America' in March 1854.

Japan, having thus shaken off its system of seclusion,

fortunately found in the American Minister, Townsend Harris, a competent adviser as to the details of carrying out the treaties concluded with other Powers within the succeeding ten years, whereby the commerce of Japan was thrown open to all the world. Nevertheless, owing to the impediments placed by the feudal system in the path of industrial development, as previously explained, there were hardly any exports during this period beyond copper and vegetable wax.

Townsend Harris.

Foreign Trade during the Early Years of Méiji

The breaking up of the policy of seclusion was followed by the abolition of the feudal system. The Restoration, which commenced with the resignation of the ruling Shōgun in 1868 and concluded with the abolition of clans and the establishment of prefectures in 1871, was a great event, not only politically, but also from social and economical points of view. Politically, the foundations of the empire were firmly laid on constitutional principles; socially, the people obtained a right to enjoy equal rights; and economically, unnatural restrictions were removed. All barriers having thus been pulled down, the foreign trade of Japan soon began to show signs of the activity which has marked the subsequent forty years.

Results of the Restoration.

Let us, for example, take the total amounts of the import and export trades during the year of the Restoration as 100 units, and calculate from that basis the proportions in which annual tradal progress was subsequently made:

Recent progress.

Year.	Percentage.	Year.	Percentage.
1868	100	1890	527
1870	184	1895	1011
1875	185	1900	2084
1880	248	1904	2718
1885	253	1907	3530

The above shows that the foreign trade of Japan increased thirty-five-fold during the forty years ending 1907. But the real progress cannot be shown by simple figures only. It is necessary to glance at the primitive methods practised in the early years of Méiji, to fully understand how remarkable

has been the material progress made. Perhaps it will not be without interest to offer a few of my personal experiences during the initial stages.

Difficulties in business transactions at the beginning.

The principal difficulties at that time arose from mutual ignorance of language and the difference of customs. Merchants, both Japanese and foreign, were unable in most cases to consult each other on business matters directly, and had to employ as necessary mediums special clerks called 'compradors.' These compradors were at first always Chinese, and they aimed only at obtaining commissions for themselves, just as they are now doing in the open ports of China, never troubling themselves about the real interests of the trade. The relations between Japanese and foreign merchants were thus greatly estranged, and the intimacy and confidence so necessary to the smooth working of business relations between both parties were entirely lacking. Great inconvenience was experienced by Japanese merchants, who could neither obtain goods without cash payments, nor receive their own dues without actual delivery of their goods. The compradores invariably took the profits, and it was not an uncommon occurrence to see a foreign merchant, who had failed in business, working in the employment of his old comprador.

Foreign merchants and the control of trade.

Japanese merchants at that time were generally deficient in business essentials. They lacked capital, system, and energy. Hence the controlling power was vested entirely in foreign hands. For instance, in export transactions, foreign merchants would often obtain delivery of the whole consignment and after a few days declare the contract annulled, on some pretext or other, thus making these transactions almost unbearable to the Japanese. This unsatisfactory dealing still exists to a certain extent, but many Japanese have begun to conduct direct import and export business for themselves, and have been quite successful, some of them having opened branch offices in various parts of the world to deal in more important commodities.

Imperial Government pay all debts due by fiefs to foreigners.

Among my recollections, there are some of cases of purely accidental occurrences which largely contributed to the development of foreign trade. For instance, in the latter days of the Tokugawa Government, the feudal clans, moved by the cry of anti-foreign sentiment that was gaining

ground, began to make vigorous attempts to reform their military organizations, and these attempts were continued with even increased vigour after the Restoration had been declared. The payments for arms, purchased by the various clans, became debts to the foreign merchants who supplied them, and some of the more speculative of the foreign merchants were willing to make advances of money to these clans. Although the Restoration somewhat imperilled the rights of creditors for a time, the Imperial Government, after the restoration of order, admitted the liability of the fiefs for the obligations incurred by them, and made a point of repaying in cash all debts due to foreigners. This was an unexpected boon to the foreign creditors, and they invested the money thus received in the funds allocated towards carrying on the foreign trade of the country, thus indirectly serving to promote its prosperity.

Suppression of the Insurrection of 1877 and Adjustment of the Monetary System

Reforms in monetary system.

A firmly founded monetary system is one of the essential conditions for the development of industry and the progress of trade. At the time of the Restoration the monetary system of Japan was in a hopelessly confused state: there were in general circulation over sixty kinds of gold, silver, copper, and iron coins of heterogeneous form, size, and quality, and besides these, as many as sixteen hundred kinds were current exclusively within the dominions of various clans. This unsatisfactory state of affairs, aggravated by the Imperial Government issuing coins of inferior quality to meet the pressing need consequent upon the war of the Restoration, seemed at one time almost irremediable. To go fully into the reforms effected in the monetary system during the subsequent thirty years would be a task of much interest from an historical point of view, but I will here deal only with such points as hold close relation to foreign trade.

The gold-standard system.

As the various political reforms undertaken by the Government were being gradually effected, endeavours were also made to accomplish social reforms, and the adjustment of the monetary system received its due share of attention. In 1871 the gold standard was adopted, and the Government also issued a special silver coin, similar in quality and weight to the Mexican dollar then in general use in Oriental countries, as a trading medium. It was circulated under the name of the 'Trade Silver *Yen*,' as legal tender within the limits of the open ports.

Gold standard supplanted by bimetallic system.

Unfortunately, however, the gold specie began to flow abroad, driven out by the inconvertible paper money indiscriminately issued by the Government to patch up financial deficiencies, and it became impracticable to maintain the gold standard. Consequently, in 1878, the restriction laid upon the 'Trade Silver *Yen*,' namely that it should be used only within the open ports, was withdrawn, and it came to be freely employed instead of gold in all kinds of transactions, public and private, inclusive of the payment of duties. The gold standard was thus practically changed into a bimetallic system of gold and silver. In the meantime, however, the confused state of the currency had been to a great extent adjusted.

Abundant issue of inconvertible paper money.

In 1877 the great insurrection in the south-west of the empire broke out, and not only was the industry of the nation seriously disturbed by the ensuing war, but the financial policy adopted by the Government subsequent to the war did great damage to the economic interests of the people; for, as the Government, in order to finance the war, had to issue inconvertible paper money year after year, and also authorized the National Banks to do the same, the total amount thus issued by the Government by the conclusion of the war reached the sum of 170,000,000 *yen* in March 1880, and the notes fell to a discount as against silver, which discount attained the maximum figure of 79·5 per cent. in May of 1881. This was the period of the extremest financial stress during the present era, the national industries being entirely disorganized and the foreign trade disturbed by a sudden increase of imports.

How this difficult situation was resolved is stated at length elsewhere (p. 381), but I may briefly say that the Government, on the one hand, established the Bank of Japan, and, on the other, endeavoured to redeem the paper currency with the surplus of its annual income, at the same time providing a specie reserve fund and encouraging the export trade by applying the fund to discounting foreign bills of exchange, &c. All these various efforts bearing fruit, the value of paper money at the end of 1885 was found to be at par with that of silver, and the system of specie payment was put into practice in 1886.

Establishment of a central bank.

At this time the foreign trade of the empire attained its second stage of progress, and the tide of business turned sufficiently to show an excess in exports. The following list indicates the comparative percentage of the export and import trade accounts from 1877 to 1907:

Second stage of Japan's foreign trade.

Table of Comparative Percentages of Imports and Exports, 1877–1907

Year.	Exports.	Imports.
1877	46·05	53·95
1881	50·00	50·00
1889	51·44	48·56
1900	41·50	58·50
1907	45·50	54·50

Such progress in the foreign trade was of course due to the promotion of national industries. For example, in 1884 the number of the various companies, agricultural, commercial, and industrial, was 2392 with an aggregate capital of 100,000,000 *yen*; in 1892 there were 5644 companies with a total capital of 289,000,000 *yen*. Cotton-spinning factories, which had only 65,000 spindles in 1886, had 381,000 in 1893. In 1883 the railway mileage was 245 miles; in 1892 it had extended to 1869 miles. And this progress has continued to be of a steady and substantial nature. In 1906 the aggregate capital of various companies amounted to 1,069,000,000 *yen*, the total amount of spindles had increased to 1,425,000, and the total mileage of railways to 4831 miles.

Rapid growth of national industries.

THE CHINA-JAPAN WAR AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GOLD STANDARD

Silver monometallism.

The gradual redemption of paper money having produced its effect, the foundation of our currency became duly established and foreign trade was promoted. But in connection with these things there is one point which calls for special attention, namely that the monetary system of Japan, which had practically been changed from gold monometallism to gold-and-silver bimetallism (as a natural consequence of the methods pursued in redeeming inconvertible paper), now assumed the form of silver monometallism, and this change into a silver standard was before long destined to become a fresh cause of obstruction to foreign trade.

Results of the depreciation of silver.

It would be superfluous for me to dwell upon the general effects produced by the adoption of the gold standard by Germany in 1873, which, causing the value of silver to fall gradually and the rate of exchange to fluctuate constantly, very seriously affected the trade between gold-standard and silver-standard countries. Japan, situated among the silver-standard States of the Orient, and herself having practically changed into a silver-standard country as already explained, would superficially seem to have assumed a position of convenience. But, in reality, as two-thirds of her export and import trade were carried on with gold-standard countries, the remaining one-third only being with China and other silver-standard countries, she suffered so greatly from the unstable condition of exchange, that those engaged in business transactions were obliged to concentrate their chief attention upon the daily fluctuations of rates as between silver and gold. Hence foreign trade tended to become largely a matter of monetary speculation.

In 1894 the ratio of the value of silver and gold became thirty to one, and the further fall of silver seemed almost limitless. It reached in 1897 its minimum rate of 39·7. This was indeed a heavy blow to the industries as well as the foreign trade of Japan. During the prevalence of this state of things war between Japan and China broke out, but as it fortunately did not last long and ended in the complete victory of Japan, it

only stimulated to greater activity the national industries. Furthermore, the far-seeing statesmen of Japan insisted on demanding an indemnity of 350,000,000 *yen* in gold, and applied a portion of the gold thus received to the reform of our national currency.

Gold-standard system.

A statute on this subject was passed by the Imperial Diet and promulgated in March 1897, and thus the foundation of the gold-standard system was firmly laid, producing excellent results in all directions. Among its immediate effects were a feeling of safety pervading general business transactions on account of stability of prices, and the smooth working of foreign trade owing to the exchange rates being freed from irregular fluctuations; but by far the most important effect was that Japanese Public Bonds began to be freely sold in foreign markets, an evidence that Japan had been admitted as a member of the economic community of the world.

Outline of the trade progress.

Having thus far dealt with the outline of the history of the progress of Japan's foreign trade, I will now try to show by actual figures in what manner the onward movement took place.

The total amount of exports and imports was 26,000,000 *yen* in 1868, 59,000,000 *yen* in 1878, 131,000,000 *yen* in 1888, 522,000,000 *yen* in 1898, and 926,000,000 *yen* in 1907. This shows a twofold increase in every ten years, whilst the following table indicates the progress during the twenty years 1883–1903:

	Exports. *Yen.*	Imports. *Yen.*	Total. *Yen.*
1883 ..	33,871,465	29,672,647	63,544,112
1903 ..	289,502,442	317,135,517	606,637,960
Increase ..	255,630,977	287,462,870	543,093,848

This increase is in the ratio of 850 per cent. in exports, of 1070 per cent. in imports. If it be classified according to unmanufactured and manufactured goods, the proportions will be found as follow:

	Raw and Unmanufactured.		*Manufactured.*	
	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.
1883 ..	90	45	10	55
1903 ..	66	65	34	35
Increase ..	6 times	16 times	30 times	7 times

This shows a remarkable increase in manufactured goods for export and in raw materials and unmanufactured goods for import, and serves to indicate the tendency of the development of the national industries during the twenty years under notice. To further explain the trend of our foreign trade's progress, the following list of principal export and import values during the year 1907 is given :

Exports (1907)

	Raw and Unmanufactured. *Yen.*	Manufactured. *Yen.*
Silk	123,281,000	37,727,000
Cotton	32,013,000	16,344,000
Food-stuffs.. ..	17,816,000	3,965,000
Metals	30,440,000	3,885,000
Coal..	19,093,000	—
Matches	—	9,446,000

Imports (1907)

	Raw and Unmanufactured. *Yen.*	Manufactured. *Yen.*
Grains and seeds ..	47,417,000	—
Cotton	118,028,000	17,499,000
Iron and steel ..	42,947,000	8,854,000
Machinery	—	40,950,000
Beverages and comestibles ..	—	12,071,000
Sugar	17,679,000	2,397,000
Oils and waxes ..	19,238,000	—
Wool	19,406,000	12,304,000
Chemicals ..	—	18,832,000

These tables show that the foreign commerce of Japan tends to increase in raw materials for import and in finished materials for export, and as such tendency is in accordance with the fundamental principles of the progress of trade in general, it enhances the commercial interests of the country.

There are many incidents of foreign trade which might well be included in this paper, but they have been amply dealt with elsewhere by those who are more intimately connected with them. I may refer, for instance, to the development of our carrying trade on both land and sea. The last named shows that of some thirteen and a half million tons cleared from our ports, over five is now carried in Japanese bottoms, whilst in value it amounts to 224,000,000 *yen*, as against 380,000,000 carried by foreign ships or 37 per cent. of the whole; whilst as to our railways, they now reach nearly 5000 miles, with a carrying capacity of 14,000,000 tons annually. Mention should also be made of our Banking Business, which is now conducted by some 2500 establishments with a paid-up capital of 380,000,000 *yen* and deposits valued at 714,000,000 *yen*.

Future Prospects of the Foreign Trade of Japan

Most promising goods.

It is a general rule that the progress and expansion of any undertaking, whether of a nation or of an individual, depend internally upon the material influence and energy each possesses, and externally follow the line of least resistance. Viewing the future of the foreign trade of Japan from such a standpoint, it is not difficult to conjecture in which direction it will most markedly expand and where it may be expected to make material progress.

There is no doubt that raw silk and manufactured silk have been the most progressive of our staple goods for commerce in the past, and that they will experience the least resistance in the path of future development.

Raw Silk and Manufactured Silk Goods

These have been considered to be the most important products of Japan since the time of the opening of the treaty ports, and they rank first among the export goods of the country. The production of silk has been increasing yearly through the diligent efforts of sericulturists. The export in 1907 reached the sum of over 116,000,000 *yen*, constituting about one-third of the total amount of goods sent abroad. Yet despite such a flourishing condition, it is not yet at its zenith, and there is still ample room for further development.

Causes of the development of sericulture.

The causes which have conduced to the development of sericulture and made it the first of national industries are (besides the mild climate of the country, which is well adapted for rearing silkworms) the natural aptitude of the people for such culture and the low rate of living among those engaged in the industry, this last being due to the cheapness of food. If any one of these conditions were lacking, the development of the industry would be far less promising. It requires so much manual labour that good profits could not be obtained unless food, which forms the basis of wages, were cheap; and it has to start with the rearing of such small and feeble insects as silkworms, that very delicate manipulation, both natural and artificial, is required; while, further, the risk of failure exceeds the chance of profits. These, according to my opinion, are among the causes of retrogression in the silk industry of France and Italy, whereas, on the other hand, they constitute good reasons for Japan's ability to further develop her sericulture. Both in France and in Italy the climate is as good as in Japan for the growth of silkworms and for mulberry-tree plantation, but the aptitude of the people and the price of food cannot be compared with those of Japan. It is a well-known fact that the Japanese are unsurpassed in delicacy of hand, and this advantage becomes more marked where the application of machinery is less required. Consequently, some classes of industry, which present difficulties to the French and Italians, suit the Japanese exactly. Sericulture may be taken as an example. In any district of Japan, whilst farmers are found engaged in the cultivation of rice and other grain, which form the staple food of the people, their families are busily occupied with the rearing of silkworms.

Factors of the future industrial progress.

That in Japan the cost of the people's living is much lower than in other civilized countries is a factor which makes the future prospect of all industrial works in this country very promising. The scale of living will of course become higher as the national wealth increases, but so long as the Japanese do not completely change their mode of life, the cost will be found always much lower than that in other civilized countries of Europe and America. Although the arable area of Japan is not large, the grain and vegetables produced are sufficient

for the daily consumption of the people, and in addition to these, the supply of fish from the surrounding seas is inexhaustible, and serves the people as nourishment. Should the rice crop be deficient, cheap grain can be imported from neighbouring tropical regions in any quantity. Consequently, so long as rice and fish suffice for making the muscles and sinews of the Japanese, the cost of their living will be cheap; and so long as the cost of living continues to be cheap, the profits afforded by the industries aiming at exportation will necessarily be great.[1]

Another paper (Chap. XXV, p. 594) in this work has dealt with the enormous value of Japan's fisheries. It suffices to note here the fact that the Japanese are able to collect one of their staple food-stuffs from a virtually inexhaustible submarine store, and this enables them to utilize their land of limited extent for other productive purposes in a manner altogether beyond the power of nations normally situated. For instance, the cultivatable area of Japan is about 23,352,000 acres, whereas that of Great Britain is 37,156,000 acres. But the British people have to employ the greater portion of this space as pasturage for obtaining their meat, whereas the Japanese, obtaining their food from the sea, can utilize the land either for rice and other grain, or for planting mulberry trees, tea bushes, and so forth—a circumstance directly and indirectly beneficial to the industry of the country.

It is said that in the United States of America much hope is entertained of the silk industry on account of the abundance of naturally growing mulberry trees in the valley of the Mississippi. But abundance of mulberry trees alone does not necessarily mean success in silkworm culture, which, as already explained, requires delicate treatment peculiar to itself.

Lastly, regarding the world's demand for silk fabrics, there is no need to apprehend decrease, but every prospect of increase as wealth and luxury grow.

Cotton Yarn and Cotton Fabrics

Next to silk and silk goods, having Europe and America for their customers, the most promising products of Japan are cotton yarns and the goods manufactured from them, which

The best market for cotton merchants.

[1] For statistics regarding wages, see Appendix F.

have China for their market. I believe that no country, unless it holds a specially favourable position in the matter of cotton yarns and cotton fabrics, can hope to derive much profit from trade with China in future. Great Britain, the United States of America, and Japan, who have hitherto bestowed special care and zeal upon cotton spinning and weaving industries for the purpose of exportation to China, have been able to export large quantities of these goods, and in consequence to take a leading position in the import trade of China, as will be seen from the following table:

COTTON YARNS AND FABRICS IMPORTED INTO CHINA

Cotton Yarns

	1897. Shanghai *taels.*	1899. Shanghai *taels.*	1901. Shanghai *taels.*	1903. Shanghai *taels.*
England ..	1,280,510	1,334,998	1,350,976	640,568
India	26,582,946	36,371,170	35,937,651	45,279,099
Japan ..	6,409,506	16,901,045	11,297,538	20,759,664
Hong Kong ..	—	—	107,667	208,426
Other countries	157,155	333,368	318,175	488,548
Totals ..	34,430,117	54,940,581	49,012,007	67,376,305

Cotton Fabrics

	1897. Shanghai *taels.*	1899. Shanghai *taels.*	1901. Shanghai *taels.*	1903. Shanghai *taels.*
England ..	1,669,446	1,270,320	1,421,979	14,681,024
India	538,582	228,259	42,731	150,965
United States..	11,427,552	14,098,839	12,715,921	16,224,235
Japan ..	489,567	1,157,535	1,197,700	2,531,644
Other countries	30,108,016	31,769,514	35,301,048	27,655,831
Totals ..	44,233,163	48,524,467	50,679,379	61,243,699
Grand Totals..	78,663,280	103,465,048	99,691,385	128,620,004

Preservation of China's integrity.

But when the vast extent and population of China are considered, even these quantities may be said to be comparatively very small, and there is no doubt that the demand for them will go on steadily increasing as China's open-door policy is more widely carried into effect. This will obviously tend to augment the export trade of the above-mentioned countries in cotton yarns and cotton goods, as fortunately their interests will not be found to clash, on account of the goods supplied by them being of different and special natures. Great Britain, the country which has longest engaged

in this class of industry and in trade in the Chinese market, will have an exceptional advantage in exporting the well-known Manchester goods ; the United States, which excel in operating large industrial works by the newest machines, will have special facilities for exporting piece goods of great length and uniform patterns ; and Japan, situated so near to the market, will be better able to manufacture and supply goods of various kinds to suit the constantly changing taste of the consumers. Consideration of the great interests involved in this business alone will sufficiently explain that Japan, who has some 35,000,000 *yen* invested in her spinning factories, must sincerely desire the preservation of China's integrity and the maintenance of her open door.

Forest Products

Rich resources of forest productions.

Composed of numerous islands scattered over the western side of the Pacific Ocean and completely surrounded by sea, Japan is regarded as a maritime nation like Great Britain. But if the country may be designated in virtue of what constitutes the greatest part of the land area, it is entitled to be called a country of forests, just as Northern Russia is so called in contrast with Southern Russia, known as a country of steppes. The total area of Japan, with the exception of Formosa, the southern half of Saghalien, and minor islets, is 88,107,000 acres, of which 54,609,000 are estimated to be forests and wood lands, and this means that the forests take up 61·9 per cent. of the total area. The following table shows a comparison in this respect with other European countries having about equal areas :

Countries.	Total Area of Land. Acres.	Area of Forests. Acres.	Forests compared with Total Area. Per cent.
Japan	88,107,000	54,609,000	61·9
England ..	77,191,000	3,038,000	3·9
France	132,506,000	20,741,000	15·6
Germany ..	133,364,000	13,995,000	10·5
Austria	74,178,000	24,151,000	32·5
Hungary ..	80,275,000	22,198,000	27·6
Italy	70,821,000	11,111,000	15·7

From the above figures it will be seen that even Austria and Hungary, the countries considered as the richest in forests of all Europe, contain only half of what Japan possesses; and the area of the forests of Germany, which is drawing a revenue of 100,000,000 marks from its Prussian forests, is not more than one-quarter of that of Japan.

It is, however, to be admitted with regret that Japan's forests, in spite of their being so extensive, are not yielding much, as will be seen from the following table of annual yields and expenses in recent years:

Annual Yields and Expenses

Year.	Lumber taken out.	Price.	New Plantations.	Expenditure.
	Number.	*Yen.*	Acres.	*Yen.*
1901 ...	26,616,710	31,878,681	232,743	2,136,403
1907 ..	22,564,623	34,008,577	73,310	3,796,862

Reviewing the case from the standpoint of foreign trade, the values of timber, &c., exported since 1900 are as follow:

Exported Timber Values

Kinds.	1900. *Yen.*	1904. *Yen.*	1907. *Yen.*
Railway sleepers ..	555,000	976,000	3,581,000
Boards for tea-boxes ..	398,000	509,000	538,000
Match wood	153,000	—	169,000
Wood braid	138,000	1,336,000	884,000
Other lumber and boards	533,000	1,692,000	9,053,000

The future prospect.

At the present stage the forest production of Japan, with the exception of its uses for match manufacture, seems hardly worthy of attention in the context of exports, but the fact that it is steadily progressing year by year should not be overlooked. It should also be taken into consideration that the method of constructing Japanese houses and the people's manner of life involve large consumption of wood for architecture and for fuel, as well as for the manufacture of furniture, &c. The quantities used for these purposes greatly exceed those required

in America and Europe, and that Japan is, nevertheless, able gradually to increase her exportation of forest products shows the ample resources of her forest lands. Depending so largely upon forests for a supply of building materials, and aware also of the necessity of keeping the forests in good order for purposes of irrigation, a vital matter in Japan, as well as for guarding against inundations, wise rulers and statesmen, in various ages from ancient times down to the feudal periods, used to bestow great care upon forestry, but, unfortunately, at the era ranging from the last days of the Tokugawa *régime* to the early years of the Méiji era, this wise policy was for a time completely neglected, with very injurious effects. The great necessity for proper adjustment of forest management, however, has been gradually recognized, and the Government is now taking various important steps in the matter, causing planting and cutting of trees throughout the country to be brought gradually into accord with scientific principles. This being so, if further efforts are made hereafter in respect of rearing of trees, together with the making of good roads, the adoption of portable railways, &c., for facilitating the transport of timber, the production of the forests of Japan will greatly increase and contribute materially to the progress of the export trade.

Formosa.

In connection with this subject, the development of Formosan resources will be worthy of special attention. As is well known, two-thirds of the total area of Formosa consists of mountain districts, in which the island's sources of wealth are mostly to be found. One of the principal of these regions comprises forests of vast extent, some of which would require many days to traverse, and these forests are capable of yielding many valuable products, camphor trees of world-wide reputation being among them. Unfortunately, the districts containing such resources are in the possession of intractable aborigines, and were left untouched in the period of Chinese administration. But now that the results of Formosan administration under the Japanese Government are beginning to be gradually realized, this source of wealth will, doubtless, be duly developed in the near future, and will materially add to the total production of the forests of Japan.

Mineral and Metal Products

Mineral and metalliferous depositories.

Since the revision of the mining laws in 1890, when many inconvenient restrictions then in force were repealed, the progress of mining industry has been very marked, and statistics proving this will be found in large numbers in the chapter set aside to this industry. I will therefore merely give here a table showing the increase of leases of late years, which will give a general idea of the progress :

Table of Mining Leases and Prospecting Leases

	Mining Leases.		Prospecting Leases.	
	Number.	Area, acres.	Number.	Area, acres.
1893	3,513	152,764	5,700	671,406
1902	5,908	633,843	6,467	2,026,670
1907	5,507	780,908	4,987	1,502,363

Prospect of mining industry.

In spite of this, however, progress in Japan's mining industry has been somewhat slow in comparison with that in other industries. Out of some 6000 mines, there are certainly some few producing over a million *yen's* worth annually and equipped with large up-to-date machinery and plant for mining and metallurgical working, but, taking the mining industry of the country as a whole, it seems to be still in an infantine stage, large resources hidden underground being left yet untouched. Indeed, it may be said with confidence that, from a mining point of view, Japan offers as much margin for development as her neighbouring countries, China and Korea.

With the proper exploitation of her mineral resources, Japan will be able to produce greatly increased quantities of gold, copper, and coal, and to provide herself with sufficient iron ore to meet at least a considerable portion of her own demand. As for coal, there will be much more demand for it for home consumption as domestic industries become generally developed; but there being a prospect of water coming into extensive use for motive power, much saving of coal consumption may reasonably be expected, thus enabling the Japanese to arrange for furnishing the mineral to the demand that will surely arise with the increase in the world's battleships and merchant vessels flocking to Far-Eastern seas in future years. This will of course tend to encourage further development.

Production of Fine and Industrial Arts

Export goods of fine arts and industrial arts.

The greater part of the goods exported from Japan to Europe and America, exclusive of silk, silk fabrics, and tea, consist of works of fine and industrial art, made according to tastes which are peculiarly Japanese. And as the tendency of the export trade of Japan is to sell the productions of large factories in the markets of countries comparatively low in civilization, and to supply the markets of the civilized countries with special works of art, this tendency will probably be long maintained, and, in consequence, every endeavour should be made to encourage the production and exportation of the latter, in order to promote business interests between Japan and other civilized countries of the world. In so far as statistics are available, the following table shows the respective values of such objects of late years:

Table of Exported Goods of Industrial Arts

	1902. *Yen.*	1904. *Yen.*	1908. *Yen.*
Coral, worked or otherwise	436,146	436,472	520,120
Ivory carvings	213,806	174,803	154,126
Lacquered wares	889,079	1,023,292	957,674
Lanterns	135,945	166,980	158,093[1]
Porcelain and pottery ..	2,461,544	3,873,021	5,078,222
Cloisonné	183,537	220,140	95,330
Screens	431,761	376,955	320,625
Fans	727,458	898,475	833,442[2]

The majority of the above are exported to France and America. As to articles constituting pure works of fine art, there are no statistics, but their exportation as the private property of visitors, travellers, &c., is yearly increasing.

Future prospect.

Japan is generally regarded as the country of fine art in the East, but the true worth of her efforts in this field is appreciated by only a limited number of persons in Europe and America. As Japan becomes better known to the world, her people's character will be better understood, and this will lead to further appreciation of her fine arts by the world at large, bringing them into greater demand. These art products,

[1] 3,397,000 in number. [2] 19,200,000 in number.

as well as the designs they carry, may come to assume an important place among articles of decoration in Europe and America. In short, the arts of Japan, both fine and industrial, with their old historical records, are bound to be further improved in proportion as her people gain higher standing in the civilised community of the world, and there is every prospect of such a result.

Promotion of Domestic Industries

Future prospect of Japanese industries.

Apart from the staple productions of Japan for export purposes already mentioned, the most important consideration in determining the future prospects of the country's foreign trade is the question what opportunities, facilities, aptitude, and financial capacities Japan possesses for developing her industries. Even now some people have doubts about her future as an industrial country. But such apprehensions are the result either of misunderstanding or of inability to comprehend the true state of affairs in Japan. Our own observation and conviction is that she contains almost all the elements essential for making great advances as an industrial country, and it may be well to state these elements briefly.

Supply of raw materials.

1. One requirement for the development of industries is the supply of raw materials. Japan cannot, of course, produce within her limited Island Empire all the raw materials she may require for industries which will expand almost without limit, but her geographical situation, and the fact that she has for neighbours such large producers of raw material as China, India, Australia, and America, enable her to obtain cheaply such cotton, wool, minerals, &c., as she may need, and to import them at moderate rates of freight. It therefore only remains for her to exercise a wise discretion in the choice of suitable markets.

Supply of motive power.

2. The motive power for industrial works can be amply obtained from coal, which so abundantly exists in Japan, and is being extensively mined by most improved methods. In addition to this, the utilization of water power has lately made marked advance, and is showing excellent results in the fields of electric lighting, electric traction, and various other works. Japan,

as is well known from her varied scenery, is rich in lakes, rivers, rapids, and waterfalls, and all these can be gradually utilized as producers of comparatively cheap and inexhaustible power. As to her capacity of coal production, the present annual output of 13,000,000 tons may be doubled without much difficulty, if required, and a good portion of this may be diverted to export as the utilization of water power becomes more advanced.

Skilled labour.

3. Japan's skilled labour is not at all of low grade. The great increase in her import of raw materials and machines, with a corresponding increase in the export of manufactured goods during the last twenty years, shows that our workmen have been gradually trained to the handling of machines, and factories are now competing with each other in purchasing the most improved and up-to-date machines, whilst the workmen themselves, in many cases, are suggesting improvements in newly imported machines to make them more efficient. These things show that the extent of the men's knowledge is not despicable.

Improved knowledge.

There still seem to be some foreigners, not conversant with the true state of affairs in Japan, who imagine that the industries introduced from Europe or America are being conducted under the guidance and superintendence of foreigners. But if these persons should visit, for instance, the city of Ōsaka, which is regarded as 'the Manchester of Japan,' they would be convinced of the fact that all industrial operations are now conducted exclusively by Japanese engineers and workmen. From the economic point of view, these works, superintended and carried on by Japanese receiving low pay, cannot fail to be lucrative. The most remarkable example is the case of the Naval Arsenal at Kuré. Only ten years have elapsed since the establishment of the Arsenal, and yet all kinds of guns, from huge weapons of twelve inches calibre to intricate machine-guns, as well as all torpedo appliances, are manufactured there; moreover, powerful cruisers can be now built in the yards, and armour plates are now being rolled and large battleships constructed. None of all these wonderful works—premising that some of the machines are imported—are under the guidance of foreigners, but are operated by over 8000 workmen directed by Japanese naval officers and

engineers. In this way the workmen of Japan are undergoing training and gaining experience in industrial enterprises of both a warlike and peaceful nature. Add to this the progress recently made in the system of technical education by the strenuous joint efforts of the Government and the people, so that Japan can now supply diligent and capable young men properly educated for the various requirements of her industries.

Japanese labourers.

There is yet another point worth mentioning, namely, that with the general progress of national education the efficiency of workmen is augmented and their characters are improved, making them a body of men easy of control. Such things as large organized strikes, so often occurring in Europe and America to the detriment of industrial works, have never been met with in Japan, and it is not at all unlikely that, with improvement in factory regulations backed by sound legislative measures, the industry of this country may never be harassed by these undesirable events. This satisfactory circumstance may be taken as one of the factors guaranteeing the future development of Japanese industries.

Capital.

4. The fact that capital, the most important requirement for the development of industries, is comparatively insufficient in Japan, cannot be denied by even the most optimistic of her observers. But should she succeed in installing herself as a member of the world's economic community, capital will gradually flow into the country in quantities sufficient to supply the deficiency. Japan, so highly appreciating the true value of the open-door policy, will never be foolish enough to shut her gates against the admission of foreign capital; and when all restrictions relating to land, mines, railways, &c., are removed (in a recent session of the Diet certain legislative reforms were effected and embodied in laws relating to railways and factories), her industries will be able to enjoy the full benefit of foreign capital. In such an event, however, foreign capitalists intending to invest in Japanese industries should recognize the advisability of leaving the working of such industries to the Japanese, for if they insist upon employing officers, engineers, and workmen of their own nationalities, it is likely that they will find their undertakings to be failures, or, at the best, to yield only small profits. The young men of Japan, as

explained already, are generally trustworthy and capable either as managers, engineers, or workmen, being well educated and experienced in the duties required of them, and they work hard for comparatively low pay. Thus, if foreign capital obtained at low rates of interest, and cheap, but skilled, Japanese labour be brought into combination, all the industrial undertakings in Japan should be crowned with success within a few years.

Visits of tourists.

5. In connection with the admission of foreign capital, the profit realized from the visits of foreign travellers to Japan is an interesting subject. With the wonderful progress recently made in systems of communication, international intercourse in general has remarkably advanced, and, in consequence, what the people of a country spend travelling abroad, and what aliens spend during their visits to that country, have come to be regarded as an important item of international accounts. In this respect Japan happens, fortunately, to be a small debtor and large creditor, and may be compared to Italy or Switzerland. Her favourable climate, her pure atmosphere, and her fine scenery make Japan one of the public gardens of the world, and the amounts expended by European and American visitors in the country are considerable even at present. It may be expected that with increasing facility and comfort in navigation, the number of visitors and travellers to Japan will greatly increase; and as endeavours are being made by the administrative authorities of the principal cities, and by influential private parties who are interested, to render the stay of these visitors comfortable and enjoyable, and as the general attitude of the Japanese public towards strangers is polite and considerate, the purses of these tourists will be liberally opened to supply no small portion of the capital required by Japan.

Prospects of the Import Trade

Promising future of our trade.

If the future development of internal industries be assumed to be as promising as has been estimated above, the future prospects of the foreign trade of Japan may be said to be very bright. The increase in exports will serve to add to the profit of the general trade and stimulate a corresponding increase in imports, because, as the Japanese are not by nature disposed

to simply hoard up what they have gained through commerce, but are inclined to spend it, partly to further improve their industrial works, and partly to raise their scale of living, it is plain that an increase of gain in the export trade will tend to increase a corresponding import of raw materials, new machines, and articles of luxury. In this way the trade of Japan will continue to expand both in imports and exports, at a speed at least as great as it has attained in the past.

Here a special note becomes necessary in regard to the trade with the United States of America. There was once a complaint on the part of the Americans that Japan did not import from America one-tenth of what the Americans were importing from Japan. But that is now a thing of the past, for the rapid development of various factories in America, especially of those for constructing machines, as well as the growth of the iron and steel industries, have been going on side by side with a great increase of transport facilities over the American continent and the Pacific Ocean, the result being that American goods imported to Japan have made a most conspicuous increase in years, 10,000,000 *yen* in 1894 having been increased to 80,000,000 in 1907; and as the development of the home industries of Japan will surely call for increased importation of machines and raw materials, this country will tend to become a constantly larger buyer from the United States. How far the navigation of the Pacific Ocean will be developed in regard to the numbers, tonnage, and speed of ships is beyond conjecture, but the result of such development must bring about more intimate business relations between the two neighbouring nations which inhabit the opposite coasts of that ocean, thus establishing firm markets mutually, and equipping the two peoples for the best comradeship in the commercial campaign in China's great future markets.

Furthermore, when the great Panama Canal is completed, under the superintendence of the United States, the commerce of the world, especially of the Pacific Ocean, will receive a great impulse, and Japan will not fail to obtain a due share of the benefit.

Commercial morality.

Those who treat of the commerce of Japan often deplore that the standard of her commercial morality is not high, and

regard Japanese merchants as untrustworthy, some critics going so far as to think that transactions with Japanese tradesmen expose Occidentals to danger of fraud. It must be admitted that in the early stages of commerce after the opening of the treaty ports, when there did not exist a thorough understanding between Japanese and foreign merchants, some deplorable usages and tendencies in transactions, partly due to deliberate insincerity and partly to mutual misunderstanding, were observable, but with the subsequent development and progress of commerce made, the business credit of Japanese merchants has greatly improved.

As an example of this, it may be noted that, at the end of 1906, the number of limited companies was 4289, with a paid-up capital of 939,700,000 *yen*, and that the total amount of drafts negotiated in 1907, as reported by the clearing houses in the six principal cities of the empire, reached 7,483,000,000 *yen*. These figures show that the business credit of the Japanese commercial houses is by no means low, considered from the standpoint of foreign trade; and the fact that it is yearly advancing, and that Japanese merchants engaged in business are increasingly successful, indicates the existence of wholesome commercial credit. There may certainly be some exceptions, but these are inevitable anywhere, and in such cases foreign merchants who have suffered must be blamed for indiscretion in the choice of their customers. In this generation of universal progress in the world's affairs, who will for a moment believe that, even in the Far East, success in commerce can be obtained by fraudulent means?

Conclusion

Ambition of the people.

I hope I have done something towards explaining that the foreign trade of Japan, taking advantage of the national situation, relying on the aptitude of the people, and conforming with the general tendency of the world's affairs, will grow more and more in the future, simultaneously with the development of internal industries. To compete in the field of peaceful commerce, to rank as one of the civilized nations, is the adopted policy of the Japanese Empire, and to make the foundations

of their commercial enterprise yet firmer is the greatest ambition of the Japanese people. Although only half a century has passed since the empire was opened to the world's intercourse, the Japanese have already fully recognized the advantage of trade, and their success in the past makes them confident as to the future.

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